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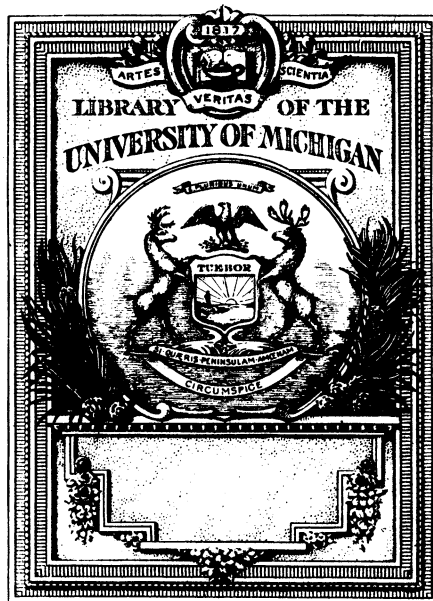
THE PUBLIC
PAPERS AND
ADDRESSES
OF
WILLIAM
ROOSEVELT

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Victory and
the Treaty

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THE PUBLIC PAPERS AND ADDRESSES
OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Volumes Previously Published

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PREVAILS

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1943

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1944-45

VICTORY AND THE THRESHOLD OF PEACE

THE PUBLIC PAPERS
AND ADDRESSES OF
FRANKLIN D.
ROOSEVELT

COMPILED WITH SPECIAL MATERIAL
AND EXPLANATORY NOTES BY
SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN



1944-45 Volume


VICTORY AND THE THRESHOLD OF PEACE

HARPER & BROTHERS PUBLISHERS
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v. 13

THE PUBLIC PAPERS AND ADDRESSES
OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, 1944-45

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FIRST EDITION

M-Y

Introduction

IN THIS final volume, covering the last fifteen months of President Roosevelt's life, there appear public papers and addresses which reflect almost every facet of the leadership which he had exercised from the day he entered the White House. The earliest volumes of this series — those covering the first and second terms — embodied the words of a New Deal President who had an abiding faith in the vitality of the United States and in its expanding democracy, and who fought — successfully — for the economic freedom and security of the common man. With the beginning of the third term, the emphasis shifted. The major task began to be to lead the Nation in preparing for defense, and in aiding the Allies who were resisting the Axis.

After December 7, 1941, of course, the President was necessarily committed principally to war leadership. But, as the tide of war changed in 1943, postwar problems — both international and domestic — began to take their place alongside military and production problems. In the public papers and addresses of the President in this volume there is a synthesis of his leadership during all his years of office.

First, as in the two preceding volumes, there are disclosed the activities of the President as a military leader. That leadership is reflected in the rising tide of victories noted in his public words: the fall of Rome, the invasion of Normandy, the liberation of the Low Countries, the fall of Paris, the landing in the Philippines and their liberation. There are also the great military conferences of the last year of the war: the second Quebec Conference and the conference at Yalta.

As in the two preceding volumes, there are also the words of the military leader who was concerned with problems of the home front, because he knew how much victory in battle depended on the solution of these problems at home. However, there is reflected some shift in the urgency of those problems. By 1944, the battle of production had been won, and the major danger was overconfidence which would have made heavy inroads on

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production. Similarly, the main outlines of the stabilization program were in effect and, during 1944, the struggle was to keep the program from destruction at the hands of a few groups still insisting on special privileges. While the President did continue to speak of the problems of production and stabilization during this period, the problem of providing sufficient manpower became the most difficult one to solve.

The huge drain upon manpower caused by military service created an acute shortage. It was accentuated by a tendency on the part of many workers to regard the war as nearly over and to drift away from work in war plants. The more difficult kinds of war work and some of the essential civilian industries were unable to compete for labor. And so, in this volume, came the President's urgent — but unheeded — call for national service legislation. That legislation was certainly among the most drastic for which the President asked. Happily, it turned out not to be necessary. But he recommended it when he did not yet know — as nobody knew — that our atomic research would succeed and that the end of the war was not far off. Certainly if the invasion of Japan had been necessary, as the military leaders thought in 1944, the national service legislation which the President requested would have been a vital essential.

Two aspects of President Roosevelt's leadership in 1944, however, were not directly concerned with the war, but rather reverted to the leadership of his first two terms. There was the resurgence of the President as a fighting liberal. There was also his reappearance as a fighting candidate.

I recall well that, during the war, a number of my friends — early New Dealers and very ardent liberals — used to shake their heads rather dolefully about the President. In 1942 and 1943, some of them used to say that Roosevelt had lost his liberal fervor, that he was becoming a tired New Dealer who had shifted to the right. The President knew about this criticism, and, in due time, answered it publicly. At his last press conference in 1943, the President explained that he had called in "Dr. Win-the-War" to substitute for "Dr. New Deal," but only until vic-

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tory came. For victory was the first essential, and since 1933 the President had insisted always on putting "first things first." He promised the American people that, after the war, he would continue to fight for a liberal program along greatly expanded lines. As victory became more certain in 1944, he began to make good on his promise. This volume reflects the President as the fighting liberal again — hitting sharply at poll taxes, urging more valley authorities in the pattern of the T.V.A., vetoing an inequitable tax bill which would have provided "relief not for the needy but for the greedy," reassuring the Nation that he was still "a little left of center," and, most important of all, laying a firm groundwork for a postwar New Deal whose charter was to be the President's Economic Bill of Rights.

In this volume, too, the President reappears as perhaps the greatest of all American political campaigners. The 1944 campaign against Thomas E. Dewey, in which the President won election to a fourth term, was an extraordinary one. In its early phases, there was no campaign at all. Dewey had the stage to himself, making a series of precise and calculated orations — gaining votes, while the President remained silent.

But the President was, as he liked to call himself so often, an "old campaigner." He could not remain silent too long. He knew that Dewey was gaining ground and that there could be no excitement in a campaign in which only one candidate was campaigning. He recognized that Dewey's best chance for election depended on an apathetic public and a small vote, especially with twelve million young men and women in the armed forces. And so he broke the campaign wide open in September, 1944, with his famous "Fala" speech before the Teamsters' Union. The speech had just the results which the President intended. It brought fresh enthusiasm to the public and to Democratic Party workers. And it caused Dewey to abandon his cool orations — and to start swinging wildly. Above all, it showed that the President was still a masterful political campaigner. That was emphasized by his memorable, gallant tour of New York City through a pouring rainstorm. The rumors about his bad health, current in all his

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campaigns, had been increasing in volume and in bitterness in the campaign of 1944. As he rode in an open car for miles and miles, the rain pouring on him — for millions to see — the rumors, at least temporarily, began to quiet down.

It was a source of wonder at the time — and still is — that after almost twelve years of the most severe punishment public office can deal out, Roosevelt was able to pitch into a national campaign and tire out most of those who campaigned with him. There were several reasons for his campaign enthusiasm.

The first was his personal dislike for his opponent. I served closely with Roosevelt in six of his campaigns for public office, and the only opponent toward whom I knew he had a feeling of strong personal dislike was Governor Dewey. My belief is that that feeling was the result of the campaign tactics of the Governor to which the President occasionally alluded in his own campaign speeches; and that it came also from a conviction, which he occasionally expressed, that Dewey really was not the sincere internationalist he professed to be. In the early 1940's, Dewey had been rather consistently opposed to the wing of the Republican Party led by that great internationalist, Wendell L. Willkie. Many of Dewey's public statements, as well as his political associations, seemed to reflect a lack of enthusiasm for internationalism. So when Dewey came out for certain internationalist principles in 1944, it almost appeared to some that he was taking this course with one eye on the public opinion polls, rather than from any deep internationalist convictions.

Roosevelt's enthusiasm was also fired by the blunt feeling that it would take a person with experience in dealing with the other United Nations to finish the delicate task of peace building; and that because of his own experience in the last four years he could finish the job better than his opponent. The vigor and intensity of his campaign were a rude surprise to those who sought to defeat him by constant repetition that his administration was that of a "tired old man."

This volume, then, reflects the President's military leadership on the war front and the home front, his domestic liberalism,

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and his superb mastery of political campaigning. But, to an even greater degree than 1943, this volume reflects also the President's overwhelming emphasis on precise and detailed planning for the future — for a postwar world in which there would be peace, and for a postwar United States in which there would be the economic stability so essential to world peace. To both postwar objectives the President devoted major attention.

In his report to the Congress and to the American people on the Yalta Conference, March 1, 1945, President Roosevelt accurately said: "This time we are not making the mistake of waiting until the end of the war to set up the machinery of peace. This time, as we fight together to win the war finally, we work together to keep it from happening again."

That statement is the index of the major objective of the President during the year 1944 and the early months of 1945. In 1943, as the course of war changed in our favor, plans had been laid to create a United Nations organization and a postwar world of the kind envisaged in the Atlantic Charter of August, 1941. In 1944 and 1945, the plans progressed.

By March, 1945, the President was able conscientiously and sincerely to say: "Never before have the major Allies been more closely united — not only in their war aims but also in their peace aims. And they are determined to continue to be united with each other — and with all peace-loving Nations — so that the ideal of lasting peace will become a reality."

Although Roosevelt had "never for an instant wavered in (his) belief that an agreement to insure world peace and security (could) be reached," he had gone through more than four years of patient international negotiation on all kinds of matters of common interest. He had learned that it was not always easy. There were times when the Allied leaders — military and civilian — did not see eye to eye on a great many issues. That is one of the reasons why so many international conferences and overseas trips had to take place. Differences had to be ironed out. Very often relations were quite strained. Such subjects as when and where and how the second front was to be established, or how the

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limited war supplies of 1941 and 1942 were to be allocated, or how Germany was to be controlled and handled immediately after the war — all of these grave questions and many more were potential areas of dispute among the Allies. Fortunately, the willingness to negotiate and reason and explain, and the practice of meeting together face to face minimized differences.

Many of these differences have now been revealed; to have revealed them at the time they occurred would have provided the enemy with too much military information and too much ammunition for propaganda. Reaching agreement was not always simple. The American people, who read the communiqués or joint statements issued after these international conferences or visits, had little knowledge of the patient effort and striving for accord which were required in order to come to agreement. But the President and the other participants knew. So when in March, 1945, after all the years of planning and negotiation, he announced the high tide of Allied unity at Yalta, he was expressing a considered and grateful appraisal of the result of the years of work in which he labored.

In gauging the importance of the President's statement that, even while the fighting was going on, the Allies were going to continue to prepare for lasting peace, we must bear in mind a fact which we now know but which Roosevelt and his co-workers did not know. When the San Francisco Conference was set for April 25, 1945, no responsible military or civilian leader dreamed that the war would be over in Japan in less than four months after that date. The best military judgment available indicated that at least a full year, and probably two or more years, would be required before Japan could be made to surrender. No one knew definitely until July, 1945, that we had assembled a successful atomic bomb — three months after Roosevelt's death. It was agreed at Yalta that Russia would come into the war soon against Japan, and that the three Allies would be fighting together in the Pacific as they had in Europe. This is what our own military leaders hoped to accomplish above all else at Yalta.

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No one can say what the course of international affairs would have been if, for two years or even one year after San Francisco, the three Big Powers would have had to continue the war against the Japanese together. Would they have fallen apart so soon over European problems? Or would they have held together and become more firmly cemented? No one, of course, can furnish the answer.

It is clear that the President, who from the first saw the advantage of planning together while we were fighting together, contemplated a year or more of Allied fighting after San Francisco — during which time the Big Powers would have had experience in working together as comrades in arms.

Roosevelt ran for the fourth term only because he felt confident that the job of peace building which he had started in his third term could be finished in his fourth. Could he have finished it if he had lived? This is an oft-repeated question. The answer to it is bound to be purely speculative, and can never be formulated with any degree of certainty.

In the note to Item 134, the joint statement of the "Big Three" on the Yalta Conference, February 11, 1945, I have tried to analyze the results of that meeting, and to show where agreements were reached, where they were not, what compromises were made, what concessions were made on each side, and what questions were left open. When the joint statement was issued, there was almost universal praise from writers and commentators on foreign affairs on the results achieved: the agreement as to free elections and self-determination in the liberated areas, the agreement on the organization of the United Nations and the San Francisco Conference, on the control of Germany and on the new government to be set up in Poland. Had the Soviet Union carried out these agreements and adhered to the principles enunciated at Yalta the world would be far along on the road to peace. The peace of the world is now in danger — not because of Yalta, but because the Soviet Union has flouted the specific agreements which were reached at Yalta.

The President was convinced there was one condition pre-

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cedent to international security: a strong America — strong economically, physically, and spiritually. If the United States was to be the leading spirit, its spirit had to be strong. Planning to achieve this domestic objective of a strong America absorbed much of the last year of the President's life.

In 1943, he had already begun to plan for the foundations of a postwar America. His first concern was for the veterans themselves; but in that concern there was the realization of the need of providing a sound economy for all into which veterans might return and fit their lives. It was not only the immediate future about which he thought and for which he planned. His sights were lifted to certain long-range objectives, which he felt had become essentials in a modern democracy but which had been too long neglected in the United States. These objectives became formalized in his State of the Union message at the very beginning of 1944, in the "Economic Bill of Rights."

The Economic Bill of Rights was to supplement our old political Bill of Rights, under the protection of which "this Republic had its beginning, and grew to its present strength." The supplement was necessary because, in an expanding industrial economy, true individual freedom did not depend alone on political rights; it required also "economic security and independence."

Such rights he listed: the right to a job at a living wage; the right to a decent home; to medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health; freedom from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment; freedom from monopolies and unfair competition; the right to an education. This kind of a program spelled security, and the President said: "Unless there is security here at home there cannot be lasting peace in the world."

This was not the sort of program which he expected to be passed at once as soon as the war ended. He was realistic enough to know that it would require fighting for, that it was worth fighting for, and that there would be bitter opposition to it. Later events in the 80th Congress and even in the 81st have shown how bitter the opposition was going to be. But the battle lines on

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which would be determined the kind of postwar America we are to have were laid down six months before the landings in France — and they are still the battle lines between liberals and conservatives.

In his Chicago campaign speech on October 28, 1944, he expressed confidence that the battle would end in victory: "I know that they (the American people) agree with these objectives — that they demand them — that they are determined to get them — and that they are *going* to get them."

He had seen the American people do so much under proper leadership that his faith in what they could do was unbounded. He had seen them rise from the depths of the depression of 1929-1932; he had seen them produce weapons for defense and for war in "fantastic" quantities; he had seen them raise and train an armed force that was defeating the most cruelly efficient military machine ever assembled by oppressor Nations. He did not live to see them carry forward the tasks called for by the planning of 1943 and 1944. But he had complete faith that they could — if only they would keep their own faith. In the last prepared address included in this volume — a speech he did not live to make — he exhorted the American people to hold to that faith:

"Today as we move against the terrible scourge of war — as we go forward toward the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in this world — the contribution of lasting peace, I ask you to keep up your faith. I measure the sound, solid achievement that can be made at this time by the straight edge of your own confidence and your resolve. . . . The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

His faith in what the American people could do if only they kept the faith has been justified even after Roosevelt's death. They have steadfastly moved forward, wherever they could, in the quest for peace and international accord; they have resisted the advances and threats and challenge of the new dictators and aggressors in the Soviet Union and its satellites; they have sought

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to carry forward the principles of the Atlantic Charter; they are still behind the New Deal and the Economic Bill of Rights.

He no longer can lead them, but the strong and active faith which he did so much to instill in this Nation is carrying it forward to the goals which he set.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Samuel R. Rosanman". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name and date.

New York, N. Y.

October 6, 1949

Cumulative Topical Table

NOTE: This Cumulative Topical Table supersedes previous topical tables appearing in the 1928-1932 volumes and the 1937 volume. For the convenience of readers desiring a unified treatment of one particular topic, the following Cumulative Topical Table brings under one heading all of the Items dealing with each of the several phases of domestic and foreign policies from 1928 to 1945.

It is natural that some specific subjects should be included under more than one of the broad, general classifications in the Table. President Roosevelt, perhaps more than any other occupant of the White House up to his time, recognized the interrelationship among the various segments of the national economy, and the way in which domestic problems were tied in with international problems. As a result, he rarely compartmentalized his activity under neatly defined subject headings. The program of the Tennessee Valley Authority, for example, is properly listed under both "Electricity and Regulation of Public Utilities" and "National Planning."

To aid in the use of the Cumulative Topical Table, a ready reference list of subjects has been compiled in order to indicate under which classification each of these subjects is included.

The index at the end of each volume furnishes a more detailed guide to the location of Items.

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- 1935 VOLUME: Items 64, 65, 69, 91
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- 1937 VOLUME: Items 2 (p. 9), 11, 12, 17 (pp. 74-77), 30, 31, 40, 54 (pp. 204-206), 58 (p. 220), 71 (p. 264), 81, 89, 91 (pp. 310-312), 93 (pp. 316-317), 102, 107 (pp. 352-354), 111, 130 (pp. 414-415; 421; 424-425)
- 1938 VOLUME: Items 80 (pp. 393-394), 117, 130 (pp. 555-558), 154 (p. 625)
- 1939 VOLUME: Items 15, 25 (p. 115), 28, 38, 73, 105, 106 (pp. 426-428), 157
- 1940 VOLUME: Items 57, 117
- 1941 VOLUME: Items 13, 48

CRIME AND PRISONS

(Including Espionage, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Parole, Prison Labor, Probation, Sabotage)

- 1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 11, 17 (p. 101), 18 (p. 120), Chapter xv, 89 (p. 412), 113 (p. 550)
- 1934 VOLUME: Items 74, 85, 193, 194
- 1935 VOLUME: Item 74
- 1936 VOLUME: Item 242
- 1939 VOLUME: Items 60, 121, 122 (pp. 485-486), 168 (p. 603)
- 1940 VOLUME: Items 26, 74, 138 (pp. 577-580)

(See also National Defense)

DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

(Including Campaign Speeches, Democratic National Committee, Democratic National Convention, Election Returns, Foreign Policy and Campaign, Jackson Day, Jefferson Day, Liberalism, Participation in Party Primaries)

- 1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150
- 1934 VOLUME: Item 10
- 1936 VOLUME: Items 3, 48, 53, 79, 80, 125, 137, 138, 141 through 210 (except 192, 193, 196, 198)
- 1937 VOLUME: Item 18
- 1938 VOLUME: Items 5, 54 (pp. 263-264), 80, 90, 92, 100, 102, 104, 107, 113, 132, 134, 137, 140, 143

Cumulative Topical Table

- 1939 VOLUME: Items 6, 63, 107
1940 VOLUME: Items 3, 35, 39, 69, 70, 76, 115, 116, 119, 121, 123,
125, 126, 128, 129, 136
1941 VOLUME: Items 22, 79, 98, 107, 108, 128
1942 VOLUME: Items 15 (p. 80), 81, 107, 111, 114, 119
1943 VOLUME: Item 86
1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 29 (pp. 125-126), 33, 34, 51, 51-A, 51-B,
53, 58, 65, 76, 86, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101,
102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111

(See also General Objectives and Accomplishments of the New Deal)

DROUGHT, FLOODS AND OTHER NATURAL DISASTERS

(Including American Red Cross, Earthquakes, Floods and Flood Control, Forest Fires, Hurricanes)

- 1933 VOLUME: Item 14
1934 VOLUME: Items 80, 81, 103, 147
1935 VOLUME: Items 100, 118
1936 VOLUME: Items 37, 38, 41, 42, 47, 54, 83, 90, 92, 95, 99, 101,
103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 110, 111, 112, 113, 116,
117, 118, 120
1937 VOLUME: Items 4, 6 (pp. 23-26), 7, 20, 46, 49 (pp. 179-180), 50,
52, 67, 80, 103, 147
1938 VOLUME: Items 42 (pp. 193-194), 91, 126
1939 VOLUME: Items 20, 23, 67, 102 (pp. 418-420), 154, 155

(See also Agriculture; National Planning; Relief)

EDUCATION

(Including Conference on Rural Education, Construction of Schools, Education for Peace, Federal Aid to Education, G.I. Bill of Rights, National Education Association, Rural Schools, School Taxes, Trained Personnel, Vocational Education)

- 1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 5, 14, 20, 22, 64
1933 VOLUME: Items 138, 145
1934 VOLUME: Items 36, 53, 169, 186
1935 VOLUME: Items 109, 148, 180
1936 VOLUME: Items 20, 23, 62, 136, 170
1937 VOLUME: Items 21, 33, 43, 44, 118, 129
1938 VOLUME: Items 27, 86, 101, 108 (p. 505), 122, 158

Cumulative Topical Table

- 1939 VOLUME: Items 18, 76, 135
1940 VOLUME: Items 78, 99, 106
1941 VOLUME: Items 72 (p. 305), 95, 106, 108
1942 VOLUME: Items 44, 132
1943 VOLUME: Items 83 (p. 334), 118, 126
1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 3 (pp. 17-18), 45, 85, 125 (p. 468)

(See also Veterans)

ELECTRICITY AND REGULATION OF PUBLIC UTILITIES

(Including Dams, Development of Water Power, Electric Home and Farm Authority, Federal Power Commission, Hydro-electric Power, Municipal Power Plants, National Defense Power Committee, National Power Policy Committee, Passamaquoddy, Power Pooling, Rural Electrification, St. Lawrence River Development, Tennessee Valley Authority, Utility Holding Companies)

- 1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 1, 6, 13, 14 (p. 82), 15 (p. 91), 17 (p. 106), 18 (p. 122), Chapter IV, Chapter VII, 90, 91, 138, 146 (p. 827), 154
1933 VOLUME: Items 36, 106, 116, 184
1934 VOLUME: Items 7, 43, 126, 137, 138, 144, 175, 184, 186
1935 VOLUME: Items 27, 48 (p. 138), 58, 82, 88, 106, 110, 139
1936 VOLUME: Items 34, 123, 132, 245
1937 VOLUME: Items 5, 6 (pp. 19-20), 17 (pp. 77-78), 23, 30 (p. 119), 59, 63, 118, 119, 121, 124, 125, 155, 156 (pp. 508-518)
1938 VOLUME: Items 5 (pp. 43-44), 7, 100 (pp. 463-464), 106, 114, 127 (pp. 549-550), 155
1939 VOLUME: Items 9, 43, 142, 164 (pp. 593-594)
1940 VOLUME: Items 55, 84, 88, 114, 143
1941 VOLUME: Items 5, 49, 140 (p. 584)
1942 VOLUME: Items 102, 105, 109
1944-1945 VOLUME: Item 74

(See also Business; National Planning)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A. Aid to Democracies

(Including Exchange of Destroyers for Bases, Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation, Lend-lease, President's Committee on War Relief Agencies, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, War Relief Control Board)

Cumulative Topical Table

- 1939 VOLUME: Items 93, 130, 163
1940 VOLUME: Items 1, 8, 22, 58, 59, 71, 90, 91, 130 (pp. 561-563),
140, 142, 145, 147 (p. 631), 149, 152
1941 VOLUME: Items 1, 3, 5 (p. 18), 6, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21,
22, 28, 32, 33, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47, 52, 54,
64, 66, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 82, 85, 88, 91,
93, 96, 99, 100, 101, 104, 105, 108, 110, 111,
123
1942 VOLUME: Items 13, 31, 74, 77, 80, 81, 93
1943 VOLUME: Items 30, 60, 87, 98, 109, 115, 119, 123, 124, 125
1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 3, 11, 25, 31, 84, 112, 119

(See also Foreign Affairs—European Relations; Foreign Affairs—Neutrality; International Conferences; National Defense; United Nations)

B. European Relations (Except U.S.S.R., for which see: H. Relations with U.S.S.R.)

(Including Belgium, Combined Boards, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Spain, War Debts)

- 1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 151, 152
1933 VOLUME: Items 43, 43-A, 43-B, 43-C, 43-D, 46, 46-A, 49, 52, 56,
57, 58, 70, 76, 77, 87, 88, 103, 137, 144, 153,
162, 168
1934 VOLUME: Items 4, 13, 98, 134, 167
1935 VOLUME: Items 101, 119, 141, 143, 144, 156, 176
1936 VOLUME: Items 26, 75, 97, 135, 231, 235
1937 VOLUME: Items 51, 78, 92, 133
1938 VOLUME: Items 39, 51, 52 (pp. 252-253), 54 (pp. 284-287), 77,
82, 83 (p. 408), 109, 118, 120, 121, 147 (pp. 596-
598), 160
1939 VOLUME: Items 44, 57, 59, 85, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 129, 136,
139, 141 (pp. 541-544), 161, 162, 164 (pp. 590-
593), 165
1940 VOLUME: Items 1, 15 (pp. 77-79), 19, 23, 32, 44, 107, 150 (pp.
645-646)
1941 VOLUME: Items 3, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 32, 41, 45, 54, 62, 71, 74,
75, 76, 78, 80, 87, 88, 93, 101, 111, 114, 115
1942 VOLUME: Items 15, 74, 75, 76, 80, 81, 110, 117
1943 VOLUME: Items 6 (pp. 42-48), 17, 32, 73, 76, 100, 112

Cumulative Topical Table

1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 10, 23, 34, 38, 50, 52, 62, 69, 71, 77, 78, 84, 87, 120, 128, 134, 138 (p. 583)

(See also Foreign Affairs—Aid to Democracies; Foreign Affairs—Neutrality; Military and Naval Operations—Germany and Italy; Shipping)

C. Far Eastern Relations

(Including Aid to China, Asia, Brussels Conference, Chiang Kai-shek, Chinese Exclusion Laws, Extraterritorial Rights in China, Indo-China, Japanese Relations, S.S. *Panay*, Wallace Mission to China)

1933 VOLUME: Items 56, 57, 61, 65

1936 VOLUME: Items 1, 235

1937 VOLUME: Items 107 (p. 353), 108, 135 (p. 437), 141, 156 (p. 521), 162

1938 VOLUME: Items 8, 54 (p. 287)

1940 VOLUME: Item 140

1941 VOLUME: Items 14 (p. 50), 15, 16, 17 (p. 68), 37, 52, 67, 68, 71, 82, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 127, 132, 136

1942 VOLUME: Items 15, 17, 76 (p. 304)

1943 VOLUME: Items 9, 21, 31 (pp. 128-129), 50, 91 (pp. 352-354), 111, 128, 132 (pp. 541-542), 136, 137, 138

1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 9, 32, 82, 134, 136

(See also Military and Naval Operations—Japan and the Pacific Area)

D. Foreign Trade

(Including Export-Import Bank, Foreign Trade Week, International Trade Organization, National Foreign Trade Council, Reciprocal Trade Agreements, Tariffs)

1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 27, 132, 137, 140, 142 (p. 785), 151, 152

1934 VOLUME: Items 33, 48, 111

1935 VOLUME: Items 36, 157, 165, 168, 170

1936 VOLUME: Items 33, 33-A, 151 (p. 421), 243

1937 VOLUME: Items 78, 145

1938 VOLUME: Items 65, 136

1939 VOLUME: Items 47, 48, 53 (pp. 189-191), 80

1940 VOLUME: Items 1, 8, 16 (p. 87), 31, 71

1941 VOLUME: Item 74

Cumulative Topical Table

1943 VOLUME: Item 52 (pp. 212-214)

1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 3 (p. 19), 78, 143

(See also Business)

E. General

(Including Alien Control, Canadian Relations, Foreign Service, Nationality Laws, War Referendum)

1928-1932 VOLUME: Chapter IV, Items 29, 37, 90, 137

1933 VOLUME: Items 34, 45, 50, 71-A, 85, 187, 187-A

1934 VOLUME: Items 33, 72, 197-A

1935 VOLUME: Items 49, 157, 158

1936 VOLUME: Items 30, 51, 93, 135, 184

1937 VOLUME: Items 39, 77, 79, 128, 135 (pp. 437-438), 166

1938 VOLUME: Items 1 (pp. 1-2), 4, 72, 105, 106, 133, 152 (p. 620)

1939 VOLUME: Items 1 (pp. 1-4), 25 (pp. 110-111), 33, 40, 51, 54, 116, 124, 132, 144, 145, 153, 163, 169, 170

1940 VOLUME: Items 1, 16 (pp. 92-94), 21, 45, 51, 64, 67, 70, 126, 128, 133

1941 VOLUME: Items 17 (p. 67), 21, 49, 140

1942 VOLUME: Items 2, 18, 21, 62 (pp. 260-262), 112

1943 VOLUME: Items 92, 93, 94, 106, 119, 124

1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 25, 58, 70, 128, 136 (p. 558), 138 (p. 584)

F. Neutrality

(Including Arms Embargo, Cash and Carry, Combat Zones, Neutrality Act Amendments, Repeal of the Neutrality Act)

1935 VOLUME: Items 117, 130, 143, 144, 145, 163

1936 VOLUME: Items 75, 231, 235

1937 VOLUME: Items 51, 130 (pp. 423-424)

1938 VOLUME: Items 52 (pp. 252-253), 54 (pp. 284-287)

1939 VOLUME: Items 1 (pp. 1-4), 40, 92, 93, 94, 96, 106 (pp. 428-429), 115, 118, 119, 120, 122 (pp. 485-486), 130, 131 (p. 527), 148, 149, 150, 152

1940 VOLUME: Items 1, 27, 36, 43, 56, 137

1941 VOLUME: Items 27, 33, 45, 94, 115

(See also Foreign Affairs—Aid to Democracies;
Foreign Affairs—European Relations; National Defense; Shipping)

G. Pan American Affairs

(Including Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, Argentina, Bolivar, Bolivia, Brazil, Buenos Aires Conference, Chaco Controversy, Cuba, Ecuador, Good Neighbor Policy, Habana Agreement, Haiti, Haiti-Dominican Dispute,

Cumulative Topical Table

Lima Conference, Mexico, Pan American Highway, Pan American Union, Panama Conference, Paraguay, Platt Amendment, Venezuela)

1933 VOLUME: Items 1 (p. 14), 37, 56, 57, 58, 60, 64, 68, 86, 110, 114, 141, 156, 169, 172, 180

1934 VOLUME: Items 1 (p. 11), 20, 38, 38-A, 59, 88, 95, 96, 100, 115, 127, 128, 132, 133, 195

1935 VOLUME: Items 40, 40-A, 95, 105, 136, 161, 163

1936 VOLUME: Items 17, 30, 35, 86

1937 VOLUME: Items 39, 42, 54 (p. 204), 61, 132, 151, 165

1938 VOLUME: Items 48, 66, 85 (p. 412), 163

1939 VOLUME: Items 7, 34, 35, 46, 56, 82, 122 (pp. 487-488), 141 (p. 544), 151

1940 VOLUME: Items 1, 33, 42, 63, 71, 95, 108

1941 VOLUME: Items 10, 27, 33, 45, 64, 65, 66, 71, 72, 88, 131

1942 VOLUME: Items 28, 42, 55, 58, 67, 86, 109, 128, 134

1943 VOLUME: Items 8, 10, 17 (p. 87), 27 (pp. 119-121), 40, 42 (pp. 180-181), 47, 59, 112, 114

1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 5, 66, 79, 90

H. Relations with U.S.S.R. (Russia)

(Including Defense of Stalingrad, Finland, Lend-lease, Litvinov, Molotov, Moscow Conference, Recognition, Stalin, Teheran Conference, Yalta [Crimea] Conference)

1933 VOLUME: Items 56, 58, 144, 158, 164

1934 VOLUME: Items 4, 18 (p. 79)

1937 VOLUME: Item 141 (p. 463)

1938 VOLUME: Item 83

1939 VOLUME: Items 139, 141, 161, 162, 164

1940 VOLUME: Item 16

1941 VOLUME: Items 74, 75, 76, 77, 80, 82, 91, 93, 96, 105, 111, 141

1942 VOLUME: Items 22, 64, 72, 92, 113

1943 VOLUME: Items 4, 11, 16 (pp. 80-81), 20 (pp. 95-96), 21 (pp. 106-107), 24, 47, 50, 53, 65, 83 (pp. 331), 92, 103, 107, 119, 129, 135, 137, 138

1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 20 (p. 99), 33 (p. 137), 38 (p. 161), 42, 60, 89, 96, 134, 136, 138, 145

(See also Foreign Affairs — European Relations; Military and Naval Operations — Germany and Italy)

Cumulative Topical Table

GENERAL OBJECTIVES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE NEW DEAL

(Including Dr. New Deal and Dr. Win-the-War, Economic Bill of Rights)

1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 1, 12, 13, 87, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133 (p. 680), 139, 141, 147, 150

1933 VOLUME: Items 1, 50, 101, 119, 131, 146, 164, 178, 192

1934 VOLUME: Items 1, 97, 102, 114, 163, 181

1935 VOLUME: Items 1, 48, 70, 115, 140, 141, 173

1936 VOLUME: Items 1, 3, 44, 48, 53, 64, 65, 66, 68, 71, 79, 97, 122, 130, 137, 141, 144, 147, 152, 153, 156, 159, 165, 166, 170, 172, 173, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 183, 186, 189, 190, 191, 195, 196, 198, 201, 202, 204, 206, 207, 208, 235

1937 VOLUME: Items 1, 31, 98, 110, 111, 119, 120, 125

1938 VOLUME: Items 5, 30 (pp. 131-135), 37, 49, 50, 87, 89, 90, 92, 94, 102, 143, 152

1939 VOLUME: Items 1, 156

1940 VOLUME: Items 1, 3, 70, 99, 118, 119, 120, 125, 128, 129, 152

1941 VOLUME: Items 11, 74, 76, 78, 110, 118, 133

1942 VOLUME: Item 8

1943 VOLUME: Items 28 (pp. 123-124), 140

1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 4, 100, 120, 126

(See also Democratic Party and Political Campaigns)

GOVERNMENTAL FINANCES

(Including Appropriations, Budget, Budget Seminar, Byrd Committee, Corporate Surplus Profits Tax, Economies in Government, Excess Profits Tax, Financing War Contracts, Governmental Expenditures, National Debt, National Income, Salary Limitation, Spending, Taxation, Tax Evasion, Tax-exempt Securities, War Bonds, War Loan Drives)

1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 20, 62, 63, 64, 113 (pp. 549-550), 140, 144

1933 VOLUME: Items 4 (pp. 19-20), 12, 59

1934 VOLUME: Items 3, 43, 49, 50, 55, 83, 98

1935 VOLUME: Items 3, 62, 83, 99, 102, 137

1936 VOLUME: Items 2, 29, 114, 122, 144, 155, 191, 236

1937 VOLUME: Items 35 (pp. 140-143), 41, 45, 54 (p. 204), 55, 64, 65, 71 (pp. 264-269), 83, 93 (p. 320), 99, 138, 144, 152 (pp. 492-494), 164

Cumulative Topical Table

- 1938 VOLUME: Items 1 (pp. 7-10), 2, 30 (pp. 129-131), 42 (pp. 198-202), 47, 54 (pp. 265-277), 55, 67, 127 (p. 546), 154 (pp. 625-626)
- 1939 VOLUME: Items 1 (pp. 7-12), 2, 3, 15, 45, 81, 89, 91, 99 (pp. 406-407), 104
- 1940 VOLUME: Items 2, 13 (pp. 73-75), 15 (pp. 82-84), 16 (pp. 86-88), 46 (p. 196), 50, 53 (p. 249), 65, 85 (p. 352), 138 (pp. 582-584), 151
- 1941 VOLUME: Items 14, 17, 34, 36, 73, 113, 131
- 1942 VOLUME: Items 3, 4, 20 (pp. 95-96), 40, 43, 47, 48, 91
- 1943 VOLUME: Items 3, 13, 19, 31, 36, 47, 51, 67, 81, 82, 99
- 1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 3, 13, 14, 15, 42, 115, 125

(See also Business; Monetary System; National Defense; War Production and Defense Production)

HEALTH

(Including Birthday Balls, Coordination of Federal Health Activities, County Boards of Health, Crippled Children, Health of the President, Hospitals, Infantile Paralysis, Interdepartmental Committee for Coordination of Health and Welfare Activities, Maternal and Child Care, National Cancer Institute, National Health Conference, National Health Institute, Naval Medical Center, New York State Health Commission, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, Public Health Service, Recreation)

- 1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 14, 17, 22, 77, 78, 79, 80, 114
- 1934 VOLUME: Items 14, 78, 143, 168
- 1935 VOLUME: Items 11, 32, 108, 131, 175
- 1936 VOLUME: Items 18, 150
- 1937 VOLUME: Items 7, 115
- 1938 VOLUME: Items 6, 16, 99, 116, 151
- 1939 VOLUME: Items 13, 17, 22, 159, 168 (pp. 598-603)
- 1940 VOLUME: Items 11, 12, 124, 134, 158
- 1941 VOLUME: Items 2, 8, 72 (pp. 302-303), 86, 95, 121
- 1942 VOLUME: Items 10, 14, 70, 88, 132
- 1943 VOLUME: Items 18, 38
- 1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 4 (p. 43), 8, 28 (pp. 121-122), 48, 132

(See also Human Relations; Social Security)

HOURS AND WAGES

(Including Fair Labor Standards Act, Forty-Hour Week, Forty-eight-Hour Week, Guaranteed Wage Plans, Minimum Wages)

Cumulative Topical Table

- 1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 4, 14 (p. 83), 15 (p. 90), 17 (p. 105), 18 (p. 123), Chapter vi, 148 (p. 852)
- 1933 VOLUME: Item 38
- 1934 VOLUME: Items 91, 164
- 1935 VOLUME: Items 19, 80
- 1936 VOLUME: Items 180, 183, 231
- 1937 VOLUME: Items 30, 37, 57, 93, 127, 135, 142, 152 (pp. 496-497), 156 (pp. 519-520)
- 1938 VOLUME: Items 1 (pp. 5-7), 19 (pp. 79-80), 30 (p. 134), 37 (p. 167), 42 (pp. 196-198), 60, 78, 83 (pp. 404-405), 130 (pp. 557-558)
- 1942 VOLUME: Item 114 (pp. 449-451)
- 1943 VOLUME: Item 15
- 1944-1945 VOLUME: Item 141

(See also Business; Courts and Constitution;
Labor and Manpower)

HOUSING AND HOME-OWNERS

(Including Defense Homes Corporation, Defense Housing, Division of Defense Housing Coordination, Federal Home Loan Bank Administration, Federal Housing Administration, Federal Loan Agency, Federal National Mortgage Association, Federal Public Housing Authority, Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, Federal Works Agency, Home Mortgage Foreclosures, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Lanham Act, National Housing Agency, National Mortgage Association, United States Housing Authority, War Housing)

- 1928-1932 VOLUME: Chapter x
- 1933 VOLUME: Items 39, 74, 117 (p. 332), 171
- 1934 VOLUME: Items 32, 50, 82, 188, 196, 196-A
- 1935 VOLUME: Item 24
- 1936 VOLUME: Items 56, 177, 199, 244
- 1937 VOLUME: Items 35 (p. 142), 143, 156 (p. 519), 157
- 1938 VOLUME: Items 21, 28, 49 (p. 228), 50 (p. 241), 59 (p. 323), 139 (pp. 574-576), 157
- 1939 VOLUME: Items 99 (pp. 405-406), 166
- 1940 VOLUME: Items 72 (p. 309), 85 (pp. 353-355), 123, 131, 156
- 1941 VOLUME: Items 5, 8, 51, 59, 70
- 1942 VOLUME: Items 20, 24, 25, 56
- 1943 VOLUME: Item 49
- 1944-1945 VOLUME: Item 59 (pp. 228-230)

(See also National Defense; War Production
and Defense Production)

Cumulative Topical Table

HUMAN RELATIONS

(Including Brotherhood Day, Charity, Community Mobilization for Human Needs, National Conference of Jews and Christians, National Conference of Social Work, National War Fund, Negro Problems, Racial and Religious Tolerance, Refugees, War Refugee Board, War Relocation Authority)

1933 VOLUME: Items 123, 127, 132

1934 VOLUME: Items 60, 148, 162, 174

1935 VOLUME: Items 150, 174, 187

1936 VOLUME: Items 21, 24, 57, 123, 126, 127, 196

1937 VOLUME: Items 34, 100, 110, 137

1938 VOLUME: Items 9, 17, 33, 38, 54 (pp. 263-264), 75, 81, 124, 126, 128, 147 (pp. 597-598), 148 (pp. 602-604), 150, 158

1939 VOLUME: Items 4, 39, 49, 65, 84, 87, 137, 141 (pp. 542-543), 143, 159, 170

1940 VOLUME: Items 4, 9, 14, 21, 25, 30, 109, 111, 144

1941 VOLUME: Items 53, 58, 92

1942 VOLUME: Items 13, 20, 61, 77, 99, 120

1943 VOLUME: Items 55, 64, 108, 114

1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 2, 6, 10, 25, 39, 41, 86, 91, 93, 142

(See also Education; Health; Social Security)

INFORMATION AND CENSORSHIP

(Including American Newspaper Guild, American Society of Newspaper Editors, Coordinator of Information, Division of Information (O.E.M.), Freedom of the Press, Office of Facts and Figures, Office of Government Reports, Office of War Information, Press Conferences, Public Disagreements Among Federal Officials, Radio)

1933 VOLUME: Items 9, 137 (p. 391)

1934 VOLUME: Items 93 (p. 266), 101, 151

1935 VOLUME: Items 43, 56, 121, 188

1938 VOLUME: Items 23, 42 (p. 196), 54 (pp. 278-284), 110, 141

1939 VOLUME: Items 25, 92 (pp. 380-381), 118 (p. 461)

1940 VOLUME: Item 67 (p. 284)

1941 VOLUME: Items 7, 10, 17, 23 (p. 91), 29, 64, 72 (pp. 304-306), 76 (pp. 323-324), 84, 87, 99, 100, 126, 127, 131, 138

1942 VOLUME: Items 4 (pp. 21-24), 9, 25 (p. 132), 43, 55, 57, 67, 68, 81, 84, 85, 96, 127

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Cumulative Topical Table

1943 VOLUME: Items 10 (p. 55), 16, 17, 27, 82 (p. 323), 92

1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 10, 58 (p. 219), 118

(See also Transportation and Communications)

INSULAR POSSESSIONS

(Including Philippine Islands, Philippine Rehabilitation Commission, Philippine War Damage Commission, Puerto Rico, Sugar Legislation, Virgin Islands)

1928-1932 VOLUME: Item 125

1934 VOLUME: Items 28, 34, 94, 129, 130, 131, 135

1935 VOLUME: Items 34, 34-A, 39, 63, 126, 164

1936 VOLUME: Item 87

1937 VOLUME: Items 43, 95, 104

1939 VOLUME: Item 62

1941 VOLUME: Items 69, 119, 132, 146

1942 VOLUME: Items 5 (p. 34), 125

1943 VOLUME: Items 26, 88, 105, 110, 116

1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 25, 46, 64, 94, 96, 133, 145

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(Including Arcadia Conference, Atlantic Charter, Bretton Woods Conference, Brussels Conference, Buenos Aires Conference, Cairo Conferences, Casablanca Conference, Conference on Peru-Ecuador, International Labor Conference, International Student Assembly, Lima Conference, London Economic Conference, Moscow Conference, Pan American Scientific Congress, Quebec Conferences, Teheran Conference, War Debts Conferences, Washington Conferences with Prime Minister Churchill, World Economic Conference, World Power Conference, Yalta [Crimea] Conference)

1933 VOLUME: Items 34, 43, 43-A, 43-B, 43-C, 43-D, 45, 45-A, 46, 46-A, 49, 53, 60, 61, 64, 65, 68, 87, 103, 110, 141, 158, 187, 187-A

1934 VOLUME: Item 127

1935 VOLUME: Items 88, 168

1936 VOLUME: Items 17, 35, 123, 135, 140, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227

1937 VOLUME: Items 61, 78, 141

1939 VOLUME: Item 7

1940 VOLUME: Item 42

Cumulative Topical Table

- 1941 VOLUME: Items 74, 75, 76, 78, 80, 84, 110, 138 (p. 578), 139, 140, 141, 144
1942 VOLUME: Items 1, 33, 72, 82, 89 (p. 353)
1943 VOLUME: Items 6, 7, 8, 10, 16, 21, 31, 32, 53, 57, 90, 91, 92, 93, 119, 122, 123, 128, 129, 132, 135, 137, 138
1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 20 (p. 99), 30, 33, 34, 60, 70, 89, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140

(See also Foreign Affairs; Military and Naval Operations; United Nations)

LABOR AND MANPOWER

(Including Aliens on Jobs, Child Labor, Collective Bargaining, Defense Workers, Forty-hour Week, Forty-eight-hour Week, Full Employment, Guaranteed Wage Plans, International Labor Organization, Labor Day, Labor Disputes, Montgomery Ward & Co., National Defense Mediation Board, National Labor Relations Board, National Service Legislation, National War Labor Board, Occupational Deferments, Overtime, Railway Labor Mediation, Retraining and Reemployment Administration, Smith-Connally Act, Strikes, Time Off for Election Day, Wage Stabilization, War Labor Disputes Act, War Manpower Commission, War Workers, Women Workers)

- 1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 4, 10, 14 (p. 83), 15 (p. 90), 17 (p. 104), 18 (p. 123), Chapter VI, 88 (p. 410)
1933 VOLUME: Items 72, 72-A, 108, 109, 133, 150, 154, 182
1934 VOLUME: Items 26, 45, 46, 51, 61, 66, 92, 106, 109, 113, 118, 118-A, 120, 155, 157, 157-A, 163 (p. 418)
1935 VOLUME: Items 7, 13, 14, 68 (p. 231), 69, 77, 90, 96
1936 VOLUME: Items 31, 40, 74, 94, 119, 200, 232
1937 VOLUME: Items 2 (p. 7), 6 (pp. 20-22), 10, 22, 30 (p. 118), 40, 71 (pp. 263-264), 72, 75, 97, 105, 123, 142
1938 VOLUME: Items 3 (pp. 34-36), 11 (p. 58), 26 (pp. 107-109), 29, 54 (pp. 288-293), 70, 71, 119, 131, 145, 146
1939 VOLUME: Items 36, 41, 68, 75, 101, 117, 133
1940 VOLUME: Items 15 (p. 80), 49 (pp. 216-217), 61, 86, 88 (p. 360), 92, 94, 96, 119, 126, 135, 138 (p. 580), 145 (pp. 614-615), 149 (pp. 641-642)
1941 VOLUME: Items 3 (p. 13), 8, 11, 17 (p. 67), 20, 28 (p. 115), 30, 40, 45 (p. 184), 50, 53, 58, 70, 85, 89, 97, 103, 110, 115, 116, 126, 130, 135, 142
1942 VOLUME: Items 2, 6, 36, 44, 47, 48, 55, 85, 87, 90, 104, 114
1943 VOLUME: Items 3 (pp. 8-9), 4, 15, 44, 45, 46, 47, 54, 62, 66, 68, 69, 96, 120, 139

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1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 4, 16, 17, 28, 29, 30, 33, 67, 76, 103, 123,
126, 127, 141, 146

(See also Armed Forces; Business; Courts
and Constitution; Hours and Wages; Na-
tional Defense; War Production and De-
fense Production)

MILITARY AND NAVAL OPERATIONS

(After Pearl Harbor)

A. Germany and Italy

(Including European Theater of Operations, Mediterranean Theater of Op-
erations, North Africa)

1941 VOLUME: Item 129

1942 VOLUME: Items 5, 23, 59, 75, 92, 114, 117, 118, 119, 121, 123,
124, 126-A

1943 VOLUME: Items 4, 17, 48, 53, 58, 60 (pp. 247-248), 61, 73, 74,
78, 80, 82, 83, 86, 92, 99 (pp. 377-378), 103

1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 21, 34, 36, 37, 42, 62, 69, 70, 71, 87, 126,
134, 136, 138

(See also Foreign Affairs — European Rela-
tions)

B. Japan and the Pacific Area

(Including Corregidor, Guadalcanal, Pacific Operations, Pearl Harbor, Phil-
ippines, Tokyo Raid)

1941 VOLUME: Items 125, 126, 127, 131, 132, 136, 141, 146

1942 VOLUME: Items 5, 15, 17, 19, 22, 23, 35, 36, 43, 46, 50, 60, 92,
114

1943 VOLUME: Items 4, 21, 41, 53, 83, 92, 103, 129, 132, 137, 138

1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 9, 42, 43, 55, 58, 70, 82, 94, 126, 133, 134,
136, 138

(See also Foreign Affairs — Far Eastern Re-
lations)

MONETARY SYSTEM

(Including Coinage, Currency, Devaluation of the Dollar, Foreign Exchange,
Freezing of Credits of Foreign Countries, Gold, International Monetary
Fund, Silver, Stabilization)

Cumulative Topical Table

- 1933 VOLUME: Items 8, 9, 11, 13, 32, 33, 35, 41, 42, 77, 87, 88, 120,
146 (p. 425), 187, 187-A
1934 VOLUME: Items 8, 9, 15, 16, 73, 89, 145, 146
1935 VOLUME: Item 87
1936 VOLUME: Items 135, 159, 228
1937 VOLUME: Items 56, 140
1938 VOLUME: Items 57, 84, 127 (p. 550), 148 (pp. 601-602)
1939 VOLUME: Items 2, 14
1940 VOLUME: Item 27-A
1941 VOLUME: Items 54, 68
1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 33, 135

(See also Governmental Finances)

NATIONAL DEFENSE

(Prior to December 7, 1941)

(Including Air Force, Army, Construction for Defense, Council of National Defense, Defense Production, Economic Defense, Exchange of Destroyers for Bases, Industrial Mobilization, Marines, Military Equipment, Munitions, National Guard, Navy, Office of Civilian Defense, Office for Emergency Management, Office of Production Management, Priorities, Selective Service Act, Supply Priorities and Allocations Board, Strategic War Materials, War Resources Board)

- 1933 VOLUME: Item 80
1934 VOLUME: Item 54
1935 VOLUME: Items 3 (p. 35), 38, 75 (p. 252), 134 (p. 379)
1936 VOLUME: Items 2 (p. 35), 51, 114 (pp. 319-320), 236 (p. 649,
651, 654, 655), 239
1937 VOLUME: Items 94, 106, 131, 169
1938 VOLUME: Items 1 (pp. 1-2), 7, (p. 54), 13 (p. 62), 14, 15, 52 (pp.
255-258), 53, 73, 83 (p. 407), 98 (p. 458), 108
(p. 504), 111, 125, 127 (pp. 546-549), 133, 147
(pp. 598-601), 154 (pp. 625-627), 162
1939 VOLUME: Items 1 (pp. 1-4), 2, 3, 8, 21, 37, 52, 72, 86, 122 (pp.
484-486), 160
1940 VOLUME: Items 1, 17, 22 (pp. 104-108), 42, 46, 48, 49 (pp. 213-
218), 52, 53, 54, 66, 68, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 80,
81, 85, 87, 88 (pp. 368-369), 89, 90, 91, 92, 93,
94, 97, 98, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 108, 110,
112, 113, 114, 119, 121, 122, 123, 127, 130 (pp.
561-564), 135, 138, 145, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152,
153, 154, 156, 157, 159

Cumulative Topical Table

1941 VOLUME: With the exception of approximately half a dozen Items, nearly every Item in the 1941 Volume deals in one way or another with the general subject of National Defense.

(See also Foreign Affairs — Aid to Democracies; War Production and Defense Production)

NATIONAL PLANNING

(Including Conservation, Flood Control, Forests, Grazing Land, Great Plains, Irrigation, Land Use, Missouri River Development, National and State Parks, National Monuments, National Resources Board, National Resources Committee, National Resources Planning Board, Natural Resources, Population Distribution, Public Works, Reclamation, Reforestation, Regional Planning, Resettlement, Scientific Research and Development, State Planning, Subsistence Homesteads, Technological Trends, Tennessee Valley Authority, Urban Life, Water Use and Control, Water Pollution)

1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 3 (p. 28), 9, 18 (pp. 116, 119), 21, 22, Chapters xviii, xix, xx, 135 (p. 699)

1933 VOLUME: Items 36, 100, 106

1934 VOLUME: Items 64, 99, 112, 124, 124-A, 139, 141, 184, 186, 187

1935 VOLUME: Items 2, 8, 10, 30, 50, 51, 60, 73, 84, 120, 124, 139, 169

1936 VOLUME: Items 11, 16, 56, 81, 83, 84, 90, 104, 120, 131, 131-A, 159

1937 VOLUME: Items 6 (pp. 23-26), 9, 16, 30 (p. 119), 50, 52, 62, 67, 85, 96, 112, 113, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 130 (pp. 416-418), 135 (pp. 433-434), 152 (pp. 499-500)

1938 VOLUME: Items 32, 34, 88, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 101, 123, 129, 130 (pp. 553-555)

1939 VOLUME: Items 1, 18, 30, 31, 32, 89, 95, 98

1940 VOLUME: Items 5, 6, 88, 89

1941 VOLUME: Items 3, 5, 8, 18, 49, 110

1942 VOLUME: Item 8

1943 VOLUME: Items 20, 28, 83 (p. 336)

1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 73, 101, 114, 116, 124

(See also Agriculture; Drought, Floods and Other Natural Disasters; Electricity and the Regulation of Public Utilities; Relief)

NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION

(Including National Industrial Recovery Act)

Cumulative Topical Table

- 1933 VOLUME: Items 59, 78, 79, 80, 81, 84, 93, 97, 98, 105, 112, 118,
147, 148, 166, 177, 186, 194
1934 VOLUME: Items 11, 37, 39, 42, 93, 104, 156, 159, 163
1935 VOLUME: Items 13, 14, 17, 35, 48 (p. 138), 52, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68,
70, 72, 78, 78-A, 78-B, 114, 138, 184
1936 VOLUME: Items 46, 46-A

(See also Business; Hours and Wages; Labor and
Manpower)

OIL, COAL AND MINERALS

(Including Gasoline Shortage, Helium, Interstate Oil Compact, National Bituminous Coal Commission, Petroleum Administration for War, Petroleum Coordinator for National Defense, Seizure of Coal Mines, Solid Fuels Administration for War, Solid Fuels Coordinator for Defense, Strikes in Coal Mines)

- 1933 VOLUME: Items 30, 62, 95, 95-A
1934 VOLUME: Item 90
1935 VOLUME: Items 21, 68, 91, 96, 103
1937 VOLUME: Items 58 (pp. 218-222), 60, 73, 90
1938 VOLUME: Items 18, 26 (pp. 109-110), 61, 62 (pp. 339-340)
1939 VOLUME: Items 32, 88, 97
1940 VOLUME: Item 49 (p. 217)
1941 VOLUME: Items 30, 43, 47, 67, 82 (p. 348), 103, 109, 115, 116,
137
1942 VOLUME: Items 63, 131
1943 VOLUME: Items 39, 44, 45, 46, 47, 66, 68 (pp. 265-266), 120

RELIEF

(Including American Red Cross, Civil Works Administration, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Federal Surplus Relief Corporation, National Youth Administration, Public Works Administration, Public Works Program, Unemployment Census, Unemployment Relief, Work Projects Administration, Work Relief, Works Progress Administration)

- 1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 17 (p. 103), 18 (p. 115), 88, Chapter xvii,
131 (p. 653), 143, 148
1933 VOLUME: Items 21, 41, 55, 59, 75, 80, 89, 106, 116, 117, 123,
125, 126, 130, 151, 155, 155-A, 161
1934 VOLUME: Items 31, 141
1935 VOLUME: Items 1 (p. 21), 31, 37, 45, 48 (p. 135), 51, 54, 72, 79,
85, 86, 86-A, 89, 92, 100, 109, 116, 150

Cumulative Topical Table

- 1936 VOLUME: Items 36, 78, 83, 88, 136, 146, 155, 178, 179, 184, 185,
219, 240
1937 VOLUME: Items 45, 71 (pp. 264-267), 113, 114, 118, 137, 149,
150
1938 VOLUME: Items 8, 22, 26 (p. 111), 62 (pp. 335-337), 69, 83 (pp.
405-407), 153, 160
1939 VOLUME: Items 2, 5, 10, 20, 23, 27, 42, 71, 89, 90, 106 (pp. 431-
432), 140, 154, 168 (p. 604)
1940 VOLUME: Items 7, 34, 38, 41, 49 (p. 219), 50, 53, 60, 72 (p. 307),
85 (p. 347)
1941 VOLUME: Item 40
1942 VOLUME: Item 132
1943 VOLUME: Items 28, 71, 97

(See also Civilian Conservation Corps; Drought,
Floods and Other Natural Disasters; National Plan-
ning)

REORGANIZATION OF EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT

(Including Administrative Assistants, Bureau of the Budget, Comptroller General, Consolidation of Agencies, Executive Office of the President, Food Reorganization, Foreign Economic Administration, Housing Reorganization, Information Reorganization, Manpower Reorganization, National Emergency Council, National Housing Agency, Office for Emergency Management, Office of Government Reports, Office of Production Management, Office of Strategic Services, Office of War Information, Office of War Mobilization, Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, Priorities and Production Reorganization, Reorganization of Army and War Department, Reorganization of Navy, Supply Priorities and Allocations Board, Walter-Logan Bill, War Food Administration, War Manpower Commission, War Production Board)

- 1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 62, 63, 64, 65, 75, 76
1933 VOLUME: Items 63, 71, 71-A
1935 VOLUME: Item 102
1936 VOLUME: Items 43, 43-A, 241, 241-A
1937 VOLUME: Items 49 (p. 179), 66, 74, 109, 130 (pp. 416-418), 135
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1938 VOLUME: Items 1 (p. 9), 10, 31, 36, 41, 42 (pp. 202-203), 44, 52
(pp. 250-251), 63, 79, 130 (pp. 556-557), 135
1939 VOLUME: Items 1 (p. 7), 24, 66, 77, 102 (p. 418), 125
1940 VOLUME: Items 2, 24, 29, 37, 51, 146, 153

Cumulative Topical Table

1941 VOLUME: Items 27, 82, 83

1942 VOLUME: Items 9, 24, 25, 26, 32, 44, 53, 67, 68, 79, 94, 97, 133

1943 VOLUME: Items 27, 56, 71, 77, 104

1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 72, 81

(See also Civil Service; National Defense;
War Production and Defense Production)

RUBBER

(Including Baruch Survey on Rubber, Conservation of Rubber, Production of Rubber from Alcohol, Reduction of Speed Limits to Conserve Rubber, Rubber Director, Rubber Reserve Company, Scrap Rubber Campaign, Synthetic Rubber)

1941 VOLUME: Items 5, 71

1942 VOLUME: Items 34, 63, 66, 75, 78, 79, 94, 129

1943 VOLUME: Item 54

SHIPPING

(Including Combined Shipping Adjustment Board, Construction of Ships, Freedom of the Seas, Maritime Day, Merchant Marine, Merchant Vessels, Sinkings of Ships, Submarines, United States Maritime Commission, War Shipping Administration)

1935 VOLUME: Item 22

1936 VOLUME: Items 128, 239

1937 VOLUME: Items 24, 70, 169

1938 VOLUME: Items 2 (p. 27), 14 (p. 66), 15 (p. 70), 26 (pp. 111-113),
160 (p. 648)

1939 VOLUME: Items 2 (p. 20), 9, 108, 110, 130 (p. 524), 152

1940 VOLUME: Items 62, 150 (pp. 645-647), 159

1941 VOLUME: Items 23, 24, 28, 33, 45, 47, 49, 56, 72, 88, 89, 90, 94,
104, 119, 137

1942 VOLUME: Items 4 (p. 24), 9, 11, 16, 54, 55, 74, 80, 93, 104, 127

1943 VOLUME: Items 53 (pp. 222-223), 83, 87, 89, 92 (p. 360)

1944-1945 VOLUME: Item 140

(See also Foreign Affairs — Neutrality; Na-
tional Defense; Transportation and Com-
munications)

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGES

(Including New York Stock Exchange, Securities and Exchange Commission,
Stock Speculation)

Cumulative Topical Table

- 1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 131 (p. 653), 133 (p. 682)
1933 VOLUME: Items 25, 26, 27, 66
1934 VOLUME: Items 22, 52
1937 VOLUME: Items 47, 49
1938 VOLUME: Item 49
1940 VOLUME: Item 82
1942 VOLUME: Item 52

(See also Business)

SOCIAL SECURITY

(Including Aid to Blind, Child Welfare, Crippled Children, Dependent Children's Aid, Economic Bill of Rights, Maternal and Child Health, Old Age Assistance, Old Age Pensions, Unemployment Allowances, Unemployment Insurance, Widows)

- 1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 5, 14 (p. 84), 17 (p. 102), 18 (p. 121),
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(p. 552), 143 (p. 791)
1934 VOLUME: Items 49, 117, 179
1935 VOLUME: Items 6, 6-A, 6-B, 48 (p. 134), 107
1936 VOLUME: Items 138, 191, 195, 200
1937 VOLUME: Items 58 (pp. 219-220), 71 (pp. 267-268), 74, 163
1938 VOLUME: Items 56, 103, 153
1939 VOLUME: Items 11, 109
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1941 VOLUME: Items 91, 110
1942 VOLUME: Items 3 (p. 12), 4 (p. 27).
1943 VOLUME: Items 28 (pp. 123-124), 83, 90 (pp. 351-352), 126 (p.
526)
1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 3 (p. 17-18), 4, 14 (pp. 80-84), 30, 45, 100
(p. 371), 125 (pp. 467-468), 126 (p. 503), 131

(See also Health; Human Relations; Veterans)

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

(Including Aviation, Federal Communications Commission, Florida Ship Canal, Highways and Roads, Interterritorial Freight Rates, Interstate Commerce Commission, Office of Defense Transportation, Postage, Press, Radio, Railroads, Railway Labor Disputes, Railway Mediation Procedure, Railroad Retirement Acts)

- 1928-1932 VOLUME: Items 18 (p. 114), 136, 146 (p. 828)
1933 VOLUME: Items 72, 72-A

Cumulative Topical Table

- 1934 VOLUME: Items 17, 26, 43, 45, 58, 61, 66, 120, 122
1935 VOLUME: Items 12, 69, 71, 104
1936 VOLUME: Items 31, 40, 232
1937 VOLUME: Items 14, 27, 68, 159, 164
1938 VOLUME: Items 23, 43, 45, 54 (pp. 278-284), 110, 127 (p. 546),
138, 139 (p. 573), 141, 147 (p. 596)
1939 VOLUME: Items 16, 19, 61, 69, 70, 96 (pp. 392-394), 138
1940 VOLUME: Items 103, 150 (pp. 645-647)
1941 VOLUME: Items 3, 8, 43, 47, 49, 84, 87, 91, 109, 137, 141
1942 VOLUME: Items 34, 55, 132 (p. 509)
1943 VOLUME: Item 139
1944-1945 VOLUME: Item 2

(See also Information and Censorship; Shipping)

UNITED NATIONS

(Including Atlantic Charter, Dumbarton Oaks Conference, Food and Agriculture Organization, Joint Declaration by United Nations, Maintenance of Peace, San Francisco Conference, Teheran Conference, Yalta [Crimea] Conference)

- 1941 VOLUME: Items 74, 76, 78
1942 VOLUME: Items 1, 5 (p. 34), 33, 69, 82, 102, 109
1943 VOLUME: Items 1, 2, 4, 7, 16, 31, 32, 52, 57, 83, 98, 119, 129,
135, 137, 138
1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 1 (p. 3), 4, 24, 25, 33, 34, 44, 53, 60, 65,
89, 96, 112, 117, 119, 120, 121, 125, 126, 134,
135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 144, 145

(See also Foreign Affairs—Aid to Democracies; International Conferences; Military Operations)

VETERANS

(Including American Legion, Bonus, Disabled Veterans, Education of War Veterans, G.I. Bill of Rights, Veterans Administration, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Veterans' Hospitals, Veterans' Preference in Civil Service, Veterans' War Risk Insurance)

- 1928-1932 VOLUME: Item 14 (p. 86)
1933 VOLUME: Items 3, 27, 28, 51, 69, 131
1934 VOLUME: Items 55, 158, 168, 182, 199, 199-A
1935 VOLUME: Items 62, 93, 116

Cumulative Topical Table

- 1936 VOLUME: Items 6, 12, 14, 15, 36, 61
1938 VOLUME: Item 161
1939 VOLUME: Items 2 (p. 15), 3 (p. 50)
1942 VOLUME: Items 101, 122
1943 VOLUME: Items 83 (p. 334), 86, 118, 126
1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 3 (pp. 17-18), 18, 45, 59, 75, 125 (pp. 464-465)

(See also Civil Service; Education; Health; Social Security)

WAR CRIMES

- 1941 VOLUME: Item 101
1942 VOLUME: Items 73, 81 (p. 326), 83, 85, 100, 104 (p. 418)
1943 VOLUME: Items 85, 122
1944-1945 VOLUME: Item 24

(See also Foreign Affairs — European Relations; Military and Naval Operations)

WAR PRODUCTION AND DEFENSE PRODUCTION

(After May 10, 1940)

(Including Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, Airplane Production, Appropriations for Defense and War, Combined Raw Materials Board, Combined Production and Resources Board, Committee for Congested Production Areas, Contracts, Contract Termination, Financing War Production, Integration of War Production with Canada, Munitions Assignments Board, Munitions and Equipment, Office of Production Management, Office of War Mobilization, Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, Reconversion, Requisitioning Plants, Supply Priorities and Allocations Board, Surplus Property Disposal, Trips to War Plants and Defense Plants, War Production Board)

- 1940 VOLUME: Items 46, 48, 49, 52, 53, 54, 58, 68, 102, 110, 147, 149, 153, 154
1941 VOLUME: Items 3, 6, 8, 15, 17, 20, 23, 30, 34, 35, 37, 39, 44, 45 (p. 181), 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 57, 58, 70, 77, 80, 83, 84, 85, 87, 91, 96, 100, 104, 105, 116, 126, 127, 139, 140, 142, 145
1942 VOLUME: Items 3, 4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 23, 36, 39, 40, 41, 62, 63, 71, 72, 85, 96, 112, 114, 128
1943 VOLUME: Items 4 (p. 26), 34, 43, 44, 46, 53, 54, 55, 56, 82, 103, 113

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1944-1945 VOLUME: Items 3, 4 (p. 36), 40, 63, 81, 92, 123, 126 (pp. 491-492), 128

(See also Armed Forces; Governmental Finances; National Defense; Reorganization of Executive Branch of Government)

(For the reader's guidance in using the foregoing Cumulative Topical Table, the subjects listed below are to be found in the general classifications which are set down opposite each subject.)

Accomplishments	See General Objectives and Accomplishments of the New Deal
Administration of Justice	" Courts and Constitution
Administrative Assistants	" Reorganization of Executive Branch of Government
Administrative Reforms	" Reorganization of Executive Branch of Government
Advertising War Council	" Business
Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense	" National Defense; War Production and Defense Production
Agricultural Adjustment Administration	" Agriculture
Agricultural Prices	" Agriculture; Consumers and Economic Stabilization
Aid to Banks by R.F.C.	" Banks and Banking
Aid to Blind	" Social Security
Aid to China	" Foreign Affairs — Far Eastern Relations
Air Force	" Armed Forces
Airplane Production	" National Defense; War Production and Defense Production
Alien Control	" Foreign Affairs — General
Aliens on Jobs	" Labor and Manpower
American Legion	" Veterans
American Newspaper Guild	" Information and Censorship
American Red Cross	" Drought, Floods and Other Natural Disasters; Relief
American Society of Newspaper Editors	" Information and Censorship
Anglo-American Caribbean Commission	" Foreign Affairs — Pan American Affairs
Anniversary of New Deal	" Agriculture
Farm Program	" Agriculture
Anti-trust Proceedings	" Business
Appropriations	" Governmental Finances

Cumulative Topical Table

Appropriations for Armed Forces	See Armed Forces
Arcadia Conference	" International Conferences
Argentina	" Foreign Affairs — Pan American Affairs
Argentine Beef	" Agriculture
Arms Embargo	" Foreign Affairs — Neutrality
Army	" Armed Forces
Asia	" Foreign Affairs — Far Eastern Relations
Atlantic Charter	" International Conferences; United Nations
Aviation	" Transportation and Communications
Banking Crisis of 1933	" Banks and Banking
Baruch Survey on Rubber	" Rubber
Belgium	" Foreign Affairs — European Relations
Birthday Balls	" Health
Bolivar, Simon	" Foreign Affairs — Pan American Affairs
Bolivia	" Foreign Affairs — Pan American Affairs
Bonneville Dam	" Electricity and Regulation of Public Utilities
Bonus	" Veterans
Brazil	" Foreign Affairs — Pan American Affairs
Bretton Woods Conference	" International Conferences
Brotherhood Day	" Human Relations
Brussels Conference	" Foreign Affairs — Far Eastern Relations
Budget	" Governmental Finances
Budget Seminar	" Governmental Finances
Buenos Aires Conference	" Foreign Affairs — Pan American Affairs; International Conferences
Bureau of the Budget	" Governmental Finances; Reorganization of Executive Branch of Government
Business Advisory Council	" Business
Business Conditions	" Business
Business Cooperation	" Business
Byrd Committee	" Governmental Finances
Cairo Conferences	" International Conferences
Campaign Speeches	" Democratic Party and Political Campaigns
Canadian Relations	" Foreign Affairs — General
Cartels	" Business
Casablanca Conference	" International Conferences
Cash and Carry	" Foreign Affairs — Neutrality

Cumulative Topical Table

Cattle	See Agriculture
Censorship	" Information and Censorship
Chaco Controversy	" Foreign Affairs — Pan American Affairs
Charity	" Human Relations
Chiang Kai-shek	" Foreign Affairs — Far Eastern Relations; Military and Naval Operations — Ja- pan and the Pacific Area
Child Labor	" Labor and Manpower
Child Welfare	" Social Security
China	" Foreign Affairs — Far Eastern Relations; Military and Naval Operations — Ja- pan and the Pacific Area
Chinese Exclusion Laws	" Foreign Affairs — Far Eastern Relations
Civil Works Administra- tion	" Relief
Civilian Conservation Corps	" Civilian Conservation Corps
Classification	" Civil Service
Coal	" Oil, Coal and Minerals
Coinage	" Monetary System
Collective Bargaining	" Labor and Manpower
Collusive Bidding	" Business
Combat Zones	" Foreign Affairs — Neutrality; Shipping
Combined Boards	" Foreign Affairs — European Relations; Military Operations; United Nations
Combined Food Board	" Agriculture
Combined Production and Resources Board	" National Defense; War Production and Defense Production
Combined Raw Materials Board	" National Defense; War Production and Defense Production
Combined Shipping Ad- justment Board	" Shipping
Committee for Congested Production Areas	" War Production and Defense Production
Commodity Credit Cor- poration	" Agriculture; Consumers and Economic Stabilization
Community Mobilization for Human Needs	" Human Relations
Comptroller General	" Reorganization of Executive Branch of Government
Conference on Peru- Ecuador	" International Conferences
Conference on Rural Ed- ucation	" Education
Conservation	" National Planning
Conservation of Rubber	" Rubber

Cumulative Topical Table

Consolidation of Agencies	See Reorganization of Executive Branch of Government
Constitution Day	" Courts and Constitution
Constitutional Power of Appointment	" Courts and Constitution
Construction for Defense	" National Defense
Construction of Schools	" Education
Contract Termination	" War Production and Defense Production
Contracts	" War Production and Defense Production
Coordinator of Information	" Information and Censorship
Corn	" Agriculture
Corporate Surplus Profits Tax	" Governmental Finances
Corregidor	" Military and Naval Operations — Japan and the Pacific Area
Cotton	" Agriculture
Council of National Defense	" National Defense
County Boards of Health	" Health
Credit Facilities	" Business
Crimea Conference	" Foreign Affairs — Relations with U.S.S.R. (Russia); International Conferences
Crippled Children	" Health; Social Security
Crop Insurance	" Agriculture
Crop Production Loans	" Agriculture
Crop Surpluses	" Agriculture
Cuba	" Foreign Affairs — Pan American Affairs
Currency	" Monetary System
Dams	" Electricity and Regulation of Public Utilities; National Planning
Defense Homes Corporation	" Housing and Home-owners
Defense Housing	" Housing and Home-owners
Defense Production	" National Defense; War Production and Defense Production
Defense Workers	" Labor and Manpower
Deferment of Federal Employees	" Civil Service
Democratic National Committee	" Democratic Party and Political Campaigns
Democratic National Convention	" Democratic Party and Political Campaigns
Dependent Children's Aid	" Social Security

Cumulative Topical Table

Deposit Liquidation Board	See Banks and Banking
Devaluation of the Dollar	" Monetary System
Development of Water Power	" Electricity and Regulation of Public Utilities; National Planning
Disabled Veterans	" Veterans
Division of Defense Housing Coordination	" Housing and Home-owners
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(Cumulative Topical Table by Dr. Kenneth W. Hechler)

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THE 1944 DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES

Victory and the Threshold of Peace

1 ¶ The President's Statement on New Year's
Day. January 1, 1944

MANY of us in the United States are observing this first day of the New Year as a day of prayer and reflection and are considering the deeper issues which affect us as part of the family of Nations at a crucial moment in history. It is fitting on this day that we direct our thoughts to the concept of the United Nations which came into being on another and infinitely bleaker New Year's Day two years ago.

It was but three weeks after Pearl Harbor that the Declaration by United Nations was promulgated at Washington. Twenty-six Nations subscribed immediately, eight more have adhered subsequently, all pledging themselves to stand together in the struggle against common enemies.

Two years ago the United Nations were on the defensive in every part of the world. Today we are on the offensive. The walls are closing in remorselessly on our enemies. Our armed forces are gathering for new and greater assaults which will bring about the downfall of the Axis aggressors.

The United Nations are giving attention also to the different kind of struggle which must follow the military phase, the struggle against disease, malnutrition, unemployment, and many other forms of economic and social distress.

To make all of us secure against future aggression and to open the way for enhanced well-being of Nations and individuals everywhere, we must maintain in the peace to come the mutually beneficial cooperation we have achieved in war. On the threshold of the New Year, as we look toward the tremendous tasks ahead, let us pledge ourselves that this cooperation shall continue both for winning the final victory on the battlefield and for establishing an international organization of all peace-loving Nations to maintain peace and security in generations to come.

2 ¶ The President Appoints a Committee to Investigate the Question of Discrimination in Railroad Employment. January 3, 1944

I HAVE received from the Fair Employment Practice Committee certification that the Committee has reached an impasse with a number of railroads and railroad labor organizations in its effort to secure the removal of discriminations in certain fields of railroad employment. I am enclosing a copy of the letter to me from Chairman Malcolm Ross of the Fair Employment Practice Committee and also copies of pertinent documents in this case.

Obviously in such a complicated structure as the transportation industry, we cannot immediately attain perfect justice in terms of equal employment opportunities for all people. I am sure, however, that you agree with me that all Americans at this time should be anxious to see to it that no discriminations prevent the fullest use of our manpower in providing the strength essential to the major military offensives now planned. Indeed, hardly anything in America now seems so important as such a unity based upon justice as will make possible the best use of all our human resources in this year of supreme national effort.

The specific questions involved in the case certified to me by the Fair Employment Practice Committee relate only to discriminations against certain classes of Negro railroad employees in connection with which complaints were filed with the Committee. These employees are locomotive firemen, trainmen, switchmen, dining car and shop employees.

I believe it to be highly important in connection with this situation that a small committee of disinterested and distinguished citizens be appointed to discuss this matter as my representatives with the railroads and labor organizations. I am sure that agreements shaped in good sense and good will can be reached.

I am asking to serve on this committee yourself as Chairman, Mr. Frank J. Lausche, Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, and Judge William H. Holly of the United States District Court in Chicago.

2. *Discrimination in Railroad Employment*

I plan to call a meeting of this committee with representatives of carriers and labor organizations in Washington in the very near future. I am aware of the other public demands being made upon your time and energy today, but I trust I may have your acceptance of this most important public undertaking.

With kindest personal regards,

Judge Walter P. Stacy,
Raleigh, North Carolina.

NOTE: In mid-1941, the President established the Committee on Fair Employment Practice to increase the participation in the defense program by all persons, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin (see Item 58 and note, 1941 volume). The Committee on Fair Employment Practice was strengthened and accorded a greater degree of independence by a later Executive Order issued on May 27, 1943 (see Item 55 and note, 1943 volume).

During the five years of its operation, the F.E.P.C. settled by peaceful negotiation nearly 5,000 cases, including 40 strikes caused by racial differences. These cases, very few of which received any publicity, represented the F.E.P.C.'s major accomplishments. Through quiet persuasion and intervention, many discriminatory practices were uncovered and corrected, and many private employers and Government agencies grew to recognize that the employment of minority groups was not only in accord with the basic principles of democracy, but also alleviated some serious manpower shortages.

Against entrenched prejudice, the policy of persuasion had limits. In those relatively few cases where employers and unions defied the national policy of non-discrimination, it became apparent that it would be necessary to have some authority for enforcement if the non-discrimination policy was to be fully effective.

Under the Executive Orders which created it, the F.E.P.C. had no direct enforcement powers. Although the F.E.P.C. received and investigated complaints of discrimination, conducted hearings and made findings of fact in cases of alleged discrimination, and made recommendations to Federal agencies if they were involved, the only final recourse which the F.E.P.C. had in the event of refusal to comply was to refer the case to the President. Of course, all the resources of the F.E.P.C. were used to bring about a solution rather than to refer a case to the President. In fact, during the five years of the F.E.P.C.'s existence, only two cases were referred to the President for disposition.

The case against twenty-three

2. Discrimination in Railroad Employment

railroads and fourteen labor unions, to which the President referred in the foregoing letter, was the first case considered by the F.E.P.C. after its reorganization under Executive Order No. 9346 on May 27, 1943. It proved to be the most difficult case the F.E.P.C. handled; and was one of the two which were finally certified to the President.

During 1942, hundreds of complaints reached the F.E.P.C. that many railroads had refused to employ Negroes in certain jobs; and that a number of railroads and labor unions had made agreements which, in effect, sanctioned this discrimination. Hearings were held by the F.E.P.C., and witnesses produced evidence that the railroads and unions had practiced the alleged discrimination. After these hearings, the F.E.P.C. issued findings of fact that these railroad-union agreements had resulted in discrimination against Negroes. This discrimination had been practiced by setting up employment quotas, restricting the seniority and advancement rights of Negroes, and by similar measures designed ultimately to eliminate Negro firemen on southern locomotives, and otherwise to limit trainmen, switchmen, yardmen, dining car stewards, mechanics, machinists, and helpers.

Upon the basis of these findings, the F.E.P.C. issued directives calling upon the carriers and unions to end discrimination. A few of the railroads and unions agreed to ne-

gotiate. As a result, those parties were cleared of charges of discrimination, and better employment opportunities were provided for the group against which discrimination had been practiced. Fourteen southern railroads, however, were adamant in their refusal to abandon the discriminatory practices. They made public a letter on December 13, 1943, which charged that the Committee lacked jurisdiction and that it was using an unrealistic approach to the problem of discrimination.

Accordingly, the President appointed the above special committee to investigate the impasse. The fundamental purpose of this committee was not to supplant the F.E.P.C., but rather to deal directly and in the name of the President with the extremely difficult situation. The President's committee met several times with the railroads, the unions, and the F.E.P.C. But the President's committee was not successful in bringing about compliance with the F.E.P.C. directives. On December 18, 1944, the Supreme Court of the United States, in the cases of *Steele vs. Louisville & Nashville Railroad et al.*, and *Tunstall vs. Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen*, held that the union could not use its bargaining right to negotiate an agreement which was preferential to union members and discriminatory against other employees because of race. These decisions sustained the position which had been taken by

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the F.E.P.C., leaving no doubt as to the illegality of the discriminatory agreements. Despite the support of the United States Supreme Court, the F.E.P.C. could not, as a practical matter, take further positive measures to enforce its findings. But the court's decision, later reiterated and expanded in other decisions, gave to the victims of discriminatory practices on the railroads a strong remedial weapon.

3 ¶ The Annual Budget Message.

January 10, 1944

To the Congress:

THE Budget transmitted herewith covers the period ending June 30, 1945. This is a period which I am certain will be crucial in the history of the United States and of mankind, a period which will see decisive action in this global war. While we move toward complete defeat of our enemies, we must lay the groundwork to return the Nation to peaceful pursuits. This double task is the essence of the Government's program and must be reflected in the Budget.

The Budget for the fiscal year 1945 anticipates a total of Federal expenditures (in general and special accounts and net outlays of Government corporations, excluding debt retirement) of 100 billion dollars — slightly more than the revised estimates for the fiscal year now under way.

In substantial measure these expenditures will be made under appropriations already enacted. I am transmitting herewith specific recommendations for appropriations of 17 billion dollars, of which 7 billion dollars are for war purposes. For most of the war appropriations I shall submit detailed recommendations in the spring. I estimate that these recommendations will amount to 53 billion dollars. The estimated total of 70 billion dollars of appropriations in the general and special accounts for the fiscal year 1945 compares with a total of 100 billion dollars of actual appropriations for the fiscal year 1944. Reappropriations, additional

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to the above totals for recommended new appropriations, are estimated to be 38 billion dollars for the fiscal year 1945 and 15 billion dollars for the fiscal year 1944. Since there is always — and particularly for war procurement — a lag between appropriations and the related obligations and subsequent expenditures, a large part of the recommended appropriations will not be translated into expenditures until later fiscal periods. We shall continue to adjust our war program promptly to changing strategic necessities, and I shall use all the authority available to the executive branch to prevent needless expenditures.

THE WAR PROGRAM

FOUR PHASES IN THE WAR PROGRAM. As we win the battle of producing the instruments of modern war, we enter the period of decisive action on many battlefields throughout the world. We have attained superiority in war production. Production alone, however, does not assure victory. We must fight and fight hard.

In June, 1940 when France fell, we recognized that we were in mortal danger and that only by building our strength to the utmost would we have a chance to maintain peace or to attain victory if we were attacked. We then embarked on a program of preparedness, converting our factories and constructing a new munitions industry of gigantic size. At the time of Pearl Harbor, we were in the first stages of training the Army, strengthening the Navy, and developing a munitions industry.

In the period of defensive war, we had to be satisfied with fighting a delaying action and with delivering munitions to our allies while we gained precious time.

The anxious year of defensive warfare came to an end with the attack on Guadalcanal and the invasion of Africa in late 1942. Thus began the period of aggressive deployment of our forces. During that time we had to build up and fill up the pipe lines for military supplies of all kinds as well as establish material reserves for future aggressive operations. The munitions program

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was then limited only by our productive resources and shipping facilities.

With pride in the over-all achievements of American management and labor, I can say that we are now well equipped; with pride in the military leadership of the Allied forces, I can say that we are now in a strategic position to make full use of our equipment for decisive blows by land, by sea, and by air.

The size and composition of our war expenditures reflect these various phases of the preparedness and war program, as the following table indicates:

WAR EXPENDITURES

Including net outlays of Government corporations

Period	Average annual rate (in billions)	Estimated percent of total		
		Munitions, including ships	Pay, subsistence ¹	War construction
Preparedness: July, 1940–November, 1941	\$9.8	50	30	20
Defensive war: December, 1941–October, 1942 . .	45.7	56	22	22
Aggressive deployment: November, 1942–December, 1943	83.5	59	28	13
Offensive war:				
January, 1944–June, 1944 ²	97.0	64	30	6
July, 1944–June, 1945 (fiscal year 1945)	90.0	63	33	4

¹ Including also agricultural lend-lease and other civilian war activities.

² On basis of 92 billion dollars for fiscal year 1944.

The rapid increase in war expenditures mirrors a gigantic effort. We have converted and diverted approximately half of our resources to war purposes. In the production of munitions we now almost equal the rest of the world combined. Expenditures for industrial facilities and other war construction, which reached their peak in the fall of 1942, have declined since then and will decline further. The total 22-billion-dollar public and private expansion of industrial plant and equipment should suffice by and large for the foreseeable needs of the far-flung battle fronts, and in addition provide capacity for unexpected contingencies.

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Expenditures for pay and subsistence of the armed forces are still increasing because of the continuing growth of our military forces and increased allowances to the wives, children, and other dependents of our fighting men. Expenditures for subsistence and other purposes would have to be higher were it not for the fact that our field forces stationed abroad are receiving considerable supplies and services from our allies under reciprocal lend-lease arrangements.

THE MUNITIONS PROGRAM. At the present time it is extremely difficult to estimate necessary expenditures for munitions. In the past, such estimates were based on maximum output in the light of available facilities, raw materials, and manpower. This maximum was always less than enough to fill the requirements established by our military leaders.

The situation is quite different now. We have excess supplies in some types of munitions, deficiencies in others. Whether at any time we have an excess or a deficiency depends on rapidly changing strategic conditions. Every effort is made to adapt production to these changing conditions as promptly as possible. A special committee under the Joint Chiefs of Staff is scrutinizing the military requirements item by item and cutting out or cutting back programs no longer justified in view of strategic developments. The lend-lease requirements of our allies are subject to similar scrutiny by other agencies.

In most cases in which contracts have been canceled, the same contractor has received other more urgent orders; plants, raw materials, and labor could not be released for production for civilian use in these cases. We have canceled, for instance, orders for many escort vessels in order to push construction of landing vessels. In a number of cases, however, labor and material have been released for urgent domestic needs of indirect war importance. We shall release for civilian production any facilities, manpower, or raw material that are no longer needed for war production, but only when we are sure that by doing so we will not impair the war effort. I know that none of us wants any cut

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in the production of munitions needed at the battle fronts simply to permit an increased production for civilian comforts.

RELIEF AND REHABILITATION IN LIBERATED AREAS. As we close in on the enemy we are confronted with the necessity of initiating the restoration of civilian life and productivity in the liberated areas. Both relief and the commencement of the process of rehabilitation will be necessary requirements of military occupation.

In liberated areas relief must, of necessity, be a military problem at the outset. This job will be turned over to civilian administration as soon as feasible. For this reason the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration recently has been created. Appropriate committees of Congress are now considering enabling legislation that will permit the United States to make its proportionate contribution.

SUMMARY OF WAR PROGRAM: ESTIMATES OF EXPENDITURES AND APPROPRIATIONS. It is now expected that war expenditures (including net outlays of Government corporations for war activities) for the current fiscal year will amount to 92 billion dollars, 8 billion dollars below the 100-billion-dollar estimate submitted in my Budget message of a year ago. In certain types of munitions we have fallen short of our objectives, but by and large the cut in the estimate of expenditures is due to changes in the war program.

For the fiscal year 1945 — the year ending eighteen months hence — war expenditures are estimated at 90 billion dollars. I emphasize, however, that this estimate is tentative; it is based on the assumption that the war will continue throughout the fiscal year 1945. In our military planning, in our production planning, and in our financial planning we cannot rely with safety on hopes of earlier victory. If the war should continue on all fronts throughout the fiscal year 1945 or longer, we shall be prepared. If an unfavorable turn in military events should result in an increased demand for munitions, we shall, with available facilities, pour out even more munitions than scheduled, and expenditures will be larger. If, on the other hand, victory should be achieved

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on one of the major fronts earlier than assumed, I assure the Congress and the Nation that war production will be promptly adjusted to the changed requirements, and war expenditures in the fiscal year 1945 may be less than estimated at the present time. Because of termination payments, mustering-out pay, and similar demobilization expenditures, however, the reduction in cash expenditures will of necessity lag considerably behind any curtailment of war production.

The total war program as measured by appropriations, contract authorizations, and Government corporation commitments from June, 1940 through December, 1943 totals 344 billion dollars. Of this amount, 264 billion dollars have been obligated already, and it is estimated that 307 billion dollars will have been obligated by the end of the current fiscal year. Unobligated balances total 80 billion dollars now and will be reduced to about 38 billion dollars by June 30, 1944, assuming that additional supplemental appropriations of 1.5 billion dollars will be provided before the end of the current fiscal year.

Through December, 1943, we have spent 153 billion dollars for war and it is estimated that 202 billion dollars will have been spent by the end of the current fiscal year, leaving 105 billion dollars in outstanding obligations to be liquidated in later fiscal years.

It will be necessary to request additional appropriations for obligations to be incurred in the fiscal year 1945. Detailed recommendations for most of the war appropriations will be made in the spring, as last year. The tentative estimate for the fiscal year 1945 is 60 billion dollars of new war appropriations and 10 billion dollars of new contract authorizations. I also intend to recommend that an estimated 38 billion dollars of unobligated appropriations be reappropriated for the coming fiscal year. The new appropriations include 18 billion dollars to liquidate prior contract authorizations. The additions to the war program therefore will amount to 42 billion dollars new appropriations (excluding appropriations for the liquidation of prior contract

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authorizations), 10 billion dollars new contract authorizations, and 1.5 billion dollars estimated supplementals for this year. These additions will bring the total war program to 397 billion dollars for the fiscal year 1945.

Enactment of these requests will permit the Government to incur new obligations totaling 90 billion dollars in the fiscal year 1945. This, together with the unliquidated obligations on June 30, 1944, would permit the expenditure of 195 billion dollars in the fiscal year 1945 and subsequent years, when appropriations have been made to liquidate contract authorizations. As stated earlier, it is estimated that 90 billion dollars will be spent for war purposes in the fiscal year 1945. Assuming that it will be necessary to obligate all appropriations and contract authorizations, we shall finish the fiscal year 1945 with about 105 billion dollars of unliquidated obligations — the same amount as the unliquidated obligations existing at the beginning of the fiscal year.

I hope that this total war program will never be fully obligated and spent. Congressional approval of the estimated new appropriations and contract authorizations will be necessary, however, to permit our military leaders and our procurement agencies the flexibility they must have in planning and executing the job ahead.

WARTIME READJUSTMENTS AND PREPARATION FOR PEACE

Demobilization begins long before hostilities end. While we are still expanding war production, we have already terminated more than 12 billion dollars of war contracts; while we are still increasing the size of the armed forces, we have already discharged a million men and women. If hostilities end on one major front before they end on other fronts, large-scale demobilization adjustments will be possible and necessary while we are still fighting a major war.

The problems of adjustment cover a wide range — contract termination, reconversion of war plant, disposal of Government-owned property, shifting of men to peacetime employment, and

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many others. Our approach to these problems must be positive, not negative. Our objective must be a permanently high level of national income and a correspondingly high standard of living. To achieve this end there must be concerted efforts by industry, labor, and Government and a well-planned demobilization program. As men, materials, and facilities are released from war service and production, such resources must be channeled into civilian production on a basis that will assure a high and stable level of production, consumption, and employment. The soldier, the worker, the businessman, and the farmer must have assurance against economic chaos.

Just as economic mobilization for total war required many interrelated measures, so adequate reconversion to civilian production will require many interrelated adjustments of fiscal policy, production policy, price policy, and labor policy. At this time I shall discuss, but briefly, certain aspects of a demobilization program.

CONTRACT TERMINATION, DISPOSAL OF SURPLUS PROPERTY, AND INDUSTRIAL RECONVERSION. The problems pertaining to the termination of contracts, the disposal of war surpluses, and the reconversion of industry, already before us, will take on increased significance during the war and after.

Contract termination will become a problem of large magnitude. A considerable number of contracts has already been terminated. Should victory be achieved on one front, the volume of contract termination and related settlement problems will increase markedly even during the war. Raw materials, goods in process, and overhead costs incurred on the assumption that contracts will be completed, all involve settlement problems when contracts are terminated. The timing of future contract terminations is, of course, uncertain; but it is evident that the volume of such terminations and the amount of related claims and payments will be very large.

It will be necessary to dispose of a vast amount of Government property. Our war program has required the expenditure of approximately 15 billion dollars by the Government for new indus-

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trial plant and equipment and over 13 billion dollars for nonindustrial construction and land. In addition, the Government owns scores of billions of dollars of raw materials, merchant ships, aircraft, munitions, and a wide variety of other commodities. The value of Government property that will become surplus during and after the war is as uncertain as the vicissitudes of war. There can be no doubt, however, that a very large amount of public funds will be involved.

The policies followed in contract termination and the disposal of surplus property will have a major impact on the speed and effectiveness of the reconversion of industry and of the reemployment of those released from war service and war production. Such policies will also have a major bearing on the stability and pattern of the Nation's economy for many years to come. It is, therefore, imperative to develop a unified program to deal with the interrelated problems of contract termination, surplus property disposal, and industrial reconversion. To facilitate the development of coordinated policies pertaining to these fields, a war and postwar adjustment unit has been established in the Office of War Mobilization. A Joint Contract Termination Board, including representatives of the several contracting agencies, has also been established in that Office to develop recommendations for a unified program relating to the settlement of terminated war contracts. Recommendations pertaining to contract termination and disposition of surplus war properties are now in preparation.

The disposition of war surpluses should be closely coordinated with the permanent management of Government property. To provide a foundation for such coordination, I hope that machinery for the permanent management of Government property can be established in the very near future.

MANPOWER DEMOBILIZATION AND REEMPLOYMENT. Demobilization of war workers and members of the armed forces also starts long before the war ends. Since January 1, 1942, we have discharged a million men and women from active military duty

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because of age, physical and mental disabilities, and other reasons.

Both servicemen and war workers will need active help in finding their way back into gainful and productive peacetime employment. Many have gained exceptional skills and shown managerial ability in wartime; they should have an opportunity to contribute these skills and aptitudes to civilian activities. Certain reemployment rights in private and Government employment have been assured to members of the armed forces and, in limited instances, to those who transferred to war jobs. Many of these will be able to resume their prewar employment. This war, however, is causing substantial changes in the geographic, technological, and market structures of industry. Many employers will be recruiting employees in excess of their prewar labor force. Many employees and ex-servicemen will be looking for new employment opportunities because they had no employment before the war or because their previous jobs no longer exist.

It is imperative that we be on guard against any weakening of the administrative agencies which have been established for the purpose of job placement, counseling, and training. To master this great task of reemployment we must maintain and strengthen during the demobilization period a unified national employment and counseling service. Adequate provisions for job retraining, education, and rehabilitation must supplement the placement service. Special measures are needed to increase the opportunities for the employment of ex-servicemen, particularly those disabled in war service.

PUBLIC WORKS PLANNING. Our reconversion policy should have as a major aim the stimulation of private investment and employment. There will, however, be an urgent need for certain public works in the postwar period. As a result of the war the normal construction work of Federal, State, and local governments has been curtailed. Many new facilities will be needed. Careful advance planning and evaluation are essential to assure that priority will be given those projects that fill the greatest need

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relative to their cost, as well as to assure that their construction will be timed in accordance with employment requirements.

It is my hope that adequate machinery for the general planning and evaluation of public works in relation to broader economic activities can be established at all levels of government and that there can be close coordination both in planning and in completing essential projects. Thus, public works activities of the various communities and areas would be effectively coordinated with broad national programs and interests.

I have directed the various Federal agencies to submit estimates of appropriations for making detailed plans for Federal public works and improvements. I have asked the Bureau of the Budget to assume a continuing responsibility for coordinating the advance preparation of Federal public works and improvement programs to be undertaken when the war is over.

VETERANS' LEGISLATION AND SOCIAL SECURITY. Last July I recommended to the Congress a minimum program to assist servicemen and servicewomen in meeting some of the problems they will face when discharged. This included mustering-out pay for every member of the armed forces sufficient to provide for a reasonable period after discharge. I also urged an educational and training program to enable those demobilized from the armed forces to further their education and training and to prepare for peacetime employment. I am confident that the Congress will take early action along these lines.

The permanent program of social security initially adopted in 1935 provides a framework within which many of the problems of demobilization can be met. This framework of unemployment insurance and retirement benefits must be reinforced and extended so that we shall be better equipped for readjustment of the labor force and for the demobilization of the armed forces and civilian war workers.

Pressing economic need has forced many workers to continue in employment or seek work even when disability, old age, or care of young children would have made retirement from the labor force preferable. Extension at the present time of the cov-

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erage of the Federal old-age and survivors insurance system to many groups now denied protection, and expansion of the scope of the system to include disability benefits, would permit these workers to retire after the war. The old-age and survivors insurance system should also be amended to give those in the armed forces credit for the period of their military service.

The proposed changes in the social security law would provide the necessary minimum protection for nearly all individuals and their families, including veterans of the present war. They would provide benefits additional to veterans' pensions, veterans' compensation, and national service life insurance in case of death or disability attributable to military service.

I repeat my recommendation that the present unemployment insurance system be strengthened so that we shall be able to provide the necessary protection to the millions of workers who may be affected by reconversion of industry. I prefer an extension of coverage and liberalization of unemployment benefits to any special legislation, such as that providing for dismissal payments through war contractors. I also recommend the adoption of a program of Federal unemployment allowances for members of the armed forces. Furthermore, I suggest Congress consider the establishment of unemployment insurance for maritime employees and a temporary system of unemployment allowances for those in Federal service who, because of their wartime employment, have been unable to build up rights under the existing system.

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS OF READJUSTMENT. In the international field, as in the domestic field, there is no sharp distinction between war and postwar policies. For example, the program under lend-lease and reciprocal lend-lease arrangements is designed to facilitate the effective prosecution of the war and at the same time to help lay the foundation for postwar settlement and international prosperity.

We are now engaged in discussion with other members of the United Nations to work out plans to expedite the international flow of capital into worth-while long-term investments, to remove

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obstacles to international trade, and to stabilize currencies. The United Nations are working toward a permanent international organization for food and agriculture. We are also considering cooperative arrangements to facilitate maritime and air transportation.

The success of these international policies depends to a considerable extent on the success of our domestic demobilization policy, and vice versa. The more prosperous the United States, the more it will demand the products of other countries, both in the form of raw materials for its industries and in the form of manufactured goods to meet consumers' demands. Our purchases will, in turn, provide other countries with the means to buy more of our exports. More and more, our prosperity and world prosperity become interdependent.

THE FARM AND FOOD PROGRAM

Farm output in 1943 has been the largest in our Nation's history. This bountiful production has enabled us to maintain the best-fed Army in the world, to send much needed food to our allies, and to eat better ourselves than civilians in any other country. Although some of us at home did not have all the particular foods we wanted, more of us were nutritionally well fed than ever before. Our farmers have accomplished this through hard work and intelligent use of their resources.

The year 1944 will be more critical on the food front in view of increasing food requirements for our armed forces, our allies, and the starving populations in territories formerly occupied by the enemy. To meet these needs, farm production must be larger than in 1943. Barring unfavorable weather conditions, I believe this objective can and will be achieved through even better use of our farm labor, land, machinery, and other resources.

Farmers, spurred on by their desire to make the utmost contribution to the war effort, will do their level best to get the job done. It is the Government's responsibility to facilitate their efforts. The major emphasis of our 1944 program will be to de-

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velop and encourage balanced production, efficient farming practices, and the full use of all our agricultural resources.

Much of the Government's assistance to agriculture in the past ten years has been intended to reestablish farmers' purchasing power. This has been achieved — and more. Farm prices in 1943 were 115 percent of parity, and farm income in 1943 is estimated at 150 percent of parity. On the price side, the problem of the Government is no longer to increase farm prices generally, but rather to adjust relationships among prices of the various farm products in harmony with relative production needs. To this end the War Food Administrator, in cooperation with the Price Administrator and with the approval of the Director of Economic Stabilization, has prepared a full schedule of support prices for war crops and other critical commodities with the objective of encouraging 1944 production of each crop in the quantity desired without increasing the general level of farm prices. This schedule should be announced well in advance of planting time. The carrying out of these support prices, however, will depend upon Congressional action on the Commodity Credit Corporation bill. The schedule of support prices must be implemented by appropriate measures such as loans, purchase and sale programs, ceilings, and related production aids.

A stable farm price level is basic if we are to prevent inflation. I have often declared my belief that the judicious use of subsidies is necessary if consumer prices are to be kept from rising. I repeat it again. Only if we succeed in preventing an appreciable rise in the general level of both farm prices and wages, however, can we continue to hold the cost of living stable with a moderate use of subsidies. The cost-of-living index was 124.1 in November 1943 — the same as in April.

In order that the Federal Government may fulfill its responsibility in the 1944 farm and food program, I am recommending appropriations of 659 million dollars for the Department of Agriculture including the War Food Administration. This is approximately 314 million dollars less than the current appropriations for these agencies. The recommendation includes provision for

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conservation and use of agricultural land resources, the Soil Conservation Service, the Farm Security Administration, the exportation and domestic consumption of agricultural commodities, the administration of the Sugar Act, and research and other long-established functions of the Department of Agriculture. It does not include provision for potential losses of the Commodity Credit Corporation. The over-all decrease of 314 million dollars results largely from the omission of a recommendation for parity payments and a reduction in the recommended appropriation for conservation and use of agricultural land resources.

TOTAL FEDERAL EXPENDITURES

The estimates of Federal expenditures are intimately related to the stabilization program. If we permit general increases in wages in the war industries, in farm prices, or in profits on war contracts, Federal expenditures will increase correspondingly. The estimates presented in this Budget are based on the assumption that the wage and price line will be held and I am convinced that the line can be held. Wages, farm prices, and profits have reached levels which should be exceeded only in rare cases of special war requirements and not by attempts of pressure groups to promote their special interests. If we take the point of view that our efforts to secure stabilization can be relaxed just because production is nearing its peak, we shall be sacrificing one of the main objectives of the stabilization program—to reduce the dangers of economic disorganization in the demobilization period.

The following figures summarize Federal expenditures in recent years for the war program, for interest on the public debt, and for all other activities.

As I have pointed out repeatedly, there is not much realism in the customary distinction between war expenditures and other expenditures, often called “non-war” expenditures. Practically all Government activities under present conditions are related directly or indirectly to the war. War expenditures, as identified

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for budgetary purposes, include only those made under appropriations which the Congress has designated "defense" or "war" or obviously enacted for war purposes.

TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR FISCAL YEARS 1942-1945

Excluding debt retirement and trust funds

[In millions]

Classification	1945 estimated	1944 estimated	1943 actual	1942 actual
War activities:				
General and special accounts	\$88,200	\$88,500	\$72,109	\$26,011
Government corporations (expenditures less receipts)	1,800	3,500	2,976	2,255
Total	90,000	92,000	75,085	28,266
Interest on public debt	3,750	2,650	1,808	1,260
Other activities:				
General and special accounts:				
Veterans' pensions and benefits	1,252	865	600	552
Refunds of taxes and customs, including excess-profits tax refund bonds	1,799	412	79	94
All other	2,953	3,524	3,583	4,479
Government corporations (expenditures less receipts)	15	-175	-1,476	-440
Total expenditures	99,769	99,276	79,679	34,211

Another group of expenditures is emerging as a result of the present war. Already large, this aftermath-of-war category will become a dominant factor in future budgets. For the fiscal year 1945 it includes, for example, about three-fourths of the interest on the public debt; more than half of the expenditures for insurance, pensions, and other benefits for veterans; and a large amount for refunds of war taxes. Expenditures for contract termination, now included in war procurement, also belong in this group.

Expenditures for veterans' pensions and benefits and for tax refunds are expected to rise sharply during the fiscal year 1945. Tax refunds include 1 billion dollars for issuance of postwar

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bonds for the refundable portion of corporate excess-profits taxes. The issuance of refund bonds is, of course, not a cash expenditure.

Excluding expenditures for veterans and refunds, the total for "other" activities is expected to continue next year the steady decline which has been maintained since 1939. The estimate for the fiscal year 1945 is 2,953 million dollars — barely half the comparable total of 5,897 million dollars expended in 1939. It is 571 million dollars below the revised estimates for the current fiscal year.

This latter decrease will occur despite some increases in so-called "non-war" expenditures. Among the increases are 129 million dollars in some subdivisions of the Treasury, Justice, State, and Agriculture Departments, the General Accounting Office, the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, and the social security program. For the most part, these increases reflect war-necessitated expansions of workloads under "non-war" appropriations. Major reductions are expected in aids to agriculture, general public works, work relief, the Department of Commerce, War Department civil functions, and the Federal Works Agency. These items total 553 million dollars less than the corresponding items for the present fiscal year. The Post Office expects to have no deficit but rather a surplus of 11 million dollars.

For all purposes other than direct war activities, I am recommending appropriations, in general and special accounts, of 10,115 million dollars, including 3,750 million dollars for interest on the public debt and 590 million dollars for statutory debt retirement under permanent appropriation. The total of 5,775 million dollars for other purposes is an increase of 1,321 million dollars over the amount enacted by the Congress for the current fiscal year including anticipated supplemental appropriations. This increase, like the expenditure estimates, reflects primarily the large volume of veterans' benefits and tax refunds occasioned by the present war, and if these items are excluded there is a decrease of 434 million dollars.

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The estimated expenditures and recommended appropriations assume application of the Overtime Pay Act with present coverage throughout the fiscal year 1945. Current provisions for overtime pay for most Federal Government employees have been operative only since May 1, 1943; they will expire June 30, 1945, unless terminated earlier by the Congress.

The overtime pay law provides for quarterly determinations by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget of the number of employees required for the proper and efficient exercise of the functions of each department or agency. Although nearly half the civilian personnel of the Government are not covered by the act, I believe the determinations have effectively supplemented other budgetary controls. Other factors contributing to savings in Government use of manpower have been the legislation authorizing overtime work and pay, suggestions made by Congressional committees, general manpower controls, curtailment and consolidation of activities, and the unremitting efforts of the Civil Service Commission and the heads of operating agencies to use personnel more effectively.

More than a year ago I notified the heads of all departments and agencies that I expected them to eliminate every non-vital service, to seize every opportunity for improving the speed and efficiency of operations, and to conserve manpower, materials, and money. Each of these officials is now being asked to take stock of what his agency has accomplished and to continue aggressive efforts for improvement in the management and economical functioning of his organization.

One result of all these efforts has been a material reduction in Government personnel. The latest reported total of paid civilian employees of the executive branch in continental United States was 2,798,000 in October, 1943; there were 154,500 additional in Alaska, the Panama Canal Zone, and overseas. Nearly three-fourths were in the War and Navy Departments and other war agencies. The total number employed in the continental United States in October was 205,000 below the peak of June, 1943. The bulk of the reduction was in the war agencies; they reduced per-

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sonnel by 167,000 from June to October, while the so-called non-war agencies reduced personnel by 38,000. The earlier rise was in the war agencies. Other agencies as a group have been reducing personnel steadily for eighteen months or more, although during all that time they have been devoting more and more of their efforts directly to war activities.

There has been, during the past year, too much unfounded disparagement of Government employment. No one can estimate what this has cost in impaired morale, employee turnover, recruitment difficulties, and retardation of essential war work. Thousands of Americans entered the Government service or have remained in it with single-hearted determination to contribute to victory. Yet Government employees frequently have had to bear an unjustified stigma, somehow associated with the mistaken assumption that nearly all of them occupy armchair jobs. Of course, it is true that thousands of Government employees work at desks. In Government, as elsewhere, the manual workers are not the only producers. Modern armies cannot operate without quartermasters, paymasters, communication systems; ships and planes cannot be built without drafting, procurement, accounting; indeed, no organized activity in our complex society can succeed without writing and record-keeping. Even so, the large majority of employees in the war agencies are engaged in mechanical operations. Among the so-called non-war agencies, the Postal Service alone accounts for more than two-fifths of all the personnel. These facts are too frequently disregarded by critics who fail to look behind personnel statistics to the work the employees do.

THE REVENUE AND BORROWING PROGRAM

SUMMARY OF FEDERAL FINANCES. Net receipts under present legislation are estimated at a little more than 41 billion dollars for the current fiscal year and at somewhat less than 41 billion dollars for the fiscal year 1945. Receipts in these years will be about 19 billion dollars above those of the fiscal year 1943. This

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rise reflects increased tax rates in the Revenue Act of 1942, the Current Tax Payment Act of 1943, and the higher level of incomes and profits. Net receipts from all sources in the fiscal year 1945 are expected to be somewhat lower than in the current fiscal year, despite the fact that some items, notably corporation taxes, will increase further. Substantial collections in the present fiscal year, mainly in connection with transition to a current basis for individual income taxes, will not recur in 1945 and later years. Estimates of receipts in this Budget are subject to modification if the pending revenue bill is enacted.

Total expenditures for the fiscal year 1945 are estimated to exceed net receipts by 59 billion dollars. Without further legislation the deficit will amount to 59 percent of total expenditures, approximately the same as the comparable ratio for the current fiscal year.

SUMMARY OF FEDERAL FINANCES

Excluding debt retirement and trust funds

[In millions]

Classification	1945 estimated	1944 estimated	1943 actual	1942 actual
Total expenditures	\$99,769	\$99,276	\$79,679	\$34,211
Total receipts	43,425	42,578	23,385	13,668
Deduct: Net appropriations for Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund . . .	2,656	1,392	1,103	869
Net receipts	40,769	41,186	22,282	12,799
Excess of expenditures over receipts . . .	59,000	58,090	57,397	21,412

In view of these prospective deficits, I recommend the earliest possible enactment of additional fiscal legislation.

The amount which the Federal trust funds, especially the old-age and survivors insurance fund, can invest in Treasury bonds has been estimated under the assumption that the increased Federal insurance contribution rates which were scheduled for Jan-

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uary 1, 1944, will become effective on March 1, 1944. The Congress decided to postpone the effective date of the increase sixty days in order to gain time for further consideration of the increase in social security rates. I earnestly urge the Congress to retain at this time the scheduled increase in rates. High employment and low rates of retirement during the war have added to social insurance reserves. However, liabilities for future benefits based on the increased wartime employment and wages have risen concurrently. The increase in contributions provided by existing law should now become effective so that the contributions will be more nearly in accord with the value of the insurance provided and so that reserves may be built up to aid in financing future benefit payments.

THE NEED FOR ADDITIONAL TAXES. In my Budget message last year I recommended legislation to collect 16 billion dollars in additional taxes, savings, or both. I also pointed out the importance of simplifying taxation and of putting taxes, as far as feasible, on a pay-as-you-go basis. I repeated previous recommendations for making our tax laws more fair and equitable.

Provision for collection of individual income taxes on a pay-as-you-go basis was made in 1943 by the passage of the Current Tax Payment Act.

In October, 1943, the Administration's revenue program was presented calling for additional wartime taxes in the amount of 10.5 billion dollars. Those recommendations are still under consideration by the Congress, and I wish at this time to stress the need for additional wartime taxes in at least the amount requested in October.

The developments of the past year have not lessened the needs for additional revenue and nothing has occurred to indicate that the Administration's tax program is more than a minimum. Indeed, the necessity for additional revenue becomes increasingly acute as the war continues. The debt has risen at a record rate, and the prospect is for a continued rise with little or no diminution in rate during the months to come. Let us face the fact — the failure thus far to enact an adequate fiscal program has aggra-

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vated the difficulties of maintaining economic stabilization. Increases in income should be limited to reasonable rewards for additional effort. A wartime tax policy directed to that objective is a necessary support to wage and price stabilization. It is, furthermore, an important wartime contribution to postwar fiscal planning.

The time to impose high taxes is now when incomes are high and goods are scarce. In this situation, if we do not now pay in taxes all that we can, we shall be treating unfairly those who must face the accumulated bill after the war. Individual incomes will be approximately 40 percent higher in the calendar year 1944 than in 1941, after payment of all taxes, Federal, State, and local. Corporate profits after taxes are running at an all-time high. The time to relax some wartime taxes will come when goods are again plentiful, after reconversion of industry to peacetime production.

In view of these facts, I must urge upon the Congress the need for additional revenue beyond that provided in the bill now pending before the Senate. I also recommend tax simplification to reduce the burdens of compliance of the many millions of taxpayers by elimination of returns where feasible and by other measures — provided such changes do not result in substantial impairment of receipts for the Treasury or of equity for taxpayers.

RENEGOTIATION OF WAR CONTRACTS. The American people are united in their resolution to prevent war profiteering. Taxation alone is not enough. One of the most constructive attempts ever made to reduce profiteering at the expense of the Government in wartime was the renegotiation law, enacted by the Congress in April, 1942. That statute gives to the major procurement agencies the right and charges them with the duty to reexamine their war contracts and subcontracts and to recover excessive amounts paid under them, as well as to reduce inordinately high prices being charged for goods still to be delivered.

The record of performance under that statute has been good. The cost of our procurement program has already been reduced by over 5 billion dollars by contractors' agreements to refund

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money already paid them by the Government for war matériel and by price reductions granted the Government on goods still to be delivered. A considerable part of this amount would have escaped even wartime taxes. Many wartime profits are not subject to excess-profits taxation; moreover, even taxes paid may be refunded under various provisions of the present excess-profits tax law. The recapture of exorbitant war profits, in my judgment, should be definitely assured by renegotiation. To measure the benefits of the renegotiation statute in terms of dollars recovered from war contractors is to understate its beneficial effect. The statute is enabling us to combine speed of procurement with fair prices for the goods the Government must buy. Without it the war procurement program would be handicapped.

Of late I have been disturbed by proposals, apparently being seriously considered in the Congress, which will, if adopted, greatly restrict the operation of the statute if not destroy its effectiveness. I believe adoption of such proposals would be a serious mistake. In spite of criticism leveled at the statute by highly articulate special pleaders, I think it can fairly be said that the statute has proved to be very helpful in preventing or reducing excessive profits, and that renegotiation has been carried out with fairness and equity.

THE PUBLIC DEBT

Wartime spending leaves its legacy of postwar debt. By June 30, 1944, the public debt is expected to reach 198 billion dollars, and a year later, 258 billion dollars. Even higher totals will be reached if advance financing builds up cash balances. In any case it will soon be necessary to request legislation authorizing a further increase in the debt limit from the present level of 210 billion dollars. In view of these huge totals, administration of the public debt and of related fiscal policies must receive double care and scrutiny.

The primary achievement of our debt policy has been the maintenance of low and stable rates of interest. Average interest

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rates payable on the public debt now are less than 2 percent. Interest received from all new issues is fully taxable. As a result, the net cost per dollar borrowed since Pearl Harbor has been about a third the cost of borrowing in the first World War.

A debt of 258 billion dollars will require gross interest payments of 5 billion dollars annually at the present average rate. With a national income of 125 billion dollars or more, these payments need not prove oppressive. I am confident that we can devise a tax structure and other appropriate economic policies which will permit both payment of interest, and gradual repayment of principal during years of prosperity, without impairing the stability and growth of the national income.

We have sought to secure the broadest possible distribution of our debt, not only to fight against inflation, but also to assure a wide distribution of income from the debt. For these two reasons it has been our deliberate policy to offer the highest rates of interest on those bonds which are sold to individual purchasers in limited amounts.

Over 50 million subscribers to war bonds now own a direct financial stake in the United States. More than a third of all the resources of life insurance companies and mutual savings banks and half of all the assets of commercial banks consist of Government bonds. These individual investors, as well as bank depositors and insurance policy holders, can count upon the soundness of these assets.

Every dollar accumulated by individuals, corporations, or other non-financial institutions adds to rainy-day reserves of these bondholders. Businesses with heavy costs of reconversion will be able to defray such costs in part through liquidation of bonds. State and local governments will be able to finance some public works programs without levying additional taxes or borrowing additional funds. Individuals who are temporarily unemployed will be able to redeem war bonds, besides relying upon unemployment compensation and other provisions.

An increase in wartime debt is unavoidable. War expenditures must continue at high levels until our enemies are defeated; a

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bare minimum of regular Government activity must be preserved; interest must be paid regularly on the outstanding debt. The executive departments are using their best efforts to hold down all these outlays, wherever reductions are consistent with maximum war effort. The only effective way now to control the volume of the debt and to minimize postwar adjustments is to adopt a truly stiff fiscal program.

This war was inevitable because peaceful Nations cannot live in the same world with Nations that have become tools in the hands of irresponsible cliques bent on conquest. That obstacle to peace will be removed by destruction of the German and Japanese war machines and by establishing lasting cooperation among the Nations united in the fight for freedom. In this Budget I have outlined the financial requirements for victory. I have also outlined some of the measures required to aid in the reconversion of our war economy and to help discharged soldiers and dismissed war workers find their way back into civilian life and peacetime employment.

Military victory is not enough. We shall not have completed the defense of our way of life until we also solve the second task, the reconstruction of an economy in which everyone willing to work can find for himself a place in productive employment. The enemy, though beaten on the battlefields, may still arise in our midst if we fail in the task of reconstruction.

Victory will be not only a cause for joy over an accomplishment but at the same time a challenge to another great undertaking. You and I have the responsibility to prepare for victory and for peace. Let us make sure that the Budget, the Government's work plan, serves both ends.

4. *Message on the State of the Union*

4 ¶ “Unless There Is Security Here at Home,
There Cannot Be Lasting Peace in the World”
—Message to the Congress on the State of the
Union. January 11, 1944

To the Congress:

THIS Nation in the past two years has become an active partner in the world's greatest war against human slavery.

We have joined with like-minded people in order to defend ourselves in a world that has been gravely threatened with gangster rule.

But I do not think that any of us Americans can be content with mere survival. Sacrifices that we and our allies are making impose upon us all a sacred obligation to see to it that out of this war we and our children will gain something better than mere survival.

We are united in determination that this war shall not be followed by another interim which leads to new disaster — that we shall not repeat the tragic errors of ostrich isolationism — that we shall not repeat the excesses of the wild twenties when this Nation went for a joy ride on a roller coaster which ended in a tragic crash.

When Mr. Hull went to Moscow in October, and when I went to Cairo and Teheran in November, we knew that we were in agreement with our allies in our common determination to fight and win this war. But there were many vital questions concerning the future peace, and they were discussed in an atmosphere of complete candor and harmony.

In the last war such discussions, such meetings, did not even begin until the shooting had stopped and the delegates began to assemble at the peace table. There had been no previous opportunities for man-to-man discussions which lead to meetings of minds. The result was a peace which was not a peace.

That was a mistake which we are not repeating in this war.

And right here I want to address a word or two to some suspi-

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cious souls who are fearful that Mr. Hull or I have made "commitments" for the future which might pledge this Nation to secret treaties, or to enacting the role of Santa Claus.

To such suspicious souls — using a polite terminology — I wish to say that Mr. Churchill, and Marshal Stalin, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek are all thoroughly conversant with the provisions of our Constitution. And so is Mr. Hull. And so am I.

Of course we made some commitments. We most certainly committed ourselves to very large and very specific military plans which require the use of all Allied forces to bring about the defeat of our enemies at the earliest possible time.

But there were no secret treaties or political or financial commitments.

The one supreme objective for the future, which we discussed for each Nation individually, and for all the United Nations, can be summed up in one word: Security.

And that means not only physical security which provides safety from attacks by aggressors. It means also economic security, social security, moral security — in a family of Nations.

In the plain down-to-earth talks that I had with the Generalissimo and Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill, it was abundantly clear that they are all most deeply interested in the resumption of peaceful progress by their own peoples — progress toward a better life. All our allies want freedom to develop their lands and resources, to build up industry, to increase education and individual opportunity, and to raise standards of living.

All our allies have learned by bitter experience that real development will not be possible if they are to be diverted from their purpose by repeated wars — or even threats of war.

China and Russia are truly united with Britain and America in recognition of this essential fact:

The best interests of each Nation, large and small, demand that all freedom-loving Nations shall join together in a just and durable system of peace. In the present world situation, evidenced by the actions of Germany, Italy, and Japan, unquestioned military control over disturbers of the peace is as necessary

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among Nations as it is among citizens in a community. And an equally basic essential to peace is a decent standard of living for all individual men and women and children in all Nations. Freedom from fear is eternally linked with freedom from want.

There are people who burrow through our Nation like unseeing moles, and attempt to spread the suspicion that if other Nations are encouraged to raise their standards of living, our own American standard of living must of necessity be depressed.

The fact is the very contrary. It has been shown time and again that if the standard of living of any country goes up, so does its purchasing power — and that such a rise encourages a better standard of living in neighboring countries with whom it trades. That is just plain common sense — and it is the kind of plain common sense that provided the basis for our discussions at Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran.

Returning from my journeyings, I must confess to a sense of “let-down” when I found many evidences of faulty perspective here in Washington. The faulty perspective consists in over-emphasizing lesser problems and thereby underemphasizing the first and greatest problem.

The overwhelming majority of our people have met the demands of this war with magnificent courage and understanding. They have accepted inconveniences; they have accepted hardships; they have accepted tragic sacrifices. And they are ready and eager to make whatever further contributions are needed to win the war as quickly as possible — if only they are given the chance to know what is required of them.

However, while the majority goes on about its great work without complaint, a noisy minority maintains an uproar of demands for special favors for special groups. There are pests who swarm through the lobbies of the Congress and the cocktail bars of Washington, representing these special groups as opposed to the basic interests of the Nation as a whole. They have come to look upon the war primarily as a chance to make profits for themselves at the expense of their neighbors — profits in money or in terms of political or social preferment.

4. Message on the State of the Union

Such selfish agitation can be highly dangerous in wartime. It creates confusion. It damages morale. It hampers our national effort. It muddies the waters and therefore prolongs the war.

If we analyze American history impartially, we cannot escape the fact that in our past we have not always forgotten individual and selfish and partisan interests in time of war — we have not always been united in purpose and direction. We cannot overlook the serious dissensions and the lack of unity in our war of the Revolution, in our War of 1812, or in our War Between the States, when the survival of the Union itself was at stake.

In the first World War we came closer to national unity than in any previous war. But that war lasted only a year and a half, and increasing signs of disunity began to appear during the final months of the conflict.

In this war, we have been compelled to learn how interdependent upon each other are all groups and sections of the population of America.

Increased food costs, for example, will bring new demands for wage increases from all war workers, which will in turn raise all prices of all things including those things which the farmers themselves have to buy. Increased wages or prices will each in turn produce the same results. They all have a particularly disastrous result on all fixed income groups.

And I hope you will remember that all of us in this Government represent the fixed income group just as much as we represent business owners, workers, and farmers. This group of fixed-income people includes: teachers, clergy, policemen, firemen, widows and minors on fixed incomes, wives and dependents of our soldiers and sailors, and old-age pensioners. They and their families add up to one-quarter of our one hundred and thirty million people. They have few or no high pressure representatives at the Capitol. In a period of gross inflation they would be the worst sufferers.

If ever there was a time to subordinate individual or group selfishness to the national good, that time is now. Disunity at home — bickerings, self-seeking partisanship, stoppages of work,

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inflation, business as usual, politics as usual, luxury as usual — these are the influences which can undermine the morale of the brave men ready to die at the front for us here.

Those who are doing most of the complaining are not deliberately striving to sabotage the national war effort. They are laboring under the delusion that the time is past when we must make prodigious sacrifices — that the war is already won and we can begin to slacken off. But the dangerous folly of that point of view can be measured by the distance that separates our troops from their ultimate objectives in Berlin and Tokyo — and by the sum of all the perils that lie along the way.

Overconfidence and complacency are among our deadliest enemies. Last spring — after notable victories at Stalingrad and in Tunisia and against the U-boats on the high seas — overconfidence became so pronounced that war production fell off. In two months, June and July, 1943, more than a thousand airplanes that could have been made and should have been made were not made. Those who failed to make them were not on strike. They were merely saying, "The war's in the bag — so let's relax."

That attitude on the part of anyone — Government or management or labor — can lengthen this war. It can kill American boys.

Let us remember the lessons of 1918. In the summer of that year the tide turned in favor of the allies. But this Government did not relax. In fact, our national effort was stepped up. In August, 1918, the draft age limits were broadened from 21–31 to 18–45. The President called for "force to the utmost," and his call was heeded. And in November, only three months later, Germany surrendered.

That is the way to fight and win a war — all out — and not with half-an-eye on the battlefronts abroad and the other eye-and-a-half on personal, selfish, or political interests here at home.

Therefore, in order to concentrate all our energies and resources on winning the war, and to maintain a fair and stable economy at home, I recommend that the Congress adopt:

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(1) A realistic tax law — which will tax all unreasonable profits, both individual and corporate, and reduce the ultimate cost of the war to our sons and daughters. The tax bill now under consideration by the Congress does not begin to meet this test.

(2) A continuation of the law for the renegotiation of war contracts — which will prevent exorbitant profits and assure fair prices to the Government. For two long years I have pleaded with the Congress to take undue profits out of war.

(3) A cost of food law — which will enable the Government (a) to place a reasonable floor under the prices the farmer may expect for his production; and (b) to place a ceiling on the prices a consumer will have to pay for the food he buys. This should apply to necessities only; and will require public funds to carry out. It will cost in appropriations about one percent of the present annual cost of the war.

(4) Early reenactment of the stabilization statute of October, 1942. This expires June 30, 1944, and if it is not extended well in advance, the country might just as well expect price chaos by summer.

We cannot have stabilization by wishful thinking. We must take positive action to maintain the integrity of the American dollar.

(5) A national service law — which, for the duration of the war, will prevent strikes, and, with certain appropriate exceptions, will make available for war production or for any other essential services every able-bodied adult in this Nation.

These five measures together form a just and equitable whole. I would not recommend a national service law unless the other laws were passed to keep down the cost of living, to share equitably the burdens of taxation, to hold the stabilization line, and to prevent undue profits.

The Federal Government already has the basic power to draft capital and property of all kinds for war purposes on a basis of just compensation.

As you know, I have for three years hesitated to recommend

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a national service act. Today, however, I am convinced of its necessity. Although I believe that we and our allies can win the war without such a measure, I am certain that nothing less than total mobilization of all our resources of manpower and capital will guarantee an earlier victory, and reduce the toll of suffering and sorrow and blood.

I have received a joint recommendation for this law from the heads of the War Department, the Navy Department, and the Maritime Commission. These are the men who bear responsibility for the procurement of the necessary arms and equipment, and for the successful prosecution of the war in the field. They say:

“When the very life of the Nation is in peril the responsibility for service is common to all men and women. In such a time there can be no discrimination between the men and women who are assigned by the Government to its defense at the battlefront and the men and women assigned to producing the vital materials essential to successful military operations. A prompt enactment of a National Service Law would be merely an expression of the universality of this responsibility.”

I believe the country will agree that those statements are the solemn truth.

National service is the most democratic way to wage a war. Like selective service for the armed forces, it rests on the obligation of each citizen to serve his Nation to his utmost where he is best qualified.

It does not mean reduction in wages. It does not mean loss of retirement and seniority rights and benefits. It does not mean that any substantial numbers of war workers will be disturbed in their present jobs. Let these facts be wholly clear.

Experience in other democratic Nations at war—Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand—has shown that the very existence of national service makes unnecessary the widespread use of compulsory power. National service has proven to be a unifying moral force—based on an equal and comprehensive legal obligation of all people in a Nation at war.

There are millions of American men and women who are not

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in this war at all. It is not because they do not want to be in it. But they want to know where they can best do their share. National service provides that direction. It will be a means by which every man and woman can find that inner satisfaction which comes from making the fullest possible contribution to victory.

I know that all civilian war workers will be glad to be able to say many years hence to their grandchildren: "Yes, I, too, was in service in the great war. I was on duty in an airplane factory, and I helped make hundreds of fighting planes. The Government told me that in doing that I was performing my most useful work in the service of my country."

It is argued that we have passed the stage in the war where national service is necessary. But our soldiers and sailors know that this is not true. We are going forward on a long, rough road — and, in all journeys, the last miles are the hardest. And it is for that final effort — for the total defeat of our enemies — that we must mobilize our total resources. The national war program calls for the employment of more people in 1944 than in 1943.

It is my conviction that the American people will welcome this win-the-war measure which is based on the eternally just principle of "fair for one, fair for all."

It will give our people at home the assurance that they are standing four-square behind our soldiers and sailors. And it will give our enemies demoralizing assurance that we mean business — that we, 130,000,000 Americans, are on the march to Rome, Berlin, and Tokyo.

I hope that the Congress will recognize that, although this is a political year, national service is an issue which transcends politics. Great power must be used for great purposes.

As to the machinery for this measure, the Congress itself should determine its nature — but it should be wholly non-partisan in its make-up.

Our armed forces are valiantly fulfilling their responsibilities to our country and our people. Now the Congress faces the re-

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sponsibility for taking those measures which are essential to national security in this the most decisive phase of the Nation's greatest war.

Several alleged reasons have prevented the enactment of legislation which would preserve for our soldiers and sailors and marines the fundamental prerogative of citizenship — the right to vote. No amount of legalistic argument can becloud this issue in the eyes of these ten million American citizens. Surely the signers of the Constitution did not intend a document which, even in wartime, would be construed to take away the franchise of any of those who are fighting to preserve the Constitution itself.

Our soldiers and sailors and marines know that the overwhelming majority of them will be deprived of the opportunity to vote, if the voting machinery is left exclusively to the States under existing State laws — and that there is no likelihood of these laws being changed in time to enable them to vote at the next election. The Army and Navy have reported that it will be impossible effectively to administer forty-eight different soldier-voting laws. It is the duty of the Congress to remove this unjustifiable discrimination against the men and women in our armed forces — and to do it as quickly as possible.

It is our duty now to begin to lay the plans and determine the strategy for the winning of a lasting peace and the establishment of an American standard of living higher than ever before known. We cannot be content, no matter how high that general standard of living may be, if some fraction of our people — whether it be one-third or one-fifth or one-tenth — is ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and insecure.

This Republic had its beginning, and grew to its present strength, under the protection of certain inalienable political rights — among them the right of free speech, free press, free worship, trial by jury, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures. They were our rights to life and liberty.

(As our Nation has grown in size and stature, however — as our

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industrial economy expanded — these political rights proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness.

We have come to a clear realization of the fact that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. "Necessitous men are not free men." People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.)

In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all — regardless of station, race, or creed.

Among these are:

The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the Nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

America's own rightful place in the world depends in large part upon how fully these and similar rights have been carried into practice for our citizens. For unless there is security here at home there cannot be lasting peace in the world.

One of the great American industrialists of our day — a man

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who has rendered yeoman service to his country in this crisis — recently emphasized the grave dangers of “rightist reaction” in this Nation. All clear-thinking businessmen share his concern. Indeed, if such reaction should develop — if history were to repeat itself and we were to return to the so-called “normalcy” of the 1920’s — then it is certain that even though we shall have conquered our enemies on the battlefields abroad, we shall have yielded to the spirit of Fascism here at home.

I ask the Congress to explore the means for implementing this economic bill of rights — for it is definitely the responsibility of the Congress so to do. Many of these problems are already before committees of the Congress in the form of proposed legislation. I shall from time to time communicate with the Congress with respect to these and further proposals. In the event that no adequate program of progress is evolved, I am certain that the Nation will be conscious of the fact.

Our fighting men abroad — and their families at home — expect such a program and have the right to insist upon it. It is to their demands that this Government should pay heed rather than to the whining demands of selfish pressure groups who seek to feather their nests while young Americans are dying.

The foreign policy that we have been following — the policy that guided us at Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran — is based on the common sense principle which was best expressed by Benjamin Franklin on July 4, 1776: “We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately.”

I have often said that there are no two fronts for America in this war. There is only one front. There is one line of unity which extends from the hearts of the people at home to the men of our attacking forces in our farthest outposts. When we speak of our total effort, we speak of the factory and the field, and the mine as well as of the battleground — we speak of the soldier and the civilian, the citizen and his Government.

Each and every one of us has a solemn obligation under God to serve this Nation in its most critical hour — to keep this Nation great — to make this Nation greater in a better world.

4. *Message on the State of the Union*

NOTE: The President sent the foregoing annual message to the Congress at noon on January 11, 1944. At 9 P.M. on January 11, the President delivered his annual message over the radio. The President's radio address followed the text of his annual message to Congress printed as the above item, with the exception of the following introductory remarks:

"Today I sent my annual message to Congress, as required by the Constitution. It has been my custom to deliver these annual messages in person, and they have been broadcast to the Nation. I intended to follow this same custom.

"But, like a great many of my fellow countrymen, I have had the 'flu' and, though I am practically recovered, my doctor simply would not permit me to leave the White House and go up to the Capitol.

"Only a few of the newspapers of the United States can print the message in full, and I am very anxious that the American people be given the opportunity to hear what I have recommended to Congress for this very fateful year in our history — and the reasons for those recommendations. Here is what I said":

(Here followed the text of the annual message to Congress as printed above.)

The President's keynote for his postwar plans to raise the American standard of living was the "Economic Bill of Rights," which he set forth in the foregoing message. The "Economic Bill of Rights" was designed as a counterpart of the political Bill of Rights in the Constitu-

tion, in order to meet the needs of the modern, industrialized America. The principles included in this new statement of objectives had their origin in a report of the National Resources Planning Board which the President had transmitted to the Congress on January 14, 1942 (see Item 8 and note, 1942 volume). The text of the N.R.P.B. "Bill of Rights" was revised and simplified by the President, and presented in the foregoing State of the Union Message. To give added emphasis to these vital objectives, the President included the revised "Economic Bill of Rights" in his Chicago speech during the 1944 campaign (see Item 100, this volume).

Not long before the date he was to deliver the State of the Union Message, the President told me that he was very much interested in reviving the plan he had been considering for almost a year to ask the Congress to pass a National Service or Universal Conscription Act. He warned me not to discuss this plan with anyone.

In 1943, the President had set up a very informal group consisting of Bernard M. Baruch, James F. Byrnes, Admiral William D. Leahy, Harry Hopkins, and myself to make a thorough study of available manpower resources and the foreseeable needs for manpower, and to report to him with our recommendations. After extensive conferences with government experts and among our-

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selves, and after the examination of many reports compiled at our request, we unanimously reported to the President that we felt it unnecessary to enact a law as drastic as a national service act in order to meet our manpower needs. We were unanimous in thinking that the bad effects of imposing such a statute upon free American labor would outweigh any advantages to be gained from such a form of conscription.

Nevertheless, the manpower situation became more acute as the war progressed. The armed services, war production, and civilian industries all faced shortages which were acute in some areas. The Secretary of War was pressing the President to recommend passage of a National Service Act which would establish decentralized boards throughout the country similar to the Selective Service System, with power to direct men and women into specific industries where available manpower could not otherwise be found. A similar law had been adopted by Great Britain, and it had been found that the very fact such a law existed made it unnecessary to order people into certain industries. The fact that the Government had the ultimate power in this regard served as a lever to redistribute manpower into those industries where shortages existed. The armed services continued to press for such legislation, and from time to time

the President discussed it with his advisory group on manpower.

When the President returned from the Teheran and Cairo Conferences, he made up his mind that, because of the seriousness of the manpower situation, he was going to press for a national service law. He said that what he had seen at the fighting fronts, and his knowledge of the coming drives in Europe and the Pacific convinced him of the necessity of passing such a measure. However, he warned Sherwood and me not to reveal these plans to anyone — not even to Director of War Mobilization James F. Byrnes and his associate Bernard M. Baruch, who would ordinarily be intimately concerned with such a measure. The President handed us what he had dictated for insertion into the State of the Union message and cautioned us again to preserve secrecy. We labelled this insert, humorously, "Project Q-38." It was not typed in the staff room along with the other drafts of the speech, but was typed separately by Grace Tully in order to maintain secrecy. "Project Q-38" first appeared in the third draft of the State of the Union Message. Even then the President had not conclusively decided to use it, but he ultimately did, and it became a part of the Message. (See also Items 126, 127, and notes, this volume, for further recommendations by the President that a national service law be passed.)

5 ☪ Toast of the President at State Dinner for the President of Venezuela. January 19, 1944

LET me go back to my early days. I want to tell you of two episodes of my college days. I don't think this first one has been written down, and I don't think even the Secretary of State knows it.

In 1893, I think it was, Great Britain attempted to take, in effect by force of arms, Venezuelan Guiana, in spite of a rather well-established boundary going back for many generations. Hence there came along a thing called the Venezuelan episode. And a letter that was written, I think by Secretary of State Olney, but actually written and signed in its original by President Cleveland, was transmitted from the State Department to our Ambassador in London, Thomas F. Bayard.

The Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs at that time in England was Lord Salisbury. My older half-brother was the Counselor of the Embassy in London. And this letter came over the wires, I suppose in code, and he put it into English with his hair rising as he translated it. It was President Cleveland's Venezuelan message, which in effect told Great Britain that she couldn't have any more territory on the American continent.

When the translation was done, he took it into Ambassador Bayard, and said, "I have something pretty important, Mr. Ambassador, with the direction that you take it to Lord Salisbury at once."

Ambassador Bayard read it, and he said, "That means war between the United States and Great Britain. I will not deliver it."

And my brother said, "Mr. Ambassador, you have got to deliver it, it's from the President and the Secretary of State. You have got to deliver it."

The Ambassador said, "I won't deliver it. I will not be responsible for a war between Great Britain and the United States."

And my brother said to him, "If you will not deliver it, I will

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have to telegraph back for instructions to the Secretary of State. What am I going to do?"

Well, after lunch, the Ambassador sent for my brother and said, "All right. I will deliver it. But I am going to leave for Scotland this afternoon. I am going to get out of the way."

So sure enough, Mr. Bayard went around to see Lord Salisbury after lunch — my brother was standing back — and he walked into Lord Salisbury's room at the Foreign Office and said, "Mr. Minister, there it is. I hope you can do something that will stop short of war, but it is terribly serious. I don't want to go to war, and neither do you. What about Venezuela? But the President means that you can't have any more land on the American continent. Goodbye." And he left for Scotland that afternoon. Well, that was my first connection with Venezuela.

The other episode is perhaps not as historically important. When I was in college, in my senior year, I went down with my roommate on one of those — I am sorry to say — German cruises down through the West Indies. And we got down to Caracas and stopped there. And my roommate and I went up to the clerk of the hotel and said, "What's doing tonight? We want to go to a café, some place where they have dancing." I don't know what they would call it today, but probably a different name.

And the clerk said, "Oh, you can't do that. You have got to go to the opera."

My roommate and I said, "We didn't come to Caracas to go to the opera."

He said, "But you must. Everybody is going to the opera, they are giving *Pagliacci*." Well, I had been to the opera with my mother several times. I said, "I have never heard of *Pagliacci*."

"But," he said, "the great artist is singing."

I said, "I don't care."

"But," he said, "it's Caruso."

I said, "I never heard of him."

In New York nobody had ever heard of him, and yet at that time Caruso was considered the greatest tenor in all the world, he had sung at Caracas before, in Buenos Aires, in Rio and in

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Lima, I think. He was one of the great singers known to all South America.

So because there was nowhere else to go, we went to the opera. And he was perfectly marvelous.

After we got back to New York, I talked to some of my musical friends about Caruso and *Pagliacci*, but they had never heard of him. Years later, Caruso was taken on by the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York, and of course became the greatest tenor of all time. But I have always said that my roommate and I discovered Caruso. (*Laughter*)

So at least I can say that I have seen Venezuela; and President Medina has been in the United States, I think it was four years ago, and at that time he saw the beginning — before we got into the war — of what we were preparing against. I think that if he will multiply by ten times the production that he saw four years ago, he will have a very good idea of what we are doing now.

And yet out of what we are doing now in this country in the way of production, it is still literally impossible for us to take a part of that production to fill the well-merited, great essential plans which Venezuela has for the development of the future. We haven't got to that time yet, but we are going to do it just as soon as our own production gets up a little beyond our actual needs for the war. May that time come very soon.

I have always been interested in our sister Republics, for one reason especially, from an historic point again, the fact that there were two great liberators — essentially two — on the whole of the hemisphere: our own George Washington, and the Venezuelan Bolivar, who after all was responsible not merely for setting up one Republic but of many — Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. Bolivar is taking his place in our school books, and his proper place in history. And I wish much that I could go down there and see the wonderful shrine that has been erected over Bolivar there, because it doesn't belong just to Venezuela, it belongs to all the Americas. Some day people are going to go there to his home town, or his actual homestead, just as much as they come here to Washington or Mount Vernon.

6. *War Refugee Board*

I can say this, that in all these years, even from the early days when a thing called the Miranda expedition was fitted out in New York, when we were completely un-neutral, when we were trying to help Venezuela to obtain its own independence against Spain, all through these years, nearly a century and a half now, we have had an association, a relationship with Venezuela — and in a good many tight places, too — where the spirit, the purpose, the objectives between our two Nations have been identical.

And I hope much — I believe — that that relationship is going to go on through all the years, because the objectives are identical.

It is a very great honor, and a very great pleasure, to have President Medina here with us tonight. He knows the United States. I wish I knew Venezuela as well. Venezuela has a great future. It is a country not only of magnificent resources, but a Nation which has done so magnificently in so many ways during its very long history of independence that Venezuela, in the future of the Americas, is going to lead a very paramount role with the United States.

And so I think we might well drink the health, the prosperity and better knowledge of a future day, to President Medina.

6 ¶ The War Refugee Board Is Established.

Executive Order No. 9417.

January 22, 1944

WHEREAS it is the policy of this Government to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death and otherwise to afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war;

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, as President of the United States and as Commander in Chief of the

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Army and Navy, and in order to effectuate with all possible speed the rescue and relief of such victims of enemy oppression, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. There is established in the Executive Office of the President a War Refugee Board (hereinafter referred to as the Board). The Board shall consist of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of War. The Board may request the heads of other agencies or departments to participate in its deliberations whenever matters specially affecting such agencies or departments are under consideration.

2. The Board shall be charged with the responsibility for seeing that the policy of the Government, as stated in the Preamble, is carried out. The functions of the Board shall include without limitation the development of plans and programs and the inauguration of effective measures for (a) the rescue, transportation, maintenance, and relief of the victims of enemy oppression, and (b) the establishment of havens of temporary refuge for such victims. To this end the Board, through appropriate channels, shall take the necessary steps to enlist the cooperation of foreign Governments and obtain their participation in the execution of such plans and programs.

3. It shall be the duty of the State, Treasury, and War Departments, within their respective spheres, to execute at the request of the Board, the plans and programs so developed and the measures so inaugurated. It shall be the duty of the heads of all agencies and departments to supply or obtain for the Board such information and to extend to the Board such supplies, shipping, and other specified assistance and facilities as the Board may require in carrying out the provisions of this Order. The State Department shall appoint special attachés with diplomatic status, on the recommendation of the Board, to be stationed abroad in places where it is likely that assistance can be rendered to war refugees, the duties and responsibilities of such attachés to be defined by the Board in consultation with the State Department.

4. The Board and the State, Treasury, and War Departments are authorized to accept the services or contributions of any

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private persons, private organizations, State agencies, or agencies of foreign governments in carrying out the purposes of this Order. The Board shall cooperate with all existing and future international organizations concerned with the problems of refugee rescue, maintenance, transportation, relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement.

5. To the extent possible the Board shall utilize the personnel, supplies, facilities, and services of the State, Treasury, and War Departments. In addition the Board, within the limits of funds which may be made available, may employ necessary personnel without regard for the Civil Service laws and regulations and the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, and make provisions for supplies, facilities, and services necessary to discharge its responsibilities. The Board shall appoint an Executive Director who shall serve as its principal executive officer. It shall be the duty of the Executive Director to arrange for the prompt execution of the plans and programs developed and the measures inaugurated by the Board, to supervise the activities of the special attachés, and to submit frequent reports to the Board on the steps taken for the rescue and relief of war refugees.

6. The Board shall be directly responsible to the President in carrying out the policy of this Government, as stated in the Preamble, and the Board shall report to him at frequent intervals concerning the steps taken for the rescue and relief of war refugees and shall make such recommendations as the Board may deem appropriate for further action to overcome any difficulties encountered in the rescue and relief of war refugees.

NOTE: The Nazis, throughout the war, continued to carry on the mass murder of Jews and other racial, religious, or political minorities on an increasingly horrible and savage scale. Before the outbreak of the war in Europe, the President initiated a number of measures to assist the movement of persecuted peoples from Germany. (For an ac-

count of the President's prewar efforts in alleviating the refugee crisis, and of the work of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and other agencies working on the same problem, see Item 38 and note, 1938 volume; and Items 84 and 143 and notes, 1939 volume.)

At the request of the President, Mr. Myron C. Taylor organized a

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meeting of ambassadors and cabinet ministers representing thirty-two countries, which convened in July of 1938 at Evian, France. He became chairman of the meeting, and it culminated in the creation of the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees. Shortly thereafter an office was established in London. Mr. Taylor became a vice chairman and American representative. The Committee pursued its activities in behalf of refugees throughout the war, and until it was merged with the International Refugee Organization in 1947.

Through the efforts of Federal and private organizations, in the period between 1933 and shortly after the outbreak of the European war, some 250,000 refugees were resettled in the United States, Australia, Palestine, and several South American countries. But this quarter of a million was only a tiny percentage of the innocent and helpless peoples whom the Nazis tortured and murdered. Through mass starvation, gas chambers, machine guns, electrocution, and other fiendish devices of the concentration camps, exterminations reached new heights between 1942 and 1944. The foregoing Executive Order establishing the War Refugee Board was issued to mobilize all possible efforts of Federal agencies and foreign governments to rescue and aid the victims.

Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr. laid a good deal of

the groundwork for the War Refugee Board.

Established at the height of the Nazi extermination program, the Board proceeded promptly to rescue as many refugees as possible, and to alleviate, wherever it could, the plight of the persecuted peoples. Several measures were undertaken: Direct evacuation of refugees from enemy territories; psychological warfare to induce Germans and occupants of satellite countries to resist and disobey the Nazi persecution policy; direct warnings that those responsible for persecutions would be brought to speedy trial for their war crimes; attempts wherever possible to obtain better conditions for individuals in German concentration camps; and negotiation to delay extermination in order to keep the victims alive until the day of liberation.

Soon after it was created, the War Refugee Board stationed special representatives in neutral countries and in strategic areas of North Africa, Italy, and Great Britain. These representatives, holding diplomatic status, coordinated the work of private refugee organizations abroad and had full authority to carry out the Board's policies. These representatives were particularly effective in strategic neutral countries such as Switzerland, Sweden, and Turkey.

Direct evacuation was one of the most difficult tasks undertaken by the War Refugee Board. In the execution of this dramatic program,

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persons who cooperated with the Board maintained close contact with the resistance groups within enemy territory, bribed German officials, provided false identification papers for refugees, and successfully used other undercover means.

To aid in these rescue operations, the Treasury Department relaxed its rules on the transfer of funds by private agencies to neutral countries so as to permit use of such funds to finance the rescue of persecuted peoples.

Under arrangements completed by the War Refugee Board, several refugee camps were opened. Camp Maréchal Lyautey near Casablanca was opened for refugees evacuated from Spain, and a second refugee center was established at Philippeville in North Africa. A number of other refugee camps were established and rapidly expanded in the Middle East, in Switzerland, and in Sweden. Through the direct intervention of the President, 1,000 refugees who had escaped to southern Italy were brought here during the summer of 1944, and were housed at an emergency refugee shelter at Fort Ontario, Oswego, New York. (See Items 39, 41 and notes, this volume.)

As part of the War Refugee Board's program of psychological warfare, the President on March 24, 1944, condemned the mass murder of innocent civilians, and warned that "All who share the guilt shall share the punishment."

(See Item 24 and note, this volume, for the text of the President's statement on war crimes.)

One of the most vexing and delicate tasks undertaken by the War Refugee Board was the provision of food and clothing parcels for interned individuals in enemy territory. In cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross, guarantees were obtained from camp commanders that relief supplies would reach the internees. Beginning in June, 1944, 100,000 food parcels a month were distributed over a three-month period in Nazi concentration camps. On September 12, 1944, the President directed the Secretary of the Treasury, the War Food Administration, the Chairman of the American Red Cross, and the Executive Director of the War Refugee Board to obligate \$1,068,750 for the distribution of 285,000 additional food parcels for internees. All of these parcels were shipped to Germany during December, 1944. On January 31, 1945, the President ordered an additional \$1,125,000 to expand the Board's feeding program. Although the Board's program was hard to administer because of the difficulty of insuring that the packages actually would reach the internees, reports of Red Cross agents as well as direct receipts received from internees do indicate that a large number of the food parcels reached their destination safely.

The efforts of the Board to rescue victims of Nazi oppression was a

7. *Message on Soldier Vote Legislation*

race against time. Only when the Nazis' military forces began to see the handwriting on the wall did they become frightened at the reaction of the world to their mass persecutions. As a result, a number of German "offers" reached the War Refugee Board after the summer of 1944. These offers proposed that Germany cease persecutions or deliver individual internees in exchange for money or military supplies. Although the Board consistently rejected these demands for ransom, wherever possible the Board drew out the negotiations over a long period of time in order to save the lives of individuals threatened with extermination.

With the surrender of Germany, the War Refugee Board had com-

pleted the immediate tasks assigned to it. The Army and United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration became responsible for the relief of refugees and displaced persons in the liberated areas.

The number of people actually saved by the activities of the War Refugee Board is small compared with the millions of helpless people slaughtered by the Nazis. The fate of the Jews and other minority groups is one of the blackest chapters in human history. It should be said, however, that the War Refugee Board, by direct aid, negotiation, and by clandestine means, in some measure softened the blows on the tragic victims of the Nazis.

7 ¶ *Message to the Congress on Soldier Vote Legislation. January 25, 1944*

To the Congress:

THE American people are very much concerned over the fact that the vast majority of the eleven million members of the armed forces of the United States are going to be deprived of their right to vote in the important national election this fall, unless the Congress promptly enacts adequate legislation. The men and women who are in the armed forces are rightfully indignant about it. They have left their homes and jobs and schools to meet and defeat the enemies who would destroy all our democratic institutions including our right to vote. Our men cannot understand why the fact that they are fighting should disqualify them from voting.

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It has been clear for some time that practical difficulties and the element of time make it virtually impossible for soldiers and sailors and marines spread all over the world to comply with the different voting laws of forty-eight States and that unless something is done about it, they will be denied the right to vote. For example, the statutes of four of the States permit no absentee voting at all in general elections. Eleven other States require registration in person in order to be able to vote. Others permit absentee registration; but in some instances the procedure is so complicated and the time is so limited, that soldiers and sailors in distant parts of the world cannot practically comply with the State requirements.

But even if the registration requirements were met, there are still innumerable difficulties involved. For example, Private John Smith in Australia and his brother Joe who is on a destroyer off the coast of Italy, who think they are entitled to vote as well as to fight, find that they have to write in and ask the appropriate public official in their own State for absentee ballots. In every State those ballots cannot even be printed until after the primary elections — and in fourteen States the primaries do not take place until September. In due time the ballots are printed — but they cannot always be sent out immediately, since in about half the States the absentee ballots cannot be mailed until thirty days or less before the election. Weeks after they are mailed out, they reach John Smith in Australia and Joe aboard his destroyer. Even assuming that John and Joe, in the meantime, have not been transferred to another station or ship, or have not been wounded and sent to a hospital, it is doubtful whether the ballots will get back in time to be counted. If they have been moved, as is very likely, the ballots may not even reach them before election day.

In fourteen States the procedure is even more time-consuming and cumbersome — for instead of writing for an official ballot, John and Joe must first obtain special application forms for official ballots, which must be received and filled out and returned, before the ballots themselves are even mailed to them.

The Congress in September, 1942 took cognizance of this intolerable situation facing millions of our citizens, and passed

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a Federal absentee balloting statute (Public Law 712). That law did three things: It provided for a Federal ballot to be prepared by the States; it abrogated State requirements for registration and poll tax payments, insofar as they apply to members of the armed forces; and it required the War and Navy Departments to distribute postal cards to members of the armed forces with which they might request Federal absentee ballots from their State election officials.

The Federal law was a slight improvement, in that it provided absentee voting procedures in those cases where there had been no action by the States. It also eliminated some of the strict procedural requirements contained in many of the State laws. The great defect in that statute, however, was that it still involved a time lag, so that the voter might not receive his ballot in time to return it to be counted. This defect is inherent, and cannot be avoided, in any statute under which the forwarding of ballots for distribution must wait until the candidates have been selected in the primaries, or which requires correspondence between the local election officials and soldiers and sailors who may be transferred or moved at any minute. If any proof were necessary to show how ineffective this Federal statute was — the fact is that out of 5,700,000 men in our armed forces at the time of the general elections of 1942, only 28,000 servicemen's votes were counted under the Federal statute.

The need for new legislation is evident if we are really sincere — and not merely rendering lip service to our soldiers and sailors.

By the 1944 elections there will be more than five million Americans outside the limits of the United States in our armed forces and merchant marine. They, and the millions more who will be stationed within the United States waiting the day to join their comrades on the battlefronts, will all be subject to frequent, rapid, and unpredictable transfer to other points outside and inside the United States. This is particularly true in the case of the Navy and merchant marine, components of which are at sea for weeks at a time and are constantly changing their ports of entry and debarkation.

Some people — I am sure with their tongues in their cheeks —

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say that the solution to this problem is simply that the respective States improve their own absentee ballot machinery. In fact there is now pending before the House of Representatives a meaningless bill, passed by the Senate December 3, 1943, which presumes to meet this complicated and difficult situation by some futile language which "recommends to the several States the immediate enactment of appropriate legislation to enable each person absent from his place of residence and serving in the armed services of the United States . . . who is eligible to vote in any election district or precinct, to vote by absentee ballot in any general election held in his election district or precinct in time of war." This "recommendation" is itself proof of the unworkability of existing State laws.

I consider such proposed legislation a fraud on the soldiers and sailors and marines now training and fighting for us and for our sacred rights. It is a fraud upon the American people. It would not enable any soldier to vote with any greater facility than was provided by Public Law 712, under which only a negligible number of soldiers' votes were cast.

This "recommendation" contained in this piece of legislation may be heeded by a few States but will not — in fact, cannot — be carried out by all the States. Two States would require a constitutional amendment in order to adopt a practical method of absentee voting — which is obviously impossible to do before the November elections. Only a handful of the States — nine — will have legislatures regularly in session this year; and, to date, only eight other States have called special sessions of their legislatures for this purpose.

Besides, the Secretary of War, who will have the bulk of the administrative responsibility for distributing and collecting the ballots, has stated: "No procedure for offering the vote to servicemen can be effectively administered by the War and Navy Departments in time of war unless it is uniform and as simple as possible. Especially is this true with regard to the voting of persons outside the United States. . . . An Army engaged in waging war cannot accommodate that primary function to multiple dif-

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ferences in the requirements of the forty-eight States as to voting procedure."

I am convinced that even if all the States tried to carry out the "recommendations" contained in this bill, the most that could be accomplished practically would be to authorize the Army and Navy to distribute and collect ballots prepared by the States in response to post-card requests from servicemen — the very procedure set forth in Public Law 712, which has been such a failure.

What is needed is a complete change of machinery for absentee balloting, which will give the members of our armed forces and merchant marine all over the world an opportunity to cast their ballots without time-consuming correspondence and without waiting for each separate State to hold its primary, print its ballots, and send them out for voting.

The recent bills proposed by Senators Green and Lucas and by Congressman Worley, S. 1612; H. R. 3982, seem to me to do this job. They set up proper and efficient machinery for absentee balloting. These bills propose that blank ballots on special paper suitable for air delivery be sent by the War and Navy Departments to all the fronts and camps and stations out in the field, well in advance of election day. Immediately after primary elections are held, the names of the various candidates would be radioed or wired to the various military, naval, and merchant marine units throughout the world — on the high seas, on every front, and at every training station. The lists of candidates would then be made available to the voters, and the ballots would be distributed for marking in secrecy. But even if the candidates' names had not been made available in an area in time to allow the ballots to be sent back to the United States, the voters could cast their votes by designating merely the name of the party of the candidates they desired to vote for. The voting date would be fixed in each area in sufficient time to get the ballots back home before election day, even if the actual names of the candidates had not been received in that particular area. The ballots would be collected and transmitted back to the United States by

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the quickest method of delivery, for forwarding to the appropriate State election officials.

Each State, under these bills, would determine for itself whether or not the voter is qualified to vote under the laws of his State. Each State would count the ballots in the same way in which it counts the other ballots that are cast in the State. The sole exceptions would be those conditions of registration and payment of poll tax which could not be satisfied because of the absence of a voter from his State of residence by reason of the war. Those conditions were abrogated by the Congress when it passed the existing Federal absentee balloting law (Public Law 712).

There is nothing in such a proposed statute which violates the rights of the States. The Federal Government merely provides quick machinery for getting the ballots to the troops and back again. Certainly it does not violate States rights any more than Public Law 712 which was passed by a substantial majority of the Congress in September, 1942, and which specifically provided that no member of the armed forces had to register or pay a poll tax in order to vote in a Federal election. It is no more violative of States rights than the Soldiers and Sailors Civil Relief Act, which the Congress passed in October, 1940 — more than a year before the war began.

It is true that these bills do not provide a simplified method of voting for State and local officials. The Congress has not the same authority to provide a simplified voting procedure for the thousands of State and local candidates that it has for Federal candidates. Nor would it be practicable to do so. The inclusion of all the State and local candidates would increase the size and weight of the ballot so as to make air delivery a physical impossibility. Furthermore, the transmission and distribution of names of the many thousands of State and local candidates throughout the United States to each voter in every military and naval unit and merchant ship raise insuperable difficulties.

Since these bills provide that if any voter wishes, he may use the procedure of his own State for absentee balloting, he is given,

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to the extent that there is any possibility of doing so, an opportunity to vote for State and local candidates. In fact, since they provide for a post-card system to implement the State laws, each voter is given at least as great an opportunity to vote for State and local candidates as he would have under any legislation.

The inclusion of other groups of voters who are engaged abroad in war work of various kinds would be desirable. But as to members of our armed forces and merchant marine, I deem the legislation imperative.

Our millions of fighting men do not have any lobby or pressure group on Capitol Hill to see that justice is done for them. They are not ordinarily permitted to write their Congressman on pending legislation; nor do they put "ads" in the papers or stimulate editorial writers or columnists to make special appeals for them. It certainly would appear unnecessary that our soldiers and sailors and merchant marine have to make a special effort to retain their right to vote.

As their Commander in Chief, I am sure that I can express their wishes in this matter and their resentment against the discrimination which is being practiced against them.

The American people cannot believe that the Congress will permit those who are fighting for political freedom to be deprived of a voice in choosing the personnel of their own Federal Government.

I have been informed that it would be possible, under the rules of the Congress, for a soldiers' vote bill to be rejected or passed without any roll call, thus making it impossible for the voters of the country — military or civilian — to be able to determine just how their own Representative or Senator had voted on such a bill.

I have hesitated to say anything to the Congress on this matter for the simple reason that the making of these rules is solely within the discretion of the two Houses of the Legislative Branch of the Government. I realize that the Executive as such has nothing to do with the making or the enforcement of these rules.

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Nevertheless, there are times, I think, when the President can speak as an interested citizen.

I think that there would be widespread resentment on the part of the people of the Nation if they were unable to find out how their individual Representatives had expressed themselves on this legislation — which goes to the root of the right of citizenship.

As I have said, this is solely a legislative matter but I think most Americans will agree with me that every member of the two Houses of Congress ought to be willing in justice “to stand up and be counted.”

NOTE: Despite the recommendations of the President in his foregoing message to the Congress, the legislation which was finally enacted on the subject of voting in the armed forces was complicated and in many respects inadequate. The “futile language” which the President quoted in the foregoing message remained intact in the final legislation. The President allowed the bill to become law without his signature, and it became effective April 1, 1944 (58 Stat. 136).

In his message to the Congress, the President noted that it was possible under the rules of the Congress to pass or defeat the measure without a roll-call vote. The Congress responded to the President's direct suggestion that its members “stand up and be counted” on the measure. The conference bill passed

the Senate on March 14 by a roll-call vote of 47-31, and passed the House of Representatives the following day by a vote of 273-111.

On March 15, the day the bill passed the Congress, the President wired the Governors of all States and sent them by air mail prints of the bill, asking them for additional information on the effects of the bill and the interpretation of the voting laws in each State (see Item 22 and note, this volume). One day before the bill became law without his signature, on March 31, the President detailed his objections to the measure and the reasons why he decided to let the measure pass rather than veto it (see Item 26 and note, this volume, for the text of the President's message and an account of the provisions and effects of the bill).

8 ¶ Annual Appeal for the National Foundation
for Infantile Paralysis. Radio Broadcast.

January 29, 1944

TONIGHT, on behalf of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, I wish to express heartfelt thanks to all of you who have contributed your dimes and your dollars to further the fight against a cruel disease — a disease which strikes primarily against little children.

The generous participation of the American people in this fight is a sign of the healthy condition of our Nation. It is democracy in action. The unity of our people in helping those who are disabled, in protecting the welfare of our young, in preserving the eternal principle of kindness — all of this is evidence of our fundamental strength — the strength with which we are meeting our enemies throughout the world.

Early in our history, we realized that the basic wealth of our land is in its healthy, enlightened children, trained to assume the responsibilities and enjoy the privileges of a democracy. The well-being of our youth is indeed our foremost concern — their health and happiness our enduring responsibility. If any become handicapped from any cause, we are determined that they shall be properly cared for and guided to full and useful lives.

How different it is in the lands of our enemies! In Germany and Japan, those who are handicapped in body or mind are regarded as unnecessary burdens to the state. There, an individual's usefulness is measured solely by the direct contribution that he can make to the war machine — not by his service to a society at peace.

The dread disease that we battle at home, like the enemy we oppose abroad, shows no concern, no pity for the young. It strikes — with its most frequent and devastating force — against children. And that is why much of the future strength of America depends upon the success that we achieve in combating this disease.

8. *Appeal for Infantile Paralysis Foundation*

The dollars and dimes you contribute are the victory bonds that buy the ammunition for this fight against disease — just as the war bonds you purchase help to finance the fight against tyranny.

Tonight, I am happy to receive the report that your generous aid has made possible another year of progress against this dread malady. We are prepared to fight it with the planned strategy of a military campaign — not only because the enemy is a merciless and insidious one, but because the danger of epidemic in war-time makes this fight an actual military necessity.

The tireless men and women working night and day over test tubes and microscopes — searching for drugs and serums, for methods that will prevent and cure — these are the workers on the production line in this war against disease. The gallant chapter workers, the doctors and nurses in our hospitals, the public health officials, the volunteers who go into epidemic areas to help the physician — these are the front-line fighters.

And just as in war — there is that subtle weapon that, more than anything else, spells victory or defeat. That weapon is morale — the morale of a people who know that they are fighting “the good fight” — that they are keeping the faith — the only faith through which civilization can survive — the faith that man must live to help and not to destroy his fellowmen.

We are engaged now in the Fourth War Bond campaign. The outpouring of American dollars in this campaign will assure that superiority of fighting equipment with which we shall blast our way to Berlin and Tokyo. It will also serve notice that we Americans are irrevocably united in determination to end this war as quickly as possible in the unconditional surrender of our enemies. Every one of us has a chance too to participate in victory by buying war bonds.

Tonight, in the midst of a terrible war against tyranny and savagery, it is not easy for us to celebrate. There cannot be much happiness in our hearts as we contemplate the kind of enemies we face and the very grimness of the task that lies before us.

But, we may thank God that here in our country we are keep-

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ing alive the spirit of good will toward one another — that spirit which is the very essence of the cause for which we fight.

God speed the spirit of good will.

NOTE: In connection with his birthday, the President made annual addresses in support of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. The only years when he missed such addresses were 1943 and 1945 when international conferences necessitated his being out of the country on his birthday. For other birthday addresses during the President's third term, in support of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, see Item 2 and note, 1941 volume and Item 14 and note, 1942 volume; see also Item 132, this volume.

9 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Thirty-first Press Conference (Excerpt). February 1, 1944

(Announcement of attack on Kwajalein — American objectives in Asia — Brutal Japanese treatment of American prisoners of war.)

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't got much new information. You have probably seen that a powerful naval force consisting of all types of vessels supporting the invasion has landed in the Kwajalein, commanded by Vice Admiral R. A. Spruance. And I think the operation is going up to this time quite well, with heavy opposition. So we are all waiting to see what happens.

In that connection, I dictated something that I hope will clarify the air a little bit on what we are doing in the Far East as a whole.

The American objectives in India or elsewhere in continental Asia are to expel and defeat the Japanese, in the closest collaboration with British, Chinese, and other Allies in that theater.

Our task in expelling the Japanese from Burma, Malaya, Java, and other territory, including all the islands, is military. We recognize that our British and Dutch brothers-in-arms are as determined to throw the Japanese out of Malaya and

9. *Nine Hundred and Thirty-first Press Conference*

the Dutch East Indies as we are determined to free the Philippines. We propose to help each other on the roads, and in the waters, and above them westward from where we are now and eastward from the Burma area to these places and beyond as far as Tokyo. No matter what individual or individuals command in any given area, the purpose is the same. There will, of course, be plenty of problems when we get there. The solution will be easier if we all employ our utmost resources of experience, good will, and good faith. Nobody in India, or anywhere else in Asia, will misunderstand the presence there of American armed forces, if they will believe, as we do at home, that their job is to assure the defeat of Japan without which there can be no opportunity for any of us to enjoy and expand the freedoms for which we all are fighting.

Of course, in that connection, I think the country is very much startled by the atrocity stories the other day, and very rightly. The particular stories came in, I think it was about five or six months ago, and when they came in the first impulse of almost everybody was to release them immediately. But after we slept on it about overnight, we took it up with the military, both here and abroad. We took it up with the British Government and the Chinese Government, and humanitarian questions at that time were given consideration. In other words, at that time we were still running the *Gripsholm* back and forth, and we were thinking not merely of the terrible things that had been done to American prisoners and British prisoners, we were also thinking of those who survived; and we thought, then, that the publication of these atrocity stories might incite the Japanese to kill a great many other American soldiers.

And so from that humanitarian point of view, in an effort to save American lives, and hoping that the Japanese would allow more prisoners to be exchanged and got out of Japan, we held it up with the reservation that just as soon as it seemed to be hopeless to get food and supplies into the hands

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of American prisoners we would say nothing until that time — hopeless time came.

Well, over the past two or three weeks it became more and more clear that there was grave doubt as to whether our packages and medical supplies for our troops were actually getting in, and we came to the reluctant conclusion that they were not getting to our people; and therefore the story was published.

And I think that from now on we have got to recognize that we probably can't hurt our own men by publishing these stories. Since that is so, the country ought to know the stories. We thought, of course, a great deal about the suffering that would be caused to the families of many of the people of this country, like the families of that little community down in New Mexico, and another one in Illinois, where almost every family had some member of the family in what had been the old State Guard forces from that locality, that were taken into the regular Army and sent out to the Philippines before the seventh of December, 1941. I think everybody in the country will have the utmost sympathy for them, and horror for what has been done to American troops in those towns, and a great many other towns in the country.

I think it gives us a pretty good slant, also, on the mentality of the Japanese. I have spoken of that before, and I think we all feel even more strongly about it today than we did then.

We are moving as fast as is humanly possible to move. It's all very well to say we ought to move faster. Well, unless you have a good deal of the knowledge of just how you would move faster, it would be better not to write that. I am always open to suggestions of how to move faster. . . .

10 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Thirty-third Press Conference — Special Conference for Negro Newspaper Publishers Association (Excerpts).

February 5, 1944

(Discrimination in Army against Negroes — Need for improvement of status of Negroes in African colonies.)

MR. IRA LEWIS [Pittsburgh *Courier*]: There is one very pressing question that is causing the colored people lots of concern. I think that we represent here perhaps five or six million readers, and that question is posed to us at all times. It is a grievous and vexing one. It has to do with the treatment of our boys in the armed services. They haven't been treated right by civilian police, and by the M.P.'s. We know of instances where soldiers on furlough have come home and taken off their uniform, on account of intimidation.

And they think, Mr. President, that that is your responsibility. They think that you alone can correct that. I think you can put your hand right on the question, which will do more towards strengthening morale and making more for unity and making the Negro citizen believe that he is a part of this great commonwealth. Just one word from you, we all feel, would do that.

Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: I am glad you brought that up, because I have been in touch with it. It is perfectly true, there is definite discrimination in the actual treatment of the colored engineer troops, and others. And you are up against it, as you know perfectly well. I have talked about it — I had the Secretary of War and the Assistant — everybody in on it. The trouble lies fundamentally in the attitude of certain white people — officers down the line who haven't got very much more education, many of them, than the colored troops and the Seabees and the engineers, for example. And well, you know the kind

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of person it is. We all do. We don't have to do more than think of a great many people that we know. And it has become not a question of orders — they are repeated fairly often, I think, in all the camps of colored troops — it's a question of the personality of the individual. And we are up against it, absolutely up against it. I always think of the fact that it probably is improving. I like to think that mere association helps things along.

I always think of two or three years ago — not an election trip — I was down in Chattanooga. A very interesting thing happened. I was going all around to the points of interest in Chattanooga — I think I dedicated one of the dams — and I drove with Governor Cooper through the streets, the southern end of Chattanooga, through the Negro section.

And there was tremendous enthusiasm to see the President. And suddenly we came onto this broad avenue that was running south, we came to a place where all the enthusiasm quit and stopped; and there were a good many colored people on the streets, but they just stood there, they were completely apathetic.

And I turned to Governor Cooper. I said, "What's the matter with these people?"

He said, "You are not in Tennessee any longer, you are in Georgia." (*Laughter*)

That is a very interesting thing.

Now in Tennessee the great majority of Negroes in Chattanooga are voting; they can take part in the life of the community. You get across this invisible line, you pop over into the State of Georgia, not one of them can vote. Now that is just a plain fact. It's an interesting fact. Just, as I said, hands down — (*demonstrating*) — no enthusiasm at all; and a block further back everybody saying, "Hello, Mr. President," and so forth and so on. They are all right in Tennessee. People in Tennessee are just as well off as before. I don't know what they are kicking about in Georgia, which is my State, unfortunately.

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And there is just one thing in here — (*indicating a prepared statement presented by the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association*) — the only thing I didn't agree with, and that is a thing which your Association, I think, could do something about. You talk about people in other countries. We all know that they are very different from Americans in every way. I will give you one example — something has got to be done about it in time.

Last year I went to a place called Gambia in Africa, at the mouth of the Gambia River. Bathurst is the capital. I think there are about three million inhabitants, of whom one hundred and fifty are white. And it's the most horrible thing I have ever seen in my life. I was there twice. The natives are five thousand years back of us. Disease is rampant, absolutely. It's a terrible place for disease.

And I looked it up, with a little study, and I got to the point of view that for every dollar that the British, who have been there for two hundred years, have put into Gambia, they have taken out ten. It's just plain exploitation of those people. There is no education whatsoever.

And then a very interesting thing. They had no religion except the old forms of voodooism, which were tribal and came down through the centuries. The one religion that is gaining today in Gambia and contiguous colonies is Mohammedanism. Now people don't know about that here. Those people, of course, are completely incapable of self-government. You have got to give them some education first. Then you have got to better their health and their economic position.

The reason the Mohammedans are getting on so well is that the Mohammedan priest comes down to a village, and he has a few tools in his pocket. He has no money. And he goes and lives in a hut with some family. And the next morning he gets a stool and starts his trade, and he makes little silver ornaments or something like that — some little hand

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trade. And pretty soon the children gather around him, and he talks to them. Pretty soon one or two grownups gather around him. Well, in the course of six months he has got a Mohammedan church. And he hasn't got any missionary society back home that pays him a salary. He makes his own way with his little trade. And the result is that Mohammedanism is gaining all through Africa at the present time. The Christian religion is not. The Mohammedan priest is a practical fellow.

Now the agriculture there is perfectly pitiful. The one main asset is peanuts, and the natives grow a lot of peanuts. How do they grow them? They have been growing them now for years, and they still use a pointed stick. Nobody ever saw a plow in Gambia. The British have never done a thing about it. The only road out of Bathurst, the capital, we built out to the airport. The rest of the travel is up the Gambia River, but not back into the country at all, only right by the river.

Now, as I say, we have got to realize that in a country like Gambia — and there are a lot of them down there — the people, who are in the overwhelming majority, have no possibility of self-government for a long time. But we have got to move, the way we did in the Philippines, to teach them self-government. That means education, it means sanitation, it means all those things. And that would be just as good for every white American to know as every colored American; but we don't know.

Now, because of your traditional, historic Association, it would be a perfectly grand thing if your Association could send two or three people out there, as a committee, to write stories about what is needed.

I am taking up with Prime Minister Winston Churchill at the present time — I think he will see the point — the general thought that the United Nations ought to have an inspection committee of all these colonies that are way, way down the line, that are not ready to have anything to say yet because the owning country has given them no facilities.

11. *Transfer of a Destroyer to the French*

And if we sent a committee from the United Nations, and I used the example of Gambia, to go down to Gambia, "If you Britishers don't come up to scratch — toe the mark — then we will let all the world know."

Well, the Prime Minister doesn't like that idea. And his comeback was, "All right, the United Nations will send an inspection committee to your own South in America."
(*Laughter*)

He thought he had me.

I said, "Winston, that's all right with me. Go ahead and do it. Tell the world. We call it freedom of the press, and you also call it 'pitiless publicity' — you can right a lot of wrongs with 'pitiless publicity.'"

It would be a grand thing. I wouldn't mind if we had a committee of the United Nations come here and make a report on us. Why not? We have got some things to be ashamed of, and other things that are not as bad as they are painted. It wouldn't hurt at all — bring it all out.

So, if your Association could do something like that — teach us a little bit more about the world. . . .

11 ¶ Remarks on the Transfer of the Destroyer Escort *Senegalais* to the French.

February 12, 1944

ON BEHALF of the American people I transfer to the Navy of France this warship — built by American hands in an American navy yard. This is one of a long line of events symbolizing the ancient friendship between France and the United States. It emphasizes the determination of this Nation, and of all of the United Nations, to drive from the soil of France the Nazi invaders who today swagger down the Champs Elysées in Paris. This one transfer under the Lend-Lease Law is typical of the thousands of transfers of American-made weapons of war which have been made to our fighting allies. They are bringing closer

11. *Transfer of a Destroyer to the French*

the day of inevitable victory over our enemies on all the fronts all over the world.

No day could be more appropriate for this ceremony than the anniversary we now celebrate of the birth of that illustrious American who, in his time, struck such mighty blows for the liberty and dignity of the human race — Abraham Lincoln.

In 1940 the Nazi invaders overran France. Although we were still on the sidelines, we in the United States realized the horror of that catastrophe — and the grave menace it carried to all the civilized world.

The land of France fell to the enemy, but not so the ships of France. Today her fleet still proudly flies the tricolor in battle against our common enemy. At Nettuno and Anzio in Italy, French ships were among those which bombarded the German coastal installations. In a strategic sector of the Allied line now pushing toward Rome are French troops. Yes, the Nazis on the Italian front know only too well that France is not out of this war.

And the time will soon come when the Nazis in France will learn from millions of brave Frenchmen — now underground — that the people of France, also, are not at all out of this war.

In a sense this transaction today can be regarded not only as lend-lease — it might even be regarded as reverse lend-lease. For in the early days of our national history this situation was reversed. At that time, instead of France receiving an American-made ship, the young Nation of the United States was happy to receive a ship made in France by Frenchmen — the *Bon Homme Richard* — a ship made illustrious under the command of John Paul Jones, in the days of our Navy's infancy. And it is well to remember that that ship was named in honor of our Minister to France, Benjamin Franklin — that wise old philosopher who was the father of close friendship between France and the United States.

This vessel, which today we are turning over to the people of France, will somewhere, sometime, engage the enemy. She is a part of the growing strength of the French Navy. She is a new class — a destroyer escort — speedy and dangerous. I want to tell

12. *Veto of Bill to Raise Cost of Living*

you something else about her — that there are more where she came from. Under our Lend-Lease agreement, she is not the only ship that you will receive from us — we are building others for your sailors to man.

I hope that the Nazis and the Japs are listening to us today as this transfer is made. For it will help them better to understand the spirit and determination which bind together all of the fighting fleets and armies of the United Nations on the road to ultimate victory.

Vice Admiral Fenard, you are the senior officer of the French Navy, and you are the chief of the French Naval Mission here. It has been your duty to work with us in outfitting your fleet. My years of friendship with officers of the French Navy make this a particularly memorable occasion to me, personally. To you, we turn over this ship — the *Senegalais*. We recall with pleasure that it was a French ship which fired the first salute ever rendered to the Stars and Stripes flying from a United States Man-of-War. We remember that salute today — and symbolically we return it.

Good luck, *Senegalais* — and good hunting.

NOTE: The foregoing remarks were broadcast through facilities installed in the President's car, from which he made his address. The ceremonies were held at the Washington Navy Yard. Vice Admiral Raymond A. Fenard, Chief of the French Naval Mission to the United States, accepted the vessel with a brief radio talk following the remarks of the President. The *Senegalais* had a full crew of French sailors, trained in the United States, which immediately took over the operation of the destroyer escort.

12 ¶ The President Vetoes a Bill Which Would Increase the Cost of Living. February 18, 1944

To the House of Representatives:

I RECEIVED yesterday afternoon, February 17, 1944 — H. R. 3477 (S. 1458) — a bill which extends the life of the Commodity Credit Corporation until June 30, 1945, but which by its restrictive pro-

12. *Veto of Bill to Raise Cost of Living*

visions would compel an increase in the cost of food and the cost of living to the people of the United States.

I promptly return the bill, without my signature, and urgently recommend that the Congress take action as soon as possible to extend without hampering restrictions the life of the Commodity Credit Corporation. Farmers could thereby make plans for the planting of crops and know the support prices on which they can rely.

The reasons for my disapproval of H. R. 3477 — my most emphatic and vigorous disapproval — must already be known to every Senator and every Representative. The issue of using Government funds to hold down the cost of living is not a new issue and my views on it have been expressed before and at some length, particularly in my message vetoing a similar bill (H. R. 2869) on July 2, 1943.

This bill, like that bill, is an inflation measure, a high cost of living measure, a food shortage measure.

This bill will raise the cost of food in the Bureau of Labor Statistics index not less than 7 percent and will raise the whole cost of living materially.

If this bill were to become law, the housewife would soon have to pay:

10¢ more a pound for butter

Nearly 8¢ more a pound for cheese

1¢ more for a quart of milk

1¢ more for a loaf of bread

7¢ more for a ten-pound bag of flour

Hamburger would go up 4¢ a pound

Pork chops would go up 4½¢ a pound

Sliced ham would go up 6½¢ a pound

Chuck roast would go up 3½¢ a pound

Round steak would go up 5¢ a pound

The cost of many other necessities would be increased materially.

While increasing the cost of living, the prohibition of con-

12. *Veto of Bill to Raise Cost of Living*

sumers' subsidies will not add one dollar to the income of the farmers.

This bill would in effect reverse the policy of the Congress; in effect, it repeals the Stabilization Act of October 2, 1942.

It is clear that we cannot hold the wage line if the Congress deprives us of the means necessary to hold the cost of living line.

No major country at war today has been able to stabilize the cost of living without the use of subsidies.

If the wage line breaks — and I do not see how it can be held if this bill becomes law — not only will food costs rise still further but all other costs will rise — including the cost of all munitions and supplies for the Army and Navy by many billions.

Not only will it cost every American family more to buy the necessities of life, not only will it cost more to run our factories and our farms, but also the costs of conducting the war will rise proportionately day by day.

The weight of the increased burden will fall on all of us, but most of all on the unorganized workers and others who live on small and relatively fixed incomes, among whom are most of the dependents of our fighting men.

The bill presented to me would destroy the stabilization program.

I cannot accept responsibility for its disastrous consequences.

I hope that the Congress will not compel these consequences.

NOTE: During the war, the Commodity Credit Corporation, by the use of subsidies, made important contributions to keeping down the cost of living. On several occasions, shortsighted interests attempted to obtain legislation which would prevent the Commodity Credit Corporation from extending subsidies, thereby laying the way open for runaway food prices. On each such occasion the President took a firm stand in favor of holding the line

(see, for example, Item 72 and note, 1943 volume).

The lending authority of the Commodity Credit Corporation had been extended by acts of the Congress to December 31, 1943, and again to February 17, 1944 (57 Stat. 566; 57 Stat. 643; see also Item 79 and note, 1943 volume). In February, 1944, the Congress again voted to extend the life of the Commodity Credit Corporation; but Section 3 of the extension Act prohibited the

13. *Surplus War Property Administration*

use of any funds by the Corporation or by any other Governmental agency for subsidies on any agricultural commodity, including milk and livestock and the products thereof. In addition, the proposed new Act contained other provisions which would have resulted in higher prices to the consumer for dairy products.

The President had, in July, 1943, vetoed a similar attempt to drill a hole in the dike against inflation. At that time he stated that the "unorganized millions" of consumers "must not become the forgotten men and women of our war economy." (See Item 72 and note, 1943 volume.)

Although the House of Representatives had adopted the conference report on this bill by a roll-call vote of 249-118 (more than a two-

thirds majority), the vote was only 226-151 in favor of overriding the veto, falling short of the necessary two-thirds. Once again the President's veto was sustained and another victory had been won against the special interests who had tried to break through the line and raise the cost of living. This was the last of a long series of farm bloc efforts to kill subsidies and undermine the President's basic stabilization strategy.

Immediately after the President's veto had been sustained, the Congress passed legislation extending the authority of the Commodity Credit Corporation to July 1, 1945, without the crippling provisions contained in the earlier bill. This new Act (58 Stat. 105) was approved by the President on February 28, 1944.

13 ¶ The Surplus War Property Administration Is Established. Executive Order No. 9425.

February 19, 1944

BY VIRTUE of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, particularly the First War Powers Act, 1941, as President of the United States and as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. There is hereby established in the Office of War Mobilization, the Surplus War Property Administration (hereinafter referred to as the "Administration"), the powers and functions of which, subject to the general supervision of the Director of War Mobilization, shall be exercised by a Surplus War Property Ad-

13. Surplus War Property Administration

ministrator (hereinafter referred to as the "Administrator"), to be appointed by the Director of War Mobilization.

2. With the assistance of a Surplus War Property Policy Board, composed of a representative from each of the following: State Department, Treasury Department, War Department, Navy Department, Justice Department, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Smaller War Plants Corporation, United States Maritime Commission, War Production Board, Bureau of the Budget, War Food Administration, Federal Works Agency, Civil Aeronautics Board, and the Foreign Economic Administration, it shall be the function of the Administration, to the full extent that such matters are provided for or permitted by law:

(a) To have general supervision and direction of the handling and disposition of surplus war property.

(b) To have general supervision and direction of the transfer of any surplus war property in the possession of any Government agency to any other Government agency whenever in the judgment of the Administration such transfer is appropriate.

(c) Unless otherwise directed by the Director of War Mobilization, to assign, so far as it is deemed feasible by the Administration, surplus war property for disposition, as follows: consumer goods to the Procurement Division of the Department of the Treasury; capital and producers' goods, including plants, equipment, materials, scrap, and other industrial property, to a subsidiary of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, created pursuant to Section 5d (3) of the Reconstruction Finance Act, as amended; ships and maritime property to the United States Maritime Commission; and food to the War Food Administration; provided that surplus war property to be disposed of outside the United States, unless otherwise directed by the Director of War Mobilization, shall be assigned, so far as it is deemed feasible by the Administration, to the Foreign Economic Administration.

3. All functions, powers, and duties relating to the transfer or disposition of surplus war property, heretofore conferred by

13. Surplus War Property Administration

law on any Government agency may, to the extent necessary to carry out the provisions of this Order, be exercised also by the Administration.

4. The Administrator may prescribe regulations and issue directions necessary to effectuate the purposes of this Order; and no Government agency shall transfer or dispose of surplus war property in contravention thereof. Each Government agency shall submit such information and reports with respect to surplus war property and in such form and at such times as the Administrator shall direct. When requested by the Administration, a Government agency shall execute such documents for the transfer of title or for any other purpose or take such steps as the Administration shall determine to be necessary or proper to transfer or dispose of surplus war property or otherwise to carry out the provisions of this Order.

5. The Administrator may perform the functions and exercise the powers, authority, and discretion conferred on the Administration by this Order by such officials and such agencies and in such manner as the Administrator, subject to the provisions of this Order, may determine. In carrying out the purposes of this Order, the Administration may utilize the services of any other Government agency. The Administration, within the limit of funds which may be made available, may employ necessary personnel and make provision for supplies, facilities, and services necessary to discharge the responsibilities of the Administration.

6. As used in this Order:

(a) "Government agency" means any executive department, independent establishment, agency, commission, board, bureau, division, administration, office, service, independent regulatory commission or board, and any Government-owned or Government-controlled corporation.

(b) "Surplus War Property" means any property, real or personal, including but not limited to plants, facilities, equipment, machines, accessories, parts, assemblies, products, commodities, materials, and supplies in the possession of or controlled by any Government agency, whether new or used, in

13. *Surplus War Property Administration*

use or in storage, which are in excess of the needs of such agency or are not required for the performance of the duties and functions of such agency and which are determined, subject to the authority of the Office of War Mobilization, to be surplus by such agency.

7. All prior Executive Orders, insofar as they are in conflict herewith, are amended accordingly.

NOTE: Prior to the issuance of the foregoing Executive Order, surplus war property owned by the United States was disposed of primarily by the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department. The Army, Navy, and Reconstruction Finance Corporation also disposed of a large portion of their own surpluses. Sales of property were made by competitive bid, public auction, or direct negotiation with prospective buyers.

In October, 1943, the President requested the Director of War Mobilization to establish a unit in his Office to deal with several postwar problems (see Item 113 and note, 1943 volume). Bernard M. Baruch and John M. Hancock, on February 15, 1944, released the "Report on War and Post-War Adjustment Policies." Among other things, the Baruch-Hancock Report recommended that the Administrator of the war surplus disposal program should sell as much surplus property as quickly as he could without disrupting normal trade; that no sales or rentals be made to speculators or promoters; that records of sale be open to public inspection; that the same regular channels of trade utilized by private

business be used in disposing of properties; and that there be no Government operation of plants in competition with private industry.

In accordance with the Baruch-Hancock Report, the Executive Order provided for a Surplus War Property Administrator, a Surplus War Property Policy Board, and four major disposal agencies. On February 21, 1944, William L. Clayton was appointed Surplus War Property Administrator.

As the new Administration got under way, it designated Government agencies to handle the disposition of various surplus materials as follows:

consumer goods by the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department
industrial real property, aircraft, and capital and producer goods by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation
ships and maritime personal and real property by the Maritime Commission
housing property by the National Housing Agency
community facilities by the Federal Works Agency
food and agricultural products by the Department of Agriculture
and foreign surpluses by the Foreign Economic Administration.

13. Surplus War Property Administration

The Surplus War Property Administration remained a small organization, never exceeding 55 in its personnel. It confined its functions to policy-making, and to supervision of the disposal agencies and their regional offices. No uniform method of disposal was possible. The Administration proceeded on the policy of obtaining the widest possible distribution to small purchasers as well as large ones and making use of commercial channels of trade in order to avoid putting the Government into the retail business.

During the period to the end of 1944, the Treasury Department's Procurement Division disposed of \$77,000,000, or 42 percent of the consumer goods available in inventory. Disposals exceeded acquisitions in October, 1944, and the turnover rate was fast in commodities in which there were civilian shortages, like motor vehicles, textiles, leather, apparel, and furniture.

Under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the various commodities assigned to it for dis-

posal were handled by subordinate corporations. The Defense Plant Corporation disposed of aircraft through its Surplus War Aircraft Division; machine tools and producer goods were handled by the Defense Plant Corporation, Metals Reserve Company, and Defense Supplies Corporation; and industrial plants were disposed of by the Defense Plant Corporation. Total disposals by R.F.C. to the end of 1944 amounted to 80.6 million dollars. Over three-fourths of the goods available for disposal by R.F.C. consisted of aircraft and related equipment, yet only 2 percent of such surplus was actually sold.

Disposal by the Surplus War Property Administration under Executive Order No. 9425 continued throughout 1944, and until the enactment of the Surplus Property Act of 1944 (58 Stat. 765), which the President approved on October 3, 1944 (see Item 80 and note, this volume). The S.W.P.A. continued to function for several months until the Board could be established under the new Act.

14 ¶ The President Vetoes a Revenue Bill on the Ground That It Is "A Tax Relief Bill Providing Relief Not for the Needy but for the Greedy."

February 22, 1944

To the House of Representatives:

I RETURN herewith, without my approval, H. R. 3687, entitled "An Act to provide revenue, and for other purposes."

I regret that I find it necessary in the midst of this great war to be compelled to do this in what I regard as the public interest.

Many months ago, after careful examination of the finances of the Nation, I asked the Congress for legislation to raise \$10,-500,000,000 over and above the existing revenue system. Since then persons prominent in our national life have stated in no uncertain terms that my figure was too low.

The measure before me purports to increase the national revenue by a little over \$2,000,000,000. Actually, however, the bill in its net results will enrich the Treasury by less than \$1,000,-000,000.

As a tax bill, therefore, I am compelled to decide that it is wholly ineffective toward that end.

More specifically the bill purports to provide \$2,100,000,000 in new revenues. At the same time it cancels out automatic increases in the Social Security tax which would yield \$1,100,000,-000. In addition it grants relief from existing taxes which would cost the Treasury at least \$150,000,000 and possibly much more.

In this respect it is not a tax bill but a tax relief bill providing relief not for the needy but for the greedy.

The elimination of automatic increases provided in the Social Security Law comes at a time when industry and labor are best able to adjust themselves to such increases. These automatic increases are required to meet the claims that are being built up

14. *Veto of a Tax Bill*

against the social security fund. Such a postponement does not seem wise.

The clause relating to renegotiating of war contracts terminates the present renegotiation authority on December 31st of this year. This seems unwise at this time because no person can at present determine what a renegotiation time limit should be. More experience is needed. The formal right of appeal to the Tax Court that is granted by this bill is an inept provision. The present Tax Court exists for a wholly different purpose and does not have the personnel or the time to assume this heavy load.

The bill is replete with provisions which not only afford indefensible special privileges to favored groups but set dangerous precedents for the future. This tendency toward the embodiment of special privileges in our legislation is in itself sufficiently dangerous to counterbalance the loss of a very inadequate sum in additional revenues.

Among these special privileges are:

(a) Permission for corporations reorganized in bankruptcy to retain the high excess profits credit and depreciation basis attributable to the contributions of stockholders who are usually eliminated in the reorganization. This privilege inures to the benefit of bondholders who, in many cases, have purchased their bonds in the speculative market for far less than their face value. It may open the door to further windfall profits in this market because of the undeserved benefit received by reorganized corporations.

(b) Percentage depletion allowances, questionable in any case, are now extended to such minerals as vermiculite, potash, feldspar, mica, talc, lepidolite, barite, and spodumene. In the case of some of these minerals the War Production Board refused to certify that current output was inadequate for war needs.

(c) The lumber industry is permitted to treat income from the cutting of timber, including selective logging, as a capital gain rather than annual income. As a grower and seller of timber, I think that timber should be treated as a crop and therefore as income when it is sold. This would encourage reforestation.

14. *Veto of a Tax Bill*

(d) Natural gas pipelines are exempted from the excess profits tax without justification and in a manner which might well lead oil companies to request similar treatment for their pipelines.

(e) Commercial airlines are granted an unjustifiable extension of the tax subsidy on their airmail contracts.

It has been suggested by some that I should give my approval to this bill on the ground that having asked the Congress for a loaf of bread to take care of this war for the sake of this and succeeding generations, I should be content with a small piece of crust. I might have done so if I had not noted that the small piece of crust contained so many extraneous and inedible materials.

In regard to that part of the bill which relates to wholly unobjectionable tax increases, may I respectfully suggest to the Congress that the excise taxes can easily and quickly be levied. This can be accomplished by the passage of a simple Joint Resolution enacting those provisions of the bill which increase the excise taxes. I should be glad to approve such a measure. This would preserve the principal revenue provisions of the bill without the objectionable features I have criticized.

In another most important respect this bill would disappoint and fail the American taxpayers. Every one of them, including ourselves, is disappointed, confused, and bewildered over the practical results of last year's tax bill. The Rumpl Plan was not the product of this Administration. It resulted from a widespread campaign based on the attractive slogan of "Pay-as-you-go." But, as was said many years ago in the State of New York in regard to that same slogan "You don't pay and you don't go."

The Nation will readily understand that it is not the fault of the Treasury Department that the income taxpayers are flooded with forms to fill out which are so complex that even Certified Public Accountants cannot interpret them. No, it is squarely the fault of the Congress of the United States in using language in drafting the law which not even a dictionary or a thesaurus can make clear.

The American taxpayer has been promised of late that tax

14. *Veto of a Tax Bill*

laws and returns will be drastically simplified. This bill does not make good that promise. It ignores the most obvious step toward simplifying taxes by failing to eliminate the clumsy Victory Tax. For fear of dropping from the tax rolls those taxpayers who are at the bottom of the income scale, the bill retains the Victory Tax — while at the same time it grants extensive concessions to many special interest groups.

The suggestion of withholding at graduated rates, which would relieve millions of people of the task of filing declarations of estimated income, was not adopted.

I trust, therefore, that the Congress, after all these delays, will act as quickly as possible for simplification of the tax laws which will make possible the simplification of the forms and computations now demanded of the individual taxpayers. These taxpayers, now engaged in an effort to win the greatest war this Nation has ever faced, are not in a mood to study higher mathematics.

The responsibility of the Congress of the United States is to supply the Government of the United States as a whole with adequate revenue for wartime needs, to provide fiscal support for the stabilization program, to hold firm against the tide of special privileges, and to achieve real simplicity for millions of small income taxpayers.

In the interest of strengthening the home front, in the interest of speeding the day of victory, I urge the earliest possible action.

NOTE: Following the passage of the Current Tax Payment Act of 1943 (see Item 51 and note, 1943 volume), the President in a statement on August 1, 1943, reiterated the need for a truly stiff program of additional taxes, savings, or both. In statements before both the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee, Administration officials in the fall of 1943, outlined a \$10,500,-

000,000 revenue program over and above the existing annual revenues. Nevertheless, both the House and Senate bills provided for approximately only \$2,000,000,000 in additional annual revenues.

During the consideration of the Revenue Act of 1943, Administration officials also stressed the necessity for simplifying the income tax laws, chiefly because of the introduction of current collection and

14. Veto of a Tax Bill

the tenfold expansion since 1939 in the number of individual taxable returns. Treasury officials also urged increases in corporation taxes, and opposed certain provisions in the House and Senate bills designed to grant tax relief to some types of corporations. The Secretary of the Treasury strongly urged that the Social Security system be amplified and extended and that payroll taxes be increased.

The Congress ignored most of the recommendations of the President and of the Administration officials, and passed a bill which, in the foregoing message, the President vetoed. But the veto was promptly overridden; and the Revenue Act of 1943 (58 Stat. 21) became law on February 25, 1944. The Act provided an estimated \$2,200,000,000 in additional revenue annually (not taking into account the revenue effects of its changes in payroll taxes and its special relief provisions). About half of this increase was in the form of additional or higher excise taxes; the other half was in the form of increased income and excess profits taxes and to a les-

ser extent of increased postal rates. The Act froze the Social Security payroll taxes for old-age and survivors' benefits at existing levels for the calendar year 1944, made certain amendments in the statute providing for the renegotiation of war contracts, and included several amendments designed to provide relief to certain corporate taxpayers.

There was a strong reaction in the Congress against the President's message vetoing this tax bill. The Senate Majority Leader, Senator Alben Barkley, an excellent, able, and loyal legislator, submitted his resignation shortly after the veto message had been read in the Congress. Though persuaded that his veto, both in substance and style, was sound, the President was extremely distressed that he should have so hurt Senator Barkley. In conformance with a hope expressed by the President in a telegram to Senator Barkley, Senator Barkley, was unanimously reelected Majority Leader of the Senate following his resignation (see Item 15 and note, this volume, for the telegram of the President to Senator Barkley).

15. *Telegram Asking Senator Barkley Not to Resign*

15 ¶ A Telegram to Senator Alben Barkley Asking Him Not to Resign as Majority Leader of the Senate. February 23, 1944

Dear Alben:

AS I AM OUT of the City I am unable to have a personal talk with you. If I were there, of course, that is the first thing I would do.

I regret to learn from your speech in the Senate on the tax veto that you thought I had in my message attacked the integrity of yourself and other members of the Congress. Such you must know was not my intention. You and I may differ, and have differed on important measures, but that does not mean we question one another's good faith.

In working together to achieve common objectives we have always tried to accommodate our views so as not to offend the other whenever we could conscientiously do so. But neither of us can expect the other to go further.

When on last Monday I read to you portions of my tax message and you indicated your disagreement, I made certain changes as a result of our talk. You did not however try to alter my basic decision when you realized how strongly I felt about it. While I did not realize how very strongly you felt about that basic decision, had I known, I should not have tried to dissuade you from exercising your own judgment in urging the overriding of the veto.

I sincerely hope that you will not persist in your announced intention to resign as Majority Leader of the Senate. If you do, however, I hope your colleagues will not accept your resignation; but if they do, I sincerely hope that they will immediately and unanimously reelect you.

With the many serious problems daily confronting us, it is inevitable that at times you should differ with your colleagues and differ with me. I am sure that your differing with your colleagues does not lessen their confidence in you as Leader. Cer-

16. *Retraining and Reemployment Administration*

tainly, your differing with me does not affect my confidence in your leadership nor in any degree lessen my respect and affection for you personally.

Very sincerely yours,

NOTE: The President sent the foregoing telegram from Hyde Park to Senator Barkley, after Senator Barkley had announced his intention to resign as Majority Leader of the Senate following the President's veto of a tax bill (see Item 14 and note, this volume).

Senator Barkley had been elected Majority Leader of the United States Senate on July 21, 1937, following the death of Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas. Senator Barkley served as Majority Leader for a longer continuous period than any other Majority Leader in American political history. He served the Administration and the Nation well. Although he did submit his resignation, Senator Barkley's colleagues immediately re-

elected him unanimously to the Majority Leadership, in conformance with the hope expressed by the President in the foregoing telegram. Senator Barkley continued to serve his country and the Administration as Majority Leader of the Senate until January, 1947, when he was designated as Minority Leader of the Senate. He served in this capacity until his inauguration as Vice-President of the United States. It was a matter of genuine regret to the President that his veto had the unfortunate consequence of hurting Senator Barkley. The President's telegram was spontaneous and heartfelt, and he was pleased that ultimately the unintended breach was healed.

16 ¶ The President Establishes a Retraining and Reemployment Administration. Executive Order No. 9427. February 24, 1944

BY VIRTUE of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, particularly the First War Powers Act, 1941, as President of the United States and as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. There is hereby established in the Office of War Mobilization a Retraining and Reemployment Administration (herein-

16. Retraining and Reemployment Administration

after referred to as the Administration), the functions of which, subject to the general supervision of the Director of War Mobilization, shall be exercised by a Retraining and Reemployment Administrator (hereinafter referred to as the Administrator) to be appointed by the Director of War Mobilization.

2. With the assistance of a Retraining and Reemployment Policy Board, composed of a representative of the Department of Labor, the Federal Security Agency, the War Manpower Commission, the Selective Service System, the Veterans Administration, the Civil Service Commission, the War Department, the Navy Department, and the War Production Board, it shall be the function of the Administration:

(a) To have general supervision and direction of the activities of all Government agencies relating to the retraining and reemployment of persons discharged or released from the armed services or other war work, including all work directly affected by the cessation of hostilities or the reduction of the war program; to issue necessary regulations and directions in connection therewith; and to advise with the appropriate committees of the Congress as to the steps taken or to be taken with respect thereto.

(b) In consultation with the Government agencies concerned, to develop programs for the orderly absorption into other employment of persons discharged or released from the armed services or other war work, including adequate provisions for vocational training, for the finding of jobs for persons so discharged or released, for assisting those persons and their families pending their absorption into employment, and for dealing with the problems connected with the release of workers from industries not readily convertible to peacetime use. In developing such programs, special regard shall be given to the necessity of integrating them with wartime manpower controls.

(c) In consultation with the Government agencies concerned, to develop programs for the adequate care of persons discharged or released from the armed services, including physi-

16. Retraining and Reemployment Administration

cal and occupational therapy for the wounded and disabled and the resumption of education interrupted by the war.

3. The Retraining and Reemployment Policy Board shall invite representatives of other Government agencies to participate in its deliberations when matters specially affecting them are under consideration.

4. The functions conferred on the Administration by this Order shall be performed through existing Government agencies and officials so far as feasible and in such manner as the Administrator shall determine. The Administration, within the limit of funds which may be made available, may employ necessary personnel and make provision for supplies, facilities, and services necessary to discharge the responsibilities of the Administration.

5. All prior Executive Orders, so far as they are in conflict herewith, are amended accordingly.

NOTE: The foregoing Executive Order established the Retraining and Reemployment Administration in the Office of War Mobilization. On October 3, 1944, the provisions of this Executive Order were superseded by the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of 1944 (58 Stat. 785) which, among other things, established the Retraining and Reemployment Administration within the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. By Executive Order No. 9617, issued on September 19, 1945, President Truman transferred the Administration to the Department of Labor.

The Retraining and Reemployment Administration was principally a coordinating agency concerned with retraining, reemployment, vocational education, and vocational rehabilitation of veterans. With the assistance of rep-

resentatives of other agencies, the Administration stimulated a common program in respect to these activities. A Policy Board, and later an Advisory Council, included representatives of the Department of Labor, Federal Security Agency, War Manpower Commission, Selective Service System, Veterans Administration, Civil Service Commission, War Department, Navy Department, War Production Board, Department of Agriculture, Federal Works Agency, and War Shipping Administration.

The Retraining and Reemployment Administration was particularly successful in coordinating its activities with those of State and local officials, and integrating the programs of State and local communities with those of the executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government.

17 ¶ President's Memorandum to Chairman of War Manpower Commission and Director of Selective Service System on Occupational Deferments. February 26, 1944

THE crucial campaigns of this year will determine both the length of this war and its price in men and goods. We are well equipped in food and munitions but their production has drawn over heavily on our stock of manpower. It is time to strike a new balance.

The armed forces have continuously adjusted their requirements to the minimum necessary to implement strategic plans. Initial estimates have been reduced by over half a million men. Recently the Army has had to withdraw the great majority of men who were receiving instruction in colleges. The present allocations of personnel to the armed forces cannot be further reduced, and there is a very real danger in our failure to supply trained replacements at the time and in the numbers required.

Selective Service has not delivered the quantity of men that was expected. The shortage which commenced to develop last September reached a total of 200,000 on December 31. This means that today we are still short approximately 200,000 *trained* men although the actual personnel shortage in the Army has been reduced to 150,000. Today, as a result, we are forced to emasculate college courses and trained divisions and other units. The Army will not reach its planned January strength until sometime in April, or even later if Selective Service continues to fall behind on its quotas.

The Nation's manpower pool has been dangerously depleted by liberal deferments and I am convinced that in this respect we have been overly lenient, particularly with regard to the younger men. The overage men, the physically disqualified, the returned soldier, and the women of the Nation must be used more effectively to replace the able-bodied men in critical industry and agriculture.

18. *Veteran Preference in Federal Employment*

Almost five million men have been deferred for occupational reasons. Deferments for industry include over a million non-fathers, of whom 380,000 are under 26 years of age. Of almost a million non-fathers deferred in agriculture, over 550,000 are under 26. Agriculture and industry should release the younger men who are physically qualified for military service. The present situation is so grave that I feel that the time has come to review all occupational deferments with a view to speedily making available the personnel required by the armed forces.

18 ¶ The President Defines His Policy on Preference for Veterans in Federal Employment. February 26, 1944

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I DESIRE to have the Civil Service Commission, in connection with its recruiting activities, give special emphasis to placing veterans who are available in vacancies in the various departments and agencies.

I have learned with real interest of the plans which already have been formulated by the Civil Service Commission along these lines. I have been particularly gratified over the efforts that the Commission has made to study just what skills and abilities are needed in the performance of the specific jobs so that disabled veterans can be placed in positions where they can render effective service.

I am today addressing a communication to the heads of all departments and agencies urging that, whenever veterans are referred to them by the Civil Service Commission, they shall be given preference in the filling of positions. I am also urging the heads of the departments and agencies to take immediate steps to delegate, wherever there is a shortage of qualified personnel, full authority to the Civil Service Commission to recruit for them for specific vacancies in the departments and agencies. This

18. Veteran Preference in Federal Employment

will eliminate the delays incident to the Commission's referring a number of names to the departments and agencies and then having the departments and agencies decide who, among the persons referred to them, is to be selected for a particular position. In this manner veterans who are eligible for Federal positions will not be subjected to unnecessary delays in their search for employment with the Federal Government.

Under the provisions of the Selective Training and Service Act persons who have left other than temporary positions in the Federal service are entitled to their old positions or to positions of like seniority, status, and pay. I have learned that some confusion exists in the minds of various departments and agencies as to just what is the extent of their obligations under this Act.

I am therefore designating the Civil Service Commission as the agency which is responsible for issuing, from time to time, as my representative, instructions as to just what the departments and agencies shall do under specific sets of circumstances in granting reemployment rights to veterans. In discharging this responsibility, it is my desire that the Civil Service Commission give full weight to the spirit and intent back of Section 8(A) of the Selective Training and Service Act. The Federal Government, as an employer, must act in connection with these matters in such a manner as to leave no doubt in the minds of the citizens of this country of its intention to fully comply with the promises made to the members of our armed services through the Selective Training and Service Act.

If the Commission notes any reluctance upon the part of any department or agency of Government to conform to the instructions relative to the reemployment of returning veterans which may be issued from time to time, I desire to have this reluctance called to my attention at once through the Liaison Officer for Personnel Management.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Harry B. Mitchell,
President, U. S. Civil Service Commission,
Washington, D. C.

18. Veteran Preference in Federal Employment

To the heads of executive departments and agencies:

I have today addressed a letter to the Civil Service Commission in which I have directed it, in connection with its recruiting activities, to give special emphasis to placing veterans who are available in vacancies in the Federal service.

It is my desire that, whenever the Civil Service Commission refers veterans to the various departments and agencies, these veterans be given preference in the filling of vacancies.

In addition, it is my desire that, wherever there is a shortage of qualified personnel, the heads of the various departments and agencies delegate to the Civil Service Commission full authority to recruit for them for vacancies which may exist in such types of positions as may be requested by the departments and agencies. This will eliminate the delays incident to the Commission's referring a number of names to the departments and agencies, and then having the departments and agencies decide who, among the persons referred to them, is to be selected for a particular position. Except in the case of filling unusual types of positions, there is no reason whatsoever why, taking into consideration the present manpower situation, the departments and agencies should not delegate this authority to the Commission. Not to do so means that the veteran is being subjected to unnecessary delays in his efforts to secure employment. This can not and should not be tolerated.

My attention has been called to the fact that there is some confusion in the minds of appointing officers in the departments and agencies as to the Federal Government's obligation to provide reemployment for persons who left the Federal service and entered the armed forces. I am today designating the Civil Service Commission as my representative for the purpose of issuing, from time to time, instructions which will indicate just what the rights of the returning veterans are under certain sets of circumstances. The instructions issued by the Commission should be rigidly adhered to by the heads of the departments and agencies and by their representatives.

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I have instructed the Commission to notify me, through the Liaison Officer for Personnel Management, of any reluctance upon the part of particular departments or agencies to adhere to these instructions relative to the reemployment of returning veterans. The Federal Government's record in this regard must be one which will constitute an example for all employers.

Dear Mr. Ramspeck:

I have learned with real interest that your Committee is planning to consider, in the near future, certain legislative proposals relating to the extension of preference to veterans who desire to compete for positions in the Federal Civil Service.

I believe that the Federal Government, functioning in its capacity as an employer, should take the lead in assuring those who are in the armed services that when they return special consideration will be given to them in their efforts to obtain employment. It is absolutely impossible to take millions of our young men out of their normal pursuits for the purpose of fighting to preserve the Nation, and then expect them to resume their normal activities without having any special consideration shown them.

The problems of readjustment will be difficult for all of us. They will be particularly difficult for those who have spent months and even years at the battlefronts all over the world. Surely a grateful Nation will want to express its gratitude in deeds as well as in words.

I believe that legislation relating to preference for veterans in positions in the Federal Civil Service should include, among others, the following points:

1. Authority should be granted, during the war and for a period of five years following the war, to restrict to veterans examinations for such positions as may, from time to time, be designated by the President. Those who are fighting for the life of the Nation today will, upon their return to civilian life, be in a position to make a unique contribution to the administration

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of Government. We should be in a position to take full advantage of this fact.

2. Where competition is not restricted solely to veterans, provision should be made for adding points to the earned ratings of veterans who compete for positions in the Federal Civil Service.

3. The Civil Service Commission should be given the authority to determine whether or not the reasons advanced by appointing officers for passing over veterans on lists of eligibles are valid. Furthermore, appointing officers should be required to consider the Commission's findings before filling vacancies. This will center in one agency the responsibility for determining whether or not a veteran is entitled to consideration for a particular job.

4. Veterans should be accorded special consideration in connection with any reductions in total personnel which it may be necessary for Federal agencies to work out from time to time.

It is my understanding that H. R. 4115, as introduced by the Honorable Joe Starnes of Alabama, is in substantial conformity with the principles above outlined. I sincerely hope, therefore, that this bill may receive the early and sympathetic consideration of the Congress.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Robert Ramspeck,
Chairman, Civil Service Committee,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

NOTE: Pursuant to the recommendations of the President in the foregoing letters, a program was immediately formulated for the placement of veterans in the Federal service. As recommended by the President in his letter to the Chairman of the House Civil Service Committee, Congress enacted H. R. 4115, which was approved by the President on June 27, 1944 (58

Stat. 387) and became the "Veterans' Preference Act of 1944."

This Act provided that preference in employment and retentions be given to ex-servicemen and women, the wives of disabled ex-servicemen, and the unremarried widows of deceased ex-servicemen. Able-bodied veterans were allowed 5 points in addition to their earned ratings on any Civil Service exam-

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ination, and after having received the 5 points, their names were placed ahead of all non-veterans having the same rating. Disabled veterans were accorded 10 points in addition to earned ratings in Civil Service examinations, and except for scientific and professional positions paying more than \$3,000 a year, the names of these ten-point preference veterans were placed at the head of the list, regardless of their earned rating. If a disabled veteran was unable to qualify for a Civil Service appointment because of a service-connected disability, the wife of such a veteran was entitled to the same preference as a disabled veteran. Similar preference was accorded to unremarried widows of honorably discharged veterans.

As recommended by the President, examinations for certain positions, such as elevator operators, guards, and messengers were restricted to veterans and remained so restricted as long as veteran applicants were available for these positions. The physical requirements of height and weight were waived for veterans applying for Civil Service positions if they were otherwise able to perform the duties of the position. Where a Government agency had to reduce its force, veterans whose efficiency ratings were "good" or better were retained in preference to all competing non-veterans. In applying for a Civil Service job in the type of work carried on before entering the

military or naval service, the time spent in such a service job was included in the experience rating which a veteran received.

The Veterans' Preference Act of 1944 further provided that the Civil Service Commission exercise strict supervision to insure that the agencies of Government did not arbitrarily pass over veterans who were eligible for appointment. As recommended by the President in his foregoing letter to Representative Robert Ramspeck, agencies passing over veteran eligibles were required to submit their written reasons for such action, and the Civil Service Commission was directed under the Act to determine whether such reasons were sufficient to justify non-employment of veterans.

As in the case of private employment, the returning veteran was given the legal right to be reemployed in his former Civil Service position, or in a position of like seniority, status, and pay. This legal right was provided in Section 8A of the Selective Training and Service Act.

The spirit and intent of the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944 was vigilantly carried out by the Civil Service Commission and the personnel offices of the various Federal departments and agencies. In this way, veterans were given the preference to which they were entitled in securing and retaining Civil Service positions.

19 ¶ Statement by the President Concerning the Army Specialized Training Enlisted Reserve for Seventeen-Year-Old High School Graduates.

March 3, 1944

I AM DELIGHTED that the War Department has expanded the Army Specialized Training Enlisted Reserve for seventeen-year-old high school graduates. This enlarged program will provide the armed forces with a necessary reservoir of younger men with specialized training at the college level. For those properly qualified in this age group the enlisted reserve program provides the best possible opportunity for them to serve their country.

To be eligible for training all young men who will be high school graduates by July 1 must take the joint Army-Navy qualifying examination on March 15. It will be given in thousands of high schools and colleges throughout the country.

Everyone who passes this test and a physical examination, and is within the proper age limits set by the Army and Navy, will be given an opportunity to apply for the reserve and to express a preference for either the Army or Navy program. Those selected will be sent to a college or university at the expense of their Government until the time they become eighteen years of age, or for longer periods depending upon their age, special qualifications, and the national need of their services in the armed forces. The Army will call no one for active duty until after his eighteenth birthday.

I urge every young American who will be a high school graduate by July first to investigate the Army and Navy reserve programs immediately. It is of the greatest importance to the Nation that as many as possible take the March 15 examination.

20 ¶ Informal, Extemporaneous Remarks to Advertising War Council Conference.

March 8, 1944

I WANT to say "how do" to you, and tell you how glad I am that you are here. I wish I had been able to make these tours with you; I probably would have learned a great deal. I am rather envious for that reason. I also want to tell you how really appreciative I am of what you have done for the war in the past couple of years. It has been a tremendous help to us in all these war campaigns that you, probably more than anybody else, have put across throughout the country. They will be coming along, probably for a good long time to come — more of them.

And we are counting on you for continued work with us in educating the country. It isn't propaganda and it isn't a drive, but it is part of our system of modern education, getting into all the communities, large and small. A good many new ones that will come right along. They are not propaganda, or political in the larger sense.

I hesitate a little bit to ask you to help me on one thing. I think one of the real dangers in the country, on the non-military side, is inflation. I am scared to death of inflation, quite frankly; and I don't think it is a party matter. There have been quite a number of ads that have been carried in the recent past about the dangers of inflation. And yet, as I see people that come in here from all over the country, the number of people that don't understand it yet! It is perfectly appalling. So the more education we give them the better it is.

I think probably everybody in this room is afraid of inflation, just as I am. You have seen it happen in other countries. We know the dangers that would occur if we went into an inflationary period. I still think we have got to do an awful lot of educating to prevent it from happening in some manner or form. It isn't just the same things that have happened to other countries

20. *Advertising War Council Conference*

that have got a debased currency, but it is what would happen to the investments of every man, woman, and child in this country.

One thing that I don't dare say — talk about out loud — is the effect it would have on Government bonds. A good many of us have bought Government bonds, and we want to get paid back in the same kind of dollars, so far as we can, that we put into those bonds. Of course, I can't talk about it in that way, because it might discourage the future sales of Government bonds. So that kind of advertising and information — education — has got to be written by experts like you people.

Things of that kind I don't think have anything to do with politics. And yet it's amazing the number of people who are playing up the inflationary program, who think of it very largely in terms of politics, one way or the other — both parties.

I am just using that as an example of some of the things we still have to do to keep the feet of the country on the ground. And there is always the tendency, in matters like that, for people to lift one foot up, a little like one of my farm-leader friends who admitted to one of the committees in Congress, when he talked about the benefits of this, that, and the other thing. And he was asked whether he was in favor of inflation.

"Oh — Oh no. Oh my, no. Of course not."

Then he hesitated a minute, and said, "Just a little bit of inflation."

Well, if you once start a little bit, as you all know, it is pretty hard to stop it. You want to keep the dam from breaking.

So I hope that you have had a good time, also a successful time, in hearing some of the military and naval problems. I think things are going along fairly well. Of course, I am never satisfied. Probably it's a good attitude of mind to be in — never to be satisfied.

You probably heard some of the senior officers about the background of things, and some of the junior officers who have been out on the firing line, who are much more interesting than the senior officers. Human interest stuff; and they are long on human interest — rightly. And they are grand people.

Then, of course, we have to remember that they wouldn't have had their human interest if it hadn't been for the planning by the different staffs. And it is rather an interesting fact — no reason you shouldn't know — that on all this planning neither Churchill nor I has ever overruled the staffs. Lots of people think so. It isn't true. We have gone along with the staffs remarkably well, if I do hand myself a bouquet. Then it so happens that the joint staffs and I over here have viewed this picture of the war all over the world in exactly the same way. We haven't had any basic disagreement, and even haven't had any minor disagreements. We happen to have been thinking exactly along the same lines.

On international cooperation, we are now working, since the last meeting in Teheran, in really good cooperation with the Russians. And I think the Russians are perfectly friendly; they aren't trying to gobble up all the rest of Europe or the world. They didn't know us, that's the really fundamental difference. They are friendly people. They haven't got any crazy ideas of conquest, and so forth; and now that they have got to know us, they are much more willing to accept us. And we are working in with them on actual operations and plans much better than we did before, just because we didn't know each other.

So that was one of the great gains of last fall in Teheran. Things of that kind take quite a while to work out with people who are five or six thousand miles away, who don't talk our language, English — and we certainly don't know Russian. And yet we are getting somewhere with them.

And all these fears that have been expressed by a lot of people here — with some reason — that the Russians are going to try to dominate Europe, I personally don't think there's anything in it. They have got a large enough "hunk of bread" right in Russia to keep them busy for a great many years to come without taking on any more headaches.

The military operations, therefore, are in a good cooperative position. We have got a long, long road to go. Of course, the more you do to tell the people that "peace is just around the

20. *Advertising War Council Conference*

corner," the better it is, but nobody agrees that peace is around the corner. It just plain isn't. It's a long road, and a difficult road. We are going to have big losses. And I am personally confident of victory in the long run. But I am inclined to think that we ought — if we do any complaining at all — to be against the people who are, honorably and honestly, working in just the wrong direction, such as the group that wants to make peace now.

Well, just for example, I got a letter yesterday from a very prominent man who has been retired for some years, a five-page letter, making a plea to me to appoint a "secretary of peace" and send him over to Germany — it's a beautiful letter, and he meant it; it's an honest thing, from his heart — to see if we couldn't work out some means with Germany of ending this terrible slaughter, and the busting up of civilization. Not a word about some of the things we are hoping to get, such as the end of German aggression, and a change in the philosophy of the German government. Oh no, not a word about that! But, appoint a peace secretary to go over there — sort of a roving commission — to bring peace to the world.

Now there are a lot of people in this country that are doing things of that kind honestly. I don't believe in this "ulterior motive" stuff, but they just don't know. And therefore they require what I was talking about before, some education from you people.

So go ahead and give it to them, all you possibly can.

We are going to win the war — it is going to take an awfully long time — and we don't like to be interfered with in the winning of the war.

So on that note I am putting it up to you.

21 ¶ Statement by the President on the Nazis' Use of Rome as a Military Center.

March 14, 1944

EVERYONE knows the Nazi record on religion. Both at home and abroad, Hitler and his followers have waged a ruthless war against the churches of all faiths.

Now the German army has used the Holy City of Rome as a military center. No one could have been surprised by this — it is only the latest of Hitler's many affronts to religion. It is a logical step in the Nazi policy of total war — a policy which treats nothing as sacred.

We on our side have made freedom of religion one of the principles for which we are fighting this war. We have tried scrupulously — often at considerable sacrifice — to spare religious and cultural monuments, and we shall continue to do so.

NOTE: See Item 35, this volume, for the President's fireside chat on the occasion of the fall of Rome.

22 ¶ The President Requests the State Governors to Supply Information on the Effectiveness of the Pending Soldier Vote Bill. March 15, 1944

THE Congress has passed and there will be submitted to me within a day or two, for my approval or disapproval, the Soldiers' Voting Bill.

In it are certain provisions, which, in order to be effective, require certification by the Governor of a State that the use of Federal ballots provided for by the bill is authorized by the laws of such State.

To enable me to form an opinion as to the effectiveness of this measure I should appreciate it if you could at once advise me by wire:

22. *Soldier Vote Bill*

(1) whether the use of supplementary Federal ballots provided for by this bill is, in your judgment, now authorized by the laws of your State, and

(2) if the use of these ballots is not authorized by the laws of your State whether, in your judgment, if the bill becomes law, steps will be taken to enable you to certify prior to July 15 that the use of such ballots is authorized by the laws of your State. A copy of the bill has been sent you by air mail.

NOTE: For several months the Congress had been considering legislation to enable absentee members of the armed forces to vote in the 1944 and subsequent elections. In a strong message to the Congress on January 25, 1944, the President urged the Congress to enact legislation which would eliminate some of the complex and inadequate provisions of the proposals then under Congressional consideration (see Item 7 and note, this volume).

The Congress, however, ignored the President's advice, and passed a measure which embodied some helpful provisions, but which contained many others which required complicated procedures and were of dubious value. In order better to gauge the actual effects of the measure passed by the Congress, the President sent the foregoing telegram to the Governors of all the States; he also forwarded prints of the bill by air mail to each Governor.

Within a week of sending the telegrams and letters, replies had been received from 47 of the 48 Governors. Answers to the questions were not in every case conclusive. The answers to the first question on whether supplementary Federal ballots were authorized by existing State laws were approximately 3-1 in the negative; only a handful of the States answering the first question in the negative could make any prediction that such authorization would be made by July 15.

On March 31, 1944, one day before the measure became law without his signature, the President sent a message to the Congress setting forth his criticisms of the bill's shortcomings (see Item 26 and note, this volume, for the text of the President's final comment on the bill, and an account of its provisions and effects).

23 ¶ The President Urges Finland to Break with Nazi Germany. March 16, 1944

IT HAS always seemed odd to me and to the people of the United States to find Finland a partner of Nazi Germany, fighting side by side with the sworn enemies of our civilization.

The Finnish people now have a chance to withdraw from this hateful partnership. The longer they stay at Germany's side the more sorrow and suffering is bound to come to them. I think I can speak for all Americans when I say that we sincerely hope Finland will now take the opportunity to disassociate herself from Germany.

24 ¶ The President Asks That Frontiers Be Opened to Victims of Nazi Oppression and Declares That War Criminals Will Be Tried and Punished. March 24, 1944

THE United Nations are fighting to make a world in which tyranny and aggression cannot exist; a world based upon freedom, equality, and justice; a world in which all persons regardless of race, color, or creed may live in peace, honor, and dignity.

In the meantime in most of Europe and in parts of Asia the systematic torture and murder of civilians — men, women, and children — by the Nazis and the Japanese continue unabated. In areas subjugated by the aggressors innocent Poles, Czechs, Norwegians, Dutch, Danes, French, Greeks, Russians, Chinese, Filipinos — and many others — are being starved or frozen to death or murdered in cold blood in a campaign of savagery.

The slaughters of Warsaw, Lidice, Kharkov, and Nanking — the brutal torture and murder by the Japanese, not only of civilians but of our own gallant American soldiers and fliers — these are startling examples of what goes on day by day, year in and

24. *The President Condemns Brutalities of Nazis and Japs*

year out, wherever the Nazis and the Japs are in military control — free to follow their barbaric purpose.

In one of the blackest crimes of all history — begun by the Nazis in the day of peace and multiplied by them a hundred times in time of war — the wholesale systematic murder of the Jews of Europe goes on unabated every hour. As a result of the events of the last few days hundreds of thousands of Jews, who while living under persecution have at least found a haven from death in Hungary and the Balkans, are now threatened with annihilation as Hitler's forces descend more heavily upon these lands. That these innocent people, who have already survived a decade of Hitler's fury, should perish on the very eve of triumph over the barbarism which their persecution symbolizes, would be a major tragedy.

It is therefore fitting that we should again proclaim our determination that none who participate in these acts of savagery shall go unpunished. The United Nations have made it clear that they will pursue the guilty and deliver them up in order that Justice be done. That warning applies not only to the leaders but also to their functionaries and subordinates in Germany and in the satellite countries. All who knowingly take part in the deportation of Jews to their death in Poland or Norwegians and French to their death in Germany are equally guilty with the executioner. All who share the guilt shall share the punishment.

Hitler is committing these crimes against humanity in the name of the German people. I ask every German and every man everywhere under Nazi domination to show the world by his action that in his heart he does not share these insane criminal desires. Let him hide these pursued victims, help them to get over their borders, and do what he can to save them from the Nazi hangman. I ask him also to keep watch, and to record the evidence that will one day be used to convict the guilty.

In the meantime, and until the victory that is now assured is won, the United States will persevere in its efforts to rescue the victims of brutality of the Nazis and the Japs. Insofar as the necessity of military operations permit, this Government will

24. *The President Condemns Brutalities of Nazis and Japs*

use all means at its command to aid the escape of all intended victims of the Nazi and Jap executioner — regardless of race or religion or color. We call upon the free peoples of Europe and Asia temporarily to open their frontiers to all victims of oppression. We shall find havens of refuge for them, and we shall find the means for their maintenance and support until the tyrant is driven from their homelands and they may return.

In the name of justice and humanity let all freedom-loving people rally to this righteous undertaking.

NOTE: Since the days before the outbreak of the European war, the President had taken the initiative in instituting various intergovernmental and United States measures, the purpose of which was to aid the victims of Nazi political and religious persecution. (See Item 38 and note, 1938 volume; Items 84 and 143, and notes, 1939 volume; and Items 6, 39, and 41, and notes, this volume.) The efforts to bring quick aid to refugees culminated in the establishment of the War Refugee Board by Executive Order No. 9417, issued on January 22, 1944. (See Item 6 and note, this volume.)

On December 17, 1942, the Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, U.S.S.R., Great Britain, Yugoslavia, and the United States, as well as the French National Committee, issued a United Nations declaration condemning the barbarous slaughter of the Jews in Europe. This declaration was issued when Germany still had hopes of military victory,

and some of its effect may have therefore been dissipated.

On November 1, 1943, at the conclusion of the conference of Foreign Secretaries of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union held at Moscow, a declaration on German atrocities was signed and issued by Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt (see Item 122 and note, 1943 volume). This declaration again called attention to the Nazi atrocities and massacres, particularly in those countries which Germany had overrun. The declaration announced that war criminals would be brought back to the scene of their crimes and “judged on the spot by the peoples whom they have outraged” (see Item 122 and note, 1943 volume).

There were compelling reasons for the President’s decision in the spring of 1944 to make a new and even firmer statement on the issue of war crimes. The wave of Nazi massacres was rising. In the hope of saving the lives of hunted and persecuted peoples, the President asked that Germans and the inhabitants of the satellite countries

24. *The President Condemns Brutalities of Nazis and Japs*

under German rule do everything possible to prevent the executioners from accomplishing their purpose. The President also issued the statement to call attention to the murderous acts of the Japanese against American prisoners and aviators. A further reason for the Presidential statement was that the Moscow declaration of November 1, 1943, had not mentioned atrocities against the Jews; the President felt that a separate statement specifically referring to Jewish persecutions would give some hope to the Jewish victims and might even result in sparing the lives of some of them.

The President's statement was widely disseminated throughout Europe in many languages, in order to insure its penetration into German-controlled European countries. The statement was printed and circulated through underground channels into enemy territory; it was also dropped from the air over Hungary and other Nazi-occupied countries. The British Broadcasting Company relayed the statement in many languages to enemy and occupied countries.

The precise effect of the President's statement in terms of lives saved cannot be measured. There is some evidence of the effectiveness of the statement as a weapon of psychological warfare. Following the summer of 1944 there was an increasing number of overtures from high and low German officials anxious to curry future favor by suddenly offering to stop the per-

secutions. Issued at a time when German military fortunes were on the wane, the Presidential statement undoubtedly had some effect in saving the lives of many of the persecuted.

The President's firm stand in the foregoing statement stimulated a series of other public statements and appeals. On May 25, 1944, a group of seventy-three prominent American Christians headed by Alfred E. Smith and the Governors of eighteen States, called upon the allied Nations to repeat their condemnation of Nazi atrocities. With particular reference to the shocking elimination of Jews in Hungary, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Archbishop Francis J. Spellman, and many other prominent citizens issued additional statements warning that the Nazis would be brought to the bar of justice for their crimes. On November 7, 1944, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces in Europe, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, issued a blunt warning to the German people that heavy punishment awaited those who were responsible for the mistreatment of minority groups.

Three months after the capitulation of Germany, the United Nations War Crimes Commission signed an agreement and charter and the trial of the top-ranking Nazi criminals began in Nuremberg, Germany, on November 20,

25. *Nine Hundred and Forty-fourth Press Conference*

1945. The top war criminals were sentenced on September 30 and October 1, 1946. Similar trials of war criminals were held in Japan. These were followed by the further trial of the less important military and civilian personnel guilty of war crimes.

25 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Forty-fourth Press Conference (Excerpts). March 24, 1944

(Message to Filipino people on tenth anniversary of signing of Act providing for independence — Resignation of Lowell Mellett — Lend-lease aid and reverse lend-lease — War Refugee Board — Statement of foreign policy — Deferment of fishermen.)

THE PRESIDENT: I have a number of fairly interesting items.

Today is the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Tydings-McDuffie Act for Philippine independence. It seems like almost yesterday that we signed that. And in view of that anniversary, I thought that I would like to say just a few short sentences to the Filipino people.

(Reading, not literally): On this the tenth anniversary of the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, I take the opportunity of conveying again a message of friendship and good will to the people of the Philippines.

"American-Filipino friendship has had a long history. The bill for Philippine independence which I signed ten years ago was a concrete manifestation of that friendship. It is a source of deep gratification today to be able to say to the brave people who are now bearing the yoke of Japanese domination, that the return of freedom to the Islands draws closer with each Allied victory. The Philippine Government temporarily residing here possesses all of the attributes of an independent Nation. And finally, America will fulfill her pledge."

I am very sorry to announce that Lowell Mellett is getting out of here. Much to my disgust he's gone and done it again, and there is nothing for me to do except to accept it.

He is going to the *Washington Star*, and perhaps other newspapers. I am awfully sorry he is going, but I know he will be extremely useful there. He knows how to write,

25. *Nine Hundred and Forty-fourth Press Conference*

which is more — some people don't — (*laughter*) — although his letter of resignation to me and my acceptance of it was turned over to Steve [Early], and Steve edited them both. (*Laughter*) However, they are very lovely letters, in spite of what Steve did to them. And you can have copies of them.

Leo Crowley resigned as Alien Property Custodian. And Steve has his letter of resignation and my acceptance thereof. Of course, it doesn't change his duties in any way in his other work. And with it I picked up an old letter that he wrote me a few days ago, about his other work — Foreign Economic Administration — which I think is worth reading a paragraph of.

(*Reading, not literally*): "After the authorization and appropriation for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration are made, if the Foreign Economic Administration is the American agency charged with the responsibility for handling the appropriation, it will, in collaboration with the War Production Board and the other American allocating agencies, weigh the requests of the U.N.R.R.A. for farm machinery as well as other supplies in the light of our war needs" —

— that is farm machinery to go abroad —

"— the needs of the American farmers or civilians for farm machinery or other supplies and other needs elsewhere. As you are well aware, the F.E.A., in their screening of farm machinery moving abroad under lend-lease, has clearly kept these, as well as other relevant considerations, in mind.

"Thus, for example, the amount of farm machinery exported under lend-lease since the beginning of the program has been less than 2 percent of the available American supplies."

I would love to have that figure used as a correction of some statements that have been made in the paper.

"This equipment has been sent in the main to countries such as Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom to assist in increasing vitally needed food production for war. As you know, these countries, under reverse lend-lease, and without payment by us, have supplied our armed forces with very substantial quantities of food."

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That's a great many people. Add them up. And I think it is worth while to repeat something that I gave you a long time ago — couple of months ago — and that is by the first of July this year we will have five million men outside the United States. That's a lot of people.

"Australia and New Zealand, for instance, have supplied our forces under reverse lend-lease with approximately the same amount of beef and veal which we have exported to all lend-lease countries. In the United Kingdom more than 20 per cent of the food for our forces has been supplied under reverse lend-lease."

Now, the next thing is the work of that interdepartmental committee in regard to refugees — the War Refugee Board. I think perhaps this is an opportune time to release a statement which I prepared last week [see Item 24]. We are keeping in close touch with the Prime Minister and Mr. Stalin in regard to this; it is done with their full knowledge and approval.

In the first place, I am making Mr. John W. Pehle, who has been acting director for the past month or two, a full director.

And the work is doing very well, actually getting refugees out.

(*Reading, not literally*): "The United Nations are fighting to make a world in which tyranny and aggression cannot exist; a world based upon freedom, equality, and justice; a world in which all persons regardless of race, color, or creed may live in peace, honor, and dignity."

Some of you people who are wandering around asking the bellhop whether we have a foreign policy or not, I think that's a pretty good paragraph. We have a foreign policy. Some people may not know it, but we really have.

[*The President then read the remainder of Item 24.*] . . .

Q. Mr. President, does this country too plan to open itself up as a haven for these refugees?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we are taking care of all the refugees that we can get out now. We have a great many in North Africa, you know, at the present time.

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Q. What I meant was, whether we plan to bring any here or not?

THE PRESIDENT: No, not yet; because there aren't enough to come, which is one reason — a pretty good one. . . .

Q. Mr. President, the fisherman is catching about an average of 80 thousand pounds of food a year, and do you have any plans to protect this supply of food? . . .

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't know. I haven't done anything about it since last spring, but the Bureau of Fisheries, you know, at that time, was working on an effort to use all fish that were brought in. It was a problem, at that time, partly of refrigeration and partly of transportation.

Q. It's a problem now of draft deferment.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, all I remember is that last year there was a lovely plan that was offered to me, in a personal letter, which took the time of twenty or thirty Government employees to run down, and that was the theory that a boy of sixteen could catch fish just as well as a boy of eighteen. And they decided unanimously that that was probably so. In other words, it's a question of letting some of the older boys do it, and some of the younger boys. I am one of the older boys that catches fish. (*Laughter*)

NOTE: See Item 34 and note, pp. 118-120, 1934 volume, for the President's message to the Congress recommending adoption of Philippine independence legislation, and for the provisions of the Tydings-McDuffie Act. For wartime references to Philippine independence, see Item 146 and note, 1941 volume; Item 125 and note, 1942 volume; Items 88, 110, 116, and notes, 1943 volume; and Items 46, 133, and 145, this volume.

For other references to lend-lease

and reverse lend-lease, see Item 145, pp. 606-615, 1940 volume; Item 152 and note, pp. 663-678, 1940 volume; Item 157, p. 710, 1940 volume; Items 15, 17, 28, 37, 52, 76, 82, 96, 105, 111, 123, and notes, 1941 volume; Item 31 and note, 1942 volume; Items 30, 98, 119 and 124, and notes, 1943 volume; Item 31 and note, this volume.

See Item 6 and note, this volume, for the establishment of the War Refugee Board.

26 ¶ Statement of the President on Allowing Soldier Vote Bill to Become Law Without His Signature. March 31, 1944

To the Congress:

I AM PERMITTING S. 1285, entitled "An Act to facilitate voting, in time of war, by members of the land and naval forces, members of the merchant marine, and others, absent from the place of their residence, and to amend the Act of September 16, 1942, and for other purposes," to become law without my signature.

The bill is, in my judgment, wholly inadequate to assure to servicemen and women as far as is practically feasible the same opportunity which they would have to vote if they were at home.

Because of the confusing provisions of the bill and because of the difficulty of knowing just what will be the practical effect of the bill in operation, it is impossible for me to determine whether in fact more servicemen and women will be able to vote under the new measure than under existing law. That determination will largely depend upon the extent to which the States cooperate to make the measure as effective as its provisions permit. In view of this situation, I have resolved the doubt in favor of the action taken by the Congress, and am permitting the bill to become law without my approval.

In other words, this bill might fairly be called a standing invitation to the several States to make it practicable for their citizens to vote: in this sense the Congress is placing a certain responsibility on each State for action. But it will, of course, be understood by those in the armed services, who want to vote but cannot, that the Congress itself shares the responsibility through the complexities of this bill.

The issue regarding soldiers' voting has been confused. The issue is not whether soldiers should be allowed to vote a full ballot, including State and local offices, or a short ballot confined to Federal offices. I am, and always have been, anxious to have

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the Federal Government do everything within its power compatible with military operations to get the full State ballots to the men and women in the service. I always have been, and I am now, anxious to have the States do everything within their power to get the full State ballots to the men and women in the service.

The real issue is whether after the States have done all that they are willing to do to get the full State ballots to the men and women in the service, and after the Federal Government has done everything within its power to get the full State ballots delivered to the men and women in the service, those who have not received their full State ballots should be given the right to cast a short, uniform Federal ballot which can readily be made available to them. This right which should be assured to all men and women in the service, is largely nullified by the conditions which the provisions of this bill attach to its exercise.

In my judgment, the right of a soldier to vote the Federal ballot if he does not receive in time his State ballot should not be conditioned, as it is by this bill, upon his having made a prior application for a State ballot, or upon the prior certification by the Governor of the State that the Federal ballot is acceptable under State law. This bill provides a Federal ballot but because of these conditions, it does not provide the right to vote.

The Federal Government will and should do everything it can to get the State ballots to our men and women in the service. But it is not in my judgment true, as some have contended, that the Federal Government can assure the use of State ballots as readily as the use of Federal ballots. No matter what effort the Federal Government makes, in many cases it will not be possible to ensure the delivery in time of State ballots to designated individuals all over the world or their return in time to the respective States.

Some of the servicemen and women, not knowing where they will be a month hence or whether they will be alive, will not apply for their ballots. Others will not receive their State ballots in time or be able to get their ballots back to their States in time. Remember that a number of States still require a special form of

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application and that the postal card application forms supplied by the Federal Government are only treated as an application for an application for a State ballot.

The Federal Government can ensure, and in my judgment it is the duty of the Federal Government to ensure, that every serviceman and woman who does not get his State ballot in time shall have the right to use a short and uniform Federal ballot.

It is in my judgment within the authority of the Congress to use its war powers to protect the political rights of our servicemen and women to vote for Federal offices as well as their civil rights with respect to their jobs and their homes. If Congress did not hesitate to protect their property rights by legislation which affected State law, there is no reason why Congress should hesitate to protect their political rights.

In 1942, Congress did exercise the war powers to provide Federal war ballots and they were counted in almost every State. What was constitutional in 1942, certainly is not unconstitutional in 1944.

In allowing the bill to become law, I wish to appeal to the States, upon whom the Congress has placed the primary responsibility for enabling our service people to vote, to cooperate to make the bill as fully effective as its defective provisions will allow. The response of the Governors to my questions, and reports made to me by the War Department, indicate that many States have not yet taken action to make the bill as fully effective as it could be and that a considerable number of States do not presently contemplate taking such action.

I wish also to appeal to the Congress to take more adequate action to protect the political rights of our men and women in the service.

It is right and necessary that the States do all in their power to see that the State ballots reach the men and women in the service from their States. In particular, I appeal to them to see that their State laws allow sufficient time between the time that their absentee ballots are available for distribution and the time that they must be returned to be counted.

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I also appeal to the States to see that the postal card application forms for State ballots distributed by the Federal Government to the troops are treated as a sufficient application for their State ballot and not merely as a request for a formal application for a State ballot.

I also appeal to the States to authorize the use of the Federal ballots by all service people from their States who have not received their State Ballots before an appropriate date, whether or not they have formally applied for them. No State or Federal red tape should take from our young folk in the service their right to vote.

I further appeal to the Congress to amend the present bill, S. 1285, so as to authorize all servicemen and women, who have not received their State ballots by an appropriate date, whether or not they have formally applied for them, to use the Federal ballot without prior express authorization by the States. If the States do not accept the Federal ballot, that will be their responsibility. Under this bill, that responsibility is shared by the Congress.

Our boys on the battlefronts must not be denied an opportunity to vote simply because they are away from home. They are at the front fighting with their lives to defend our rights and our freedoms. We must assure them their rights and freedoms at home so that they will have a fair share in determining the kind of life to which they will return.

NOTE: On January 25, 1944, in a message to the Congress, the President criticized the pending proposals in the Congress dealing with voting by absentee members of the armed forces. The President felt that the proposals then under consideration were inadequate, made soldier voting unduly cumbersome, and indeed, in many instances, disenfranchised members of the armed forces. "They have left their homes

and jobs and schools to meet and defeat the enemies who would destroy all our democratic institutions including our right to vote," stated the President in his January 25 message. "Our men cannot understand why the fact that they are fighting should disqualify them from voting" (see Item 7 and note, this volume, for the text of the President's message).

Nevertheless, the Congress passed

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a bill which was in many respects ambiguous and difficult to interpret. It fell far short of giving servicemen and women an adequate opportunity to vote. On the day the bill passed the Congress, the President telegraphed each of the State Governors and sent them copies of the bill by air mail, with inquiries as to how the bill's provisions would fit in with the State ballot laws (see Item 22 and note, this volume).

The replies did not convince the President that the new bill provided an adequate answer to the soldier-voting problem. Rather than veto the bill and thus kill any possible good features it might have, the President decided to permit it to operate and to see whether State cooperation might improve the situation.

The new Act (58 Stat. 136) superseded the Act of September 16, 1942, except that it retained the provision for waiving the poll tax in soldier-voting for Federal offices (56 Stat. 753; see the President's message of January 25, 1944, Item 7, this volume, for the President's views concerning the inadequacies of the 1942 soldier-voting legislation). Because of the mechanical difficulties of the 1942 Act, out of 5,700,000 in the armed forces at the time of the Congressional elections of 1942, only 28,000 armed force votes were counted.

The 1944 Act established the United States War Ballot Commission as an independent Federal

agency, composed of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Administrator of the War Shipping Administration. The functions of the new Commission were to cause to be printed an adequate number of post card applications for State absentee ballots; to coordinate the information received from the States concerning the dates of elections; to compile information received from the States concerning whether Federal war ballots were authorized under the State laws; and to have such Federal war ballots printed and distributed.

The new Act authorized the distribution of the Official Federal War Ballot to members of the armed forces, merchant marine, American Red Cross, Society of Friends, Women's Auxiliary Service Pilots, and the United Service Organizations. The Act provided that members of the armed forces could use the Federal ballot when they were within the United States, if the State Governors certified that no state absentee ballot law allowed absent citizens to vote. Since none of the forty-eight States made such certification, the Official Federal War Ballot was in fact used only outside of the United States. Its use overseas was restricted by two provisos in the new legislation: (1) State Governors had to certify prior to July 15, 1944, that the Federal ballot would be deemed valid in their States; and (2) it was required that the prospective voter must have attempted before September

27. *President Urges More Victory Gardens*

1 to obtain a State ballot but had failed to receive one by October 1.

Only twenty States certified prior to July 15, 1944, that their State laws authorized the use of the Federal ballot. These twenty States received a total of 84,835 effective Federal ballot votes in the 1944 presidential election. The grand total of military votes cast, both through the Federal and State absentee ballot procedure, was 2,691,160 in the 1944 presidential election. This total vote cast by the armed forces and organizations allied therewith was only 5.6 percent of the total popular vote cast for President in the country as a whole. Since a vast proportion of

the millions in the armed forces were of eligible voting age, it is clear that the percentage actually voting was low.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the enactment of the 1944 legislation did afford a voting opportunity to a substantial number in the armed forces overseas who would otherwise not have been able to vote.

It is also clear that the passage of the legislation, and the pointed criticisms voiced by the President during its consideration and at the time of final passage, stimulated many States to liberalize their soldier-voting laws.

27 ¶ The President Urges the Growing of Victory Gardens. April 1, 1944

I HOPE every American who possibly can will grow a victory garden this year. We found out last year that even the small gardens helped.

The total harvest from victory gardens was tremendous. It made the difference between scarcity and abundance. The Department of Agriculture surveys show that 42 percent of the fresh vegetables consumed in 1943 came from victory gardens. This should clearly emphasize the far-reaching importance of the victory garden program.

Because of the greatly increased demands in 1944, we will need all the food we can grow. Food still remains a first essential to winning the war. Victory gardens are of direct benefit in helping relieve manpower, transportation, and living costs as well as the food problem. Increased food requirements for our armed

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forces and our allies give every citizen an opportunity to do something toward backing up the boys at the front.

NOTE: The national victory garden program, sponsored by the Department of Agriculture, was begun in 1941 and continued throughout the war. Every year during the war there were from 18½ million to 20 million victory gardens throughout the country.

This program made an invaluable contribution toward meeting the Nation's wartime food requirements. For example, the victory gardens annually produced approximately 8 million tons of fresh vegetables. Housewives in 1945 alone

canned 3.4 billion quarts of fruits and vegetables.

Approximately 6 million of these gardens were farm gardens and the rest urban and suburban. Necessarily the urban gardens were smaller, yet they produced an enormous amount of food. As a result of the victory garden program, millions of people developed a new interest in gardening which was of great assistance during the postwar period in meeting food shortages at home and abroad.

28 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Forty-eighth Press Conference (Excerpts). "Hobcaw Barony," Georgetown, South Carolina. May 6, 1944

(Review of vacation — Problem of vacation places — The President describes his mitigation of a court-martial sentence for the shooting of a calf.)

Q. Would you like to sort of review your vacation?

THE PRESIDENT: In one word, I have rested. I have had a very quiet time. Been out in the sun as much as possible. Done some fishing — some salt-water fishing, some in the mouth of the river, some off the inlet, and some in the ponds.

You know, the matter of a vacation hide-out for the President is really a problem. I don't know what we are going to do about it. Up until two years ago last December, I used to do a lot of cruising down the Potomac. Then there arose the danger of German subs, and of hostile planes flying over the

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Potomac. It has no anti-aircraft protection. There were no other ships available, and we couldn't get a lot of escort boats for the *Potomac*, so the Navy stopped us.

I looked around for some Government property near Washington where I could spend a holiday. I tried in vain to go to Sugar Loaf Mountain. There's a place up there not far from Frederick. It belongs to a man who doesn't like me; he's going to give it to the Government some day, but he didn't want the President going there. We found a place up on the Blue Ridge Mountains, but it was practically impossible to get to.

Then, up almost to Gettysburg, I found a place where we can put up thirty-three or thirty-four. It was built as a recreation center, as part of the W.P.A. It consists of two or three separate camps. It's up in the Catoctin Mountains, near the Pennsylvania-Maryland line. After using it last summer, toward the end of last summer, they raised the old objection, that it had no anti-aircraft protection — wanted to find a place where we could have protection from the air. When I first went up there, I found a company of O.S.S. trainees — secret commandos — up there. We used them, and also the Marines who were already up there, too, for protection.

Then last summer, a society gossip columnist broke the whole thing. She goes ahead and spills the thing. I don't know whether that would make it impossible for me to go there again or not, but they are afraid that a certain bunch of crackpots will take some planes — wouldn't take more than two or three planes — they could use training planes — and fly over and unload some bombs on the place. It is pretty well guarded on the ground, but not from the air.

Then I learned of this place here. I like it here. I have been very comfortable down here. I want to come back. Down here I can do a little fishing, and get lots of rest. I like it around Belle Isle Gardens, it's perfectly lovely. I would like to come back down here again, but if it becomes known as one of the places where the President goes, it won't hold. . . .

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One thing that strikes us all about this part of the country down here is the enormous amount of land that is vacant. I have made a number of drives about the country. I love the place — love going through the woods. But there is an enormous amount of land vacant — no one on it. It's not being used for scientific purposes either. It's the general feeling of everybody that this part of the country will support a great many more people, room for a large number of families, and for certain industries locally. . . .

Q. What will be the top item on your agenda when you return to Washington?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I am really well up. We have had a pouch every other day. Certain things I have sent back for further information. I have signed a number of bills, and other regular papers including an appointment of a notary public for the District of Columbia. Got a lot of things out. The things the President has to sign now have been cut in half. The only things I have to sign are courts-martial.

Speaking of courts-martial, I want to tell you a story about a Marine court-martial case at Guantanamo.

You know, a court-martial in any of the services is a very solemn affair. They had appointed down there a major general, a couple of colonels, two or three majors as members, and a judge advocate of the court. They had also assigned another officer to the defense.

The accused was a second lieutenant, a youngster who had, I think, been in the service six months or so. He had been sentenced to dismissal. It was approved by the Judge Advocate General of the Navy, the Major General Commandant, and the Secretary of the Navy.

It came on down to me. I picked it up to read it. The more I read of it, the more I laughed.

This youngster had gone out from Guantanamo — Guantanamo is a U. S. naval reservation surrounded by Cuba — he had taken a party out on patrol, to patrol around the edges of the eastern side of the reservation.

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About two miles out, they ran across some cows. The cows obviously were strays. There was a good deal of question as to whether the cows were on the Cuban side or the American side. One calf was limping very badly. After a conversation, some members of the patrol felt that this calf was suffering a great deal. That was a perfectly correct assumption. The second lieutenant told the sergeant that he would take the responsibility, and that he thought the calf should be put out of its misery.

So the sergeant shot the calf.

Now, they happened to have in this patrol the company cook. The cook butchered the calf. The result was the whole company had veal for about three days — perfectly delicious veal, butchered by the company cook.

The story came to the ears of the major general, that one of his officers had shot a calf. The result was the kid got a court-martial — and all that a court-martial means in time of war. The court was held. The record built up into a pile of documents. It finally got to the Major General Commandant. They approved it. It was all lined up to ruin this kid's life — to dismiss him from the service. Maybe he did want the veal. But it was funny — the great question was about his decision as to whether or not this calf ought to be put out of its misery.

So I took the recommendation that had been prepared for my signature — reading "Approved. The sentence will be carried into effect" — and instead of signing it, I wrote thereon,

"The sentence is approved, but it is mitigated, so that in lieu of being dismissed the accused will be placed on probation for a year, subject to the pleasure of the President.

"This man must be taught not to shoot calves.

"FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT"

It went back to the Marine Corps Headquarters. And they were wild. They thought I was trying to be funny with the Marine Corps.

28. Nine Hundred and Forty-eighth Press Conference

NOTE: After his return from the Teheran Conference, the President, according to Dr. Ross T. McIntire, the White House physician, contracted influenza, which prevented him from delivering his 1944 State of the Union Message to the Congress in person (see note to Item 4, this volume). A heavy bronchial cough remained as an aftermath of the "flu," and throughout the late winter and early spring of 1944 the President's resistance was further lowered by a heavy burden of legislative work. Against strong congressional opposition, the President was pressing for national service legislation (see Item 4 and note, this volume); an equitable soldier vote law (see Items 4, 7, 22, 26 and notes, this volume); and a tax law which would yield increased revenues (see Item 14 and note, this volume). In addition, the President had a renewed fight on his hands in holding the line effectively against inflationary threats (see Item 12 and note, this volume). The pressure of the President's work increased during the early months of 1944, but his cold lingered.

In order to lessen the load on the President's heart, on the advice of Admiral McIntire the President early in February dieted to reduce his weight about ten pounds. The President felt in such good condition, as a result, that on his own initiative he reduced his weight another five pounds in March. This loss of fifteen pounds served to

lower the President's resistance even further, and he tired quickly.

He was, therefore, happy to accept the invitation of his old friend and confidant, Bernard M. Baruch, to spend some time at the spacious, 23,000-acre Baruch plantation, "Hobcaw Barony," near Georgetown, South Carolina. There, several miles from the nearest highway, and without a telephone, the President could really relax.

The President left Washington on April 8. Because of the beneficial effects of the rest, sunshine, and fishing, he decided to extend his stay until May 7 before returning to the White House.

On numerous occasions from the time he first campaigned for the governorship, malicious rumors were circulated concerning Roosevelt's health (see, for example, Item 54, pp. 200-204, 1937 volume). Had any of these rumors been true about any man, he could not have survived the crushing burdens of the President's office during the years of almost continuous crisis as long as Roosevelt did; yet they persisted and were spread by Roosevelt's enemies and by sensationalists. While the President was resting in South Carolina, more malicious accounts were passed around that he had suffered a stroke or was afflicted by some other ailment. Such rumors were completely false — both then and at any other time. Until, on the day of his death, the President suffered a cerebral hemorrhage — which no physician can predict will

29. *Nine Hundred and Forty-ninth Press Conference*

or will not occur — none of the responsible physicians who were called in by Dr. McIntire to examine the President expressed any apprehension of any critical ailment.

29 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Forty-ninth Press Conference (Excerpts). May 9, 1944

(The refusal of Montgomery Ward to obey War Labor Board directive — Fourth-term questions.)

Q. Have you heard of the Montgomery Ward case?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Could you say anything about that, sir? . . .

THE PRESIDENT: You know, it's a funny thing, there's a thing called law. We don't hear about it much — except through the Department of Justice. And the Department of Justice has a duty, which we are very apt to forget. It happens to be in one of the early statutes; I think it's the original law that created the Department of Justice. It wasn't in the Constitution. You probably know by now — I would say, if you remember back to the early days when you first came to Washington, that the departments are not set up under the Constitution. They are set up in the law. Well, the law which set up the Department of Justice way, way, way back — before you were born — said that the Attorney General, meaning the Department of Justice, would be the legal adviser of the Government of the United States. Well, that law stayed ever since, and works in with the Congressional law. It is set up in this particular case that you are asking about.

Soon after Pearl Harbor, I got pledges from the great bulk of organized labor, saying there would be no strikes. You remember that. That is recent history. And they said they would very much like it if we could get established a National War Labor Board. This is ABC stuff, but sometimes it's a good thing to read it over. And the ABC stuff said that this National War Labor Board would be a tribunal where labor

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disputes would be settled in an orderly manner. Well, on the whole now, it has been going on from January, 1942, until now, the late spring, 1944.

And on the whole, where there have been strikes, the ending of those strikes has been fairly prompt. There have been exceptions, of course, both here and in the other great democracies which are fighting at our side, and with similar laws such as England. And the total percentage of strikes has been, on the whole, very low. We have had that out before.

And in order to implement the progress of this, and because of a very serious strike which threatened to tie up not just one industry or one series of supplies for the Government — the coal strike — it looked as if it might tie up the whole of industry, which was a terrible threat against the Government — Congress passed a thing called the Smith-Connally Act, which gave statutory authority to the War Labor Board, which had been in existence for some time before that, and provided in that Act that whenever a labor dispute threatened to interfere with the war effort, the Board would take jurisdiction and fix the terms and the wages and conditions of employment. That would continue until changed by the Board.

And then came this Montgomery Ward case. The War Labor Board by unanimous vote, including the industry members on that Board, took jurisdiction. After the hearings, the Board by unanimous vote ordered Montgomery Ward to continue the wages and terms of conditions of employment that had existed for a year until an election could be held.

Montgomery Ward refused to comply, on the ground that the union no longer represented a majority of its employees. Well, they had a right, except that they laid themselves open for subsequent action.

Q. You said they had a right?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Montgomery Ward, like any citizen, had a right to say, "I won't live up to the law" — the action of this War Labor Board which is now duly authorized by law, just as you would have the right to say, "I won't go to jail." But

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the police would have a right to take you to jail, if they thought they had a case. Same thing — you would have a perfect right to decline to go, only I don't think you would.

The employees thereupon went on strike — I am just giving you a little history that the country doesn't know. Now that's an actual fact. I want to emphasize that. And if this had been only the old press conference, I would have said the press hasn't let the country know, but being a radio conference also now, besides press, I will say that the radio hasn't let them know. Now that's mathematically provable. It's a perfectly simple thing. And I am not charging it. I am merely stating it as a fact. I am not even asserting, I am not even admitting it.

After all other efforts to secure compliance with this Order failed, the Board again by unanimous vote — second time — recommended that the property be taken over, pending an election by the employees. That their recommendation be taken was after their second notice to me that there had been no compliance.

The Director of Economic Stabilization, who passes on sanctions, joined in the recommendation.

The Attorney General submitted an opinion that under the law the Government had authority to take possession.

Thereupon came out the telegram to Montgomery Ward and the union, and it stated that an election, which would clear things up, would be held within thirty days. Then, having announced that the election would be held within thirty days, I called on the company to continue its contractual relations until the election, and called on the employees to return to work.

The employees complied.

The company refused.

Then I directed Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones to take possession of the property, and as employer to continue with the contractual relations until we could have the election.

This election — over the protest of the union — it's too

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quick — was ordered, and it is being held today. They are having an election today.

If the election shows that the union does not have a majority of the employees, that is the end of the case. Now that's simple. That has never been stated by press or radio. On the other hand, if the election shows that the union has a majority, then the management has already declared that it is willing to continue its contract, and that will end the case.

There used to be all sorts of bedtime stories about children who saw things under the bed. And as you know, sometimes when people grow up, they see things under the bed. And you have got a very interesting thing. Mind you, I was able to see it because I was away [at "Hobcaw Barony"], and I could look down on the whole thing. And that is what it is, what I saw happen, a lot of people seeing things under the bed in this country, because they haven't got over their childhood habits. Maybe that's an allegory.

And I will repeat this last thing just once.

If the election shows that the union does not have a majority of the employees, that will end the case. On the other hand, if the election shows that the union has a majority, then the management has declared that it is willing to continue its contract, and that will end the case.

So I hope that by tonight when the news comes over the ticker, that we will all feel better. . . .

Q. Mr. President, may we turn from mail order to politics for a minute? (*Laughter*)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Last night, Chairman Robert E. Hannegan made a very direct statement, that it was his personal judgment that you were going to be the candidate in 1944 for the Democratic ticket.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, look — look. I am only just back. And I am not going to talk about it now, any more than I did before. And number one, I didn't read what he had said. And number four, if I do read it, I am not going to talk to you about it. That's easy — and you could have answered it yourself. (*Laughter*)

30. *Address to International Labor Organization*

Q. Well, Mr. President, there are only 71 days before the Democratic National Convention. (*Much laughter, with the President laughing loudest*)

THE PRESIDENT: My gracious, have you been counting?

Q. Yes, sir. On the calendar.

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't. Bad habit. (*Continued laughter*)

NOTE: See Item 123 and note, this volume, for a more complete review of the Government's wartime problems caused by Montgomery Ward & Co.

30 ¶ Address to Conference of International Labor Organization. May 17, 1944

IT IS A GREAT pleasure to have you with us here in the White House again. As I pointed out to you when we last met — two and a half years ago — taking part in a conference of the International Labor Organization is not a new experience for me. I take pride in the fact that I was permitted to play a part in the first conference of the Organization that was held here in Washington in 1919.

Those were indeed trying days when last we met. In 1941, the fate of the free peoples of the world hung in the balance. I don't think they hang in the balance any longer. Yet with the courage and the foresight that have always characterized the International Labor Organization, you as representatives of the Governments and workers and employers had the boldness — and I consider it real boldness — to have come together in a full meeting from all parts of the world, to formulate plans for reconstruction.

It so impressed me just now, as I was shaking hands with you, that I wanted to say to the delegates that had come from countries which are still in prison — in German hands — that I hope the next time we all meet, you will have come directly from your own country, actually under its own people and its own Government, to wherever the meeting place is. It is something which I think we can keep, not in the back of our heads but in the front

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of our heads: the restoration of all the Nations of the world to their own peoples.

You have been meeting in Philadelphia where, one hundred and sixty-eight years ago, the Fathers of this Republic affirmed certain truths to be self-evident. They declared among other things that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among them Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. In these words are expressed the abiding purpose of all peoples imbued with the ideals of freedom and democracy. Let us never forget those words.

The Declaration that you have formulated in Philadelphia may well acquire a similar significance in the days to come. In it you have reaffirmed principles which are the essential bulwarks of any permanent peace. With the expanding use of machinery and the revolution in transportation, and in most other things, it is well that the world should recognize the fundamental principle of your Declaration: "Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere." This principle is a guide to all of our international economic deliberations.

I have seen that in my travels since the last I.L.O. Conference. You know where I have been pretty well, so you will know what I am thinking about. I am thinking about Africa. And I am thinking about certain parts of the Near East, the west coast of Africa, the north coast of Africa, and then the eastern end of the Mediterranean. You know where I went.

And it is perfectly true that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere. I think of a little colony, a little piece of the earth's surface, Gambia, where I happened to have landed from Brazil. Nice, peaceful people, and as the saying goes, poor as church mice. Why mice should be singled out, I don't know. But Gambia is very, very poor.

Well, when I was there, I wasn't thinking in terms of who should do it, but if they had a little less poverty, that would bring prosperity to a lot more people outside of Gambia. They are kept down because of exploitation. I think that is going to be a new word in the next meeting of the I.L.O., something that I have had

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in the back of my head a long time, something that says something against exploitation of the poor by the rich — by Governments, as well as individuals.

I think we can get somewhere if we keep that idea of being "agin" — as we say in Irish-American — against exploitation everywhere. It will be an awfully good thing for all of us.

You have affirmed the right of all human beings to material well-being and spiritual development under conditions of freedom and dignity and under conditions of economic security and opportunity — which is saying roughly the same thing in better language. The attainment of those conditions must constitute a central aim of national and international policy, because if it doesn't become the aim of national policies, then it won't become the aim of international policies. Indeed, the worthiness and success of these international policies must be measured in the future by the extent to which they promote the achievement of the end.

Your Declaration sums up the aspirations of an epoch that has known two world wars. I confidently believe that future generations will look back on this epoch as a landmark in world thinking. I am glad to have the opportunity of indorsing its specific terms and declarations on behalf of the United States. And I trust, also, that within a short time its specific terms will be wholeheartedly indorsed by all of the United Nations.

As I look over the report of your work, I see that you have, for the first time in history, set out in a form that should be adopted in a treaty by the Nations, a particular series of social objectives. I note that among other things they include full employment, wages and working conditions calculated to insure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, the extension of social security, the recognition of the right of collective bargaining, provision for child welfare, and the assurance of adequate educational and vocational opportunities. Therefore, it will be your opportunity to promote these objectives through your own organization, and through such international agencies as may be created. And some *will* be created.

With great wisdom you have realized that these social objec-

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tives cannot be attained and supported without a high level of useful economic activity. You have recommended a series of economic policies and undertakings designed to bring about a material economy that will make it possible to maintain them.

You have also wisely provided for the further development and reorganization of the International Labor Organization itself so that it may be broadened and strengthened to carry out these social objectives, and at the same time integrated on a cooperative basis with whatever new agency or agencies are created by the United Nations. And I personally am very confident that the United Nations are going to have at least one new international agency that will bring the whole world closer together than it ever has been before in all history. This forms an admirable pattern for formulating certain aspects of the peace — to start at the beginning. I want to assure you that this Government will do everything in its power to see that the provisions for the attainment of these social and labor objectives shall be included.

The people of the occupied countries are in deep suffering, as we all know. Their representatives have agreed upon the social objectives and economic policies you have set forth. I trust that this marks the beginning of a new and better day, a period of hope — hope for material comforts and security, and then even more greatly the spiritual and personal development for all of those groups now suffering so sorely under the heel of the oppressor. The United Nations will be determined that all the oppressed of the earth will be included in these social objectives.

And so I want to offer my congratulations to you who have had the opportunity of taking part in this Conference. You have my gratitude for the program of mutual helpfulness which you have laid out — a program that, I am sure, will inspire all of those in our generation who want to build and maintain a just peace. And may that time come soon.

NOTE: The foregoing address of the President was made at the White House after the conclusion of the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labor Conference, held at Philadelphia, Pa., April 20–May 12, 1944 (see Item 110 and note, 1941 volume, for the Presi-

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dent's address to the 1941 I.L.O. Conference).

The International Labor Organization, established in 1919, was the only organization connected with the League of Nations to survive the period between world wars. It functions through three agencies: the International Labor Conference, the central policy-making body which ordinarily meets once a year and recommends the adoption of treaties and conventions; the Governing Body, which carries on I.L.O. functions between sessions of the Conference; and the International Labor Office, which constitutes the permanent secretariat of the I.L.O.

Early in the President's first term, the Congress enacted legislation authorizing the United States to join the I.L.O. On June 19, 1934, the President approved a joint resolution of the Congress (48 Stat. 1182) authorizing acceptance of an invitation for membership in the I.L.O. The 1934 International Labor Conference extended an invitation for the United States to join, and membership became effective August 20, 1934 (see Item 61, pp. 181-182, 1935 volume, for the President's letter of greeting to the delegates to the first International Labor Confer-

ence which the United States was privileged to attend).

Delegations were present from 41 member countries of the I.L.O. at the Philadelphia meeting which the President addressed on May 17, 1944. The Conference adopted the historic "Declaration of Philadelphia" which amplified the social objectives of the Organization and the central aims of its policy.

This Declaration listed the specific tasks of the I.L.O. as follows: promotion of full employment and of rising standards of living; formation of employment policies; provision of facilities for the training and transfer of labor; application of wage and hour policies to those in need of such protection; promotion of programs for the extension of social security measures; and recognition of the I.L.O.'s interest in workers' nutrition, housing, facilities for recreation and culture, and equality of educational and vocational opportunity. It was the addition of these social objectives, beyond the more specialized labor problems with which the I.L.O. had been primarily concerned, which marked the Philadelphia Declaration as an important document.

31 ¶ Statement of the President Approving Extension of the Lend-Lease Act.

May 17, 1944

ONCE again, by overwhelming majorities, the elected representatives of the American people in the Congress have affirmed that lend-lease is a powerful weapon working for the United States and the other United Nations against our common enemies. For the third time, I am affixing my approval to a Lend-Lease Act.

When, on March 11, 1941, the Lend-Lease Act first became law, Britain stood virtually alone before the tide of Axis aggression which had swept across western Europe. Everywhere the peace-loving peoples of the world were facing disaster. But the passage of the Lend-Lease Act gave firm assurance to those resisting the aggressors that the overpowering material resources of the United States were on their side.

After we were attacked on December 7, 1941, lend-lease became an essential part of our own war effort.

The promise of ever-increasing help which the United States held forth to those who defied the Axis has been fulfilled. In April, 1941, the first full month of the lend-lease program, we furnished aid valued at 28 million dollars. In the month of March, 1944, the lend-lease aid supplied amounted to \$1,629,554,000.00 — almost as much as the aid rendered during the entire first year of lend-lease operations. From the beginning of the lend-lease program in March, 1941, to April 1, 1944, our aid totaled \$24,224,806,000.00.

Through lend-lease and reverse lend-lease, the material resources and supplies of the United Nations have been pooled for their most effective use against our common enemies.

The combined forces and the combined resources of the United Nations are striking with their united strength from all directions against the heart of Nazi Germany. Our fighting men are joined with British, Soviet, French, Dutch, Polish, Czech, Yugoslavian, and the fighting men of the other United Nations. In the Far

32. *Special Mission of Wallace to China*

East and in the Pacific, combined United Nations fighting forces are also striking with increasing power against the Japanese.

This unity of strength, both in men and in resources, among the free peoples of the world will bring complete and final victory. That victory will come sooner, and will cost less in lives and materials because we have pooled our manpower and our material resources, as United Nations, to defeat the enemy.

NOTE: The foregoing statement was issued by the President upon his approval of the Act extending the provisions of the Lend-Lease Act for an additional year (see Items 15, 17, 28, 37, 52, 76, 82, 96, 105, 111, and 123, and notes, 1941 volume, and references cited therein, for an account of the origins of lend-lease, its administration, and

appropriations under the Act). On April 19, 1944, the House of Representatives approved the extension of lend-lease by a vote of 334-21; the Senate on May 8, 1944, approved the extension of lend-lease by a vote of 63-1. The President signed the Lend-Lease Extension Act on May 17, 1944 (58 Stat. 222).

32 ¶ The President Announces That Vice-President Wallace Will Go to China on a Special Mission. May 20, 1944

I HAVE asked the Vice-President of the United States to serve as a messenger for me in China. He is taking with him Mr. John Carter Vincent, Chief of the Division of Chinese Affairs, State Department; Mr. Owen Lattimore, Deputy Director of the Overseas Branch, Office of War Information; and Mr. John Hazard, Chief Liaison Officer, Division for Soviet Supply, Foreign Economic Administration.

Eastern Asia will play a very important part in the future history of the world. Forces are being unleashed there which are of the utmost importance to our future peace and prosperity. The Vice-President, because of his present position as well as his training in economics and agriculture, is unusually well fitted

33. *Nine Hundred and Fifty-first Press Conference*

to bring both to me and to the people of the United States a most valuable first-hand report.

For the time being nothing more can be said of certain aspects of the Vice-President's trip. Suffice it to say that he will be visiting a dozen places which I have long wanted to see. He left today and will report to me upon his return, which is expected about the middle of July.

33 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Fifty-first Press Conference (Excerpts). May 26, 1944

(Invitation to 42 Nations to attend postwar monetary conference at Bretton Woods — Questions concerning whether President will run for a fourth term — Forthcoming liberation of Europe — Progress of planning for postwar peace reviewed — Judicial review of War Labor Board orders.)

THE PRESIDENT: I have a number of things this morning. It has been published that we have called a meeting early in July on the monetary subject. I thought I would read you just a summary of the form of the invitation that went to the other United Nations and associated Nations.

(Paraphrasing): "The publication of the joint statement of the technical experts, recommending the establishment of the international monetary fund, has been received with great gratification here, as marking an important step toward a postwar international economic cooperation. Undoubtedly your people have been equally pleased by this evidence of the common desire to cooperate in meeting the economic problems of the postwar world. Therefore, I am proposing to call a conference of these Nations, for the purpose of formulating definite proposals for the international monetary fund, and possibly a bank for reconstruction and development.

"It would be understood, of course, that the delegates would not be required to hold plenipotentiary powers, and its proposals formulated at the conference would be referred to the respective governments and authorities for their acceptance or rejection."

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I thought I would put that in before certain agencies of information could say that I was doing this without consulting the Congress.

(*Continuing*): "Therefore, I hope very much that you will accept and send in the names of the delegates.

"It is the Government's belief that formulation of definite proposals for an international monetary fund, and bank for reconstruction and development, in the near future is a matter of vital concern to all of the United Nations, and the Nations associated with them.

"My Government sincerely hopes to receive a favorable reply at the earliest possible moment."

You have got the names of all the countries that have been asked to send delegates. The conference will be held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. . . .

Q. Mr. President, you have so far received far more than enough delegates to the Democratic Convention to assure — (*the President began to laugh*) — to assure your renomination, except for one fact, unless you refuse it. Now, not asking what your decision is, but have you reached a decision — (*more laughter from the President*) — whether to accept or refuse?

THE PRESIDENT: You know, this is good. We get a different form of it just about once a week. That's a new one. It's a brand new one. It's awfully interesting.

Q. What's the answer, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: I am making a list of the varieties of questions.

Q. Are you going to answer them all at once, Mr. President? (*Laughter*)

THE PRESIDENT: I think I will give you a real good one: Time will tell. (*Continued laughter*)

Q. Only 55 days of time left.

THE PRESIDENT: (*laughing*) You remember in 1940 there was some lady — at least she said she was a lady — (*laughter*) who used to say, just after the Convention, "93 days more of Roosevelt." And the second time she put the word "only" in. "Only

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92 days more of Roosevelt.” And she went right on down through (*laughing*). And I bet you have all forgotten her name. . . .

Q. Mr. President, with the time of invasion apparently drawing nearer, is there anything you can tell us in generalized terms about our preparations, and our chances for the success of the operation?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that’s in the first paper that I happen to hold in my hand, thinking that somebody would use the word “invasion.”

There was an editorial in a certain local paper, suggesting that the word “invasion” is not quite adequate for the tremendous thing that is happening in Europe, and suggesting that instead of the word “invasion” we should call it “liberation.”

And I most heartily support that idea. It isn’t a war of invasion — you want to get the word “invasion” out of people’s heads all over the world — it’s a war of liberation.

This action in Europe, which is going to come off sometime this summer, is intended to be a liberation and not an invasion, and I would say that all of our plans are built on that basis.

Of course, we have got a great deal further ahead in the discussion of things at the present time than we had at what we might guess at having been a similar period in the last war.

Well, one very important example. I was reading a book the other day that pointed out that it wasn’t until sometime in the rather late summer of 1918 that we began a study of the postwar World War problems, and had all kinds of papers, information of all kinds that were thrown together, I think it was under the supervision of Colonel House. And he appointed a committee. This particular book mentioned the fact that Isaiah Bowman was extremely active in getting information about all kinds of things, like racial origins, and the history of boundaries.

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The result was that in early December, when the President left for the peace conference — that same year, mind you — 1918 — they took dozens of packages of this information over to the other side. A lot of it had been pretty thoroughly digested by the experts, old and young, who accompanied the peace mission. But there had been practically no discussion of postwar-first World War terms with the other allies. There had not been time. And I don't suppose any one of the Allied Nations had done any talking with any other Allied Nation except in very general terms as to whether they could come together on an agreed program — what it should be — general discussion — beforehand. So they arrived in Paris with all the information in the world, but very few concerted plans.

Now, of course, we have done a great deal along that line. We have had the conference at White Sulphur Springs. We had the conference at Atlantic City just recently. We had the I.L.O. labor conference in Philadelphia. And now we are having the monetary conference.

In other words, this merely follows what I think I mentioned just about a year ago, that we are taking up these things. We can't do them all at the same time, but we are taking up the major problems of the postwar world and talking them over, and in many cases making specific recommendations or specific determinations of what all the United Nations are going to do to seek peace and stability. In other words, we are making far greater progress in this war than we did in the last war. Coming along in an orderly way, with the retention of friendships — using separate rooms, and coming along all right.

Q. Mr. President, in that connection, the Secretary of State said at noon today that this country is probably more advanced than any of the other Allied countries in plans for a general security organization in the postwar world.

THE PRESIDENT: (*interjecting*) I think that's true.

Q. (*continuing*) However, nothing has been said specifically as

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to the nature of the plans, which now apparently are in good shape.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Well, for instance, I have had two sets of conversations, one at the Casablanca Conference and the other one was the combination of the Cairo Conference, where the Far East was represented, and the Teheran Conference.

And of course, as you all know, we have talked about a postwar world. I am trying to eliminate a third World War.

Furthermore, in those discussions, while at that time there was nothing on paper, we talked things over pretty thoroughly, and since then they have been reduced to first draft form. Well, I wouldn't give out a first draft any more than I would give out a first draft of one of my speeches. It would horrify you. (*Laughter*) Yes. It would horrify you. My fifth, sixth, or seventh draft you might say was at least worth listening to. On that line, too, we have got along reasonably well. . . .

Q. Mr. President, in these discussions about postwar policy, are you finding the Soviet Union an active and satisfactory collaborator?

THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely. Yes. . . .

Q. Mr. President, Senator McCarran suggested that the decisions of the War Labor Board should be submitted to judicial review. Do you have any comment on that suggestion?

THE PRESIDENT: Only this. Now I will put it in the form of a question.

If you have a decision of the War Labor Board, affecting a firm which has locked out its employees or failed to keep its word, or a whole bunch of employees who walk out and won't go back, and then the War Labor Board were to hand down the decision, and then it went to the District Court, and then to the Circuit Court of Appeals, and then to the Supreme Court, and then to a committee of investigation by the Senate, what would happen to the poor devils who were out? Who would pay for their food?

That's the answer.

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NOTE: The United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, popularly known as the "Bretton Woods Conference," met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire from July 1, 1944 to July 22, 1944.

After the first World War, many countries had experienced grave difficulties with their currencies. There had been enormous fluctuations in the values of many currencies, and because of the lack of any effective means of international cooperation each country followed its own course in trying to stabilize its currency—with the result that some currencies were overvalued and others undervalued. In the course of the depression of the early 1930's, several countries had depreciated their currency in order to improve their competitive position in international exchange, and after Hitler's advent to power, Germany had begun using her currency as a monetary weapon of economic warfare.

For some years following 1933, the Administration had assisted in maintaining the stability of exchanges and eliminating discriminatory exchange practices. In 1934, a two-billion-dollar exchange stabilization fund was established; thereafter the United States Treasury entered into bilateral stabilization agreements with a number of foreign countries (see Items 8 and note, and 9, pp. 40-54, 1934 volume). In addition, in September 1936, the United States took the lead in formulating the tripartite declaration

with Great Britain and France, to which Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland subsequently subscribed (see Item 135 and note, pp. 376-380, 1936 volume). These several agreements were helpful, but the President recognized that economic stability as a contributor to world peace could be achieved only on a broad international basis.

As early as 1941, the Treasury Department was undertaking studies looking toward the establishment of an international monetary fund and an international bank. In 1942 an interdepartmental committee was formed by direction of the President to develop these studies into more concrete proposals. In the spring of 1943, with the approval of the President, tentative proposals along these lines were submitted to the finance ministers of some thirty Nations for study by their technical advisers.

Discussion of the principles for the establishment of an international monetary fund crystallized more quickly than the discussions concerning the establishment of an international bank. Accordingly, in the spring of 1944, the technical representatives of the various countries approved a joint statement of principles for establishing an international monetary fund. There was no joint statement on an international bank, although extended discussions on tentative proposals had proceeded, and considerable agreement among the Nations had been reached.

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Prior to the formal meeting of the Bretton Woods Conference in July, 1944, representatives of some fifteen countries met in Atlantic City, New Jersey, to revise and expand proposals for the bank and the fund, and to prepare an agenda for the work of the Bretton Woods Conference.

The United States delegation to the Bretton Woods Conference included Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr. (Chairman and subsequently elected President of the Conference); Fred M. Vinson, Director of the Office of Economic Stabilization; Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State; Edward E. Brown, President of the First National Bank of Chicago; Leo T. Crowley, Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration; Marriner S. Eccles, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System; Mabel Newcomer, Professor of Economics at Vassar College; Representative Brent Spence, Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives; Representative Jesse P. Wolcott, ranking minority member of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives; Senator Robert F. Wagner, Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the Senate; Senator Charles W. Tobey, ranking minority member of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the Senate; and Harry D. White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

The work of the Conference was organized around three commissions — one on the fund, one on the bank, and one on all other questions. Harry D. White of the American delegation was elected Chairman of the commission on the fund.

The Bretton Woods Conference attempted to provide an economic basis for peace. Its basic postulate was that unless the economic relations among Nations were established on a sound foundation, potential points of conflict would always exist. The Conference prepared proposals for the International Monetary Fund and for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The purpose of these organizations was to facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade and to encourage international investment for productive purposes. The International Monetary Fund provided for the establishment of the parities of the currencies of its members in terms of gold. The member Nations agreed to maintain exchange rates stable within one percent of these parities, and not to alter the parity of their currencies without consultation with the Fund. Member Nations agreed not to impose new restrictions on making payments or transferring funds in connection with exports and other international transactions, and to remove existing restrictions as soon as conditions permitted. The Fund also was author-

34. *Nine Hundred and Fifty-second Press Conference*

ized to sell foreign exchange for a country's own currency in limited amounts in order to help countries to maintain fair exchange standards. For this purpose, the Fund received an authorization for approximately 8.8 billion dollars in gold and currency subscribed by all countries; the subscription of the United States was 2.75 billion dollars.

Under the terms of the Bretton Woods proposals, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was authorized to guarantee foreign loans, or make the loans directly out of its own capital

or out of funds raised through the sale of its debentures. The authorized capital stock of the Bank was established at 10 billion dollars; the United States subscribed 3.175 billion dollars.

In his budget message of January 3, 1945, and in a special message to the Congress on February 12, 1945, the President urged upon the Congress the need for prompt action on the Bretton Woods proposals for an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (see Item 125 and Item 135 and note, this volume).

34 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Fifty-second Press Conference (Excerpts). May 30, 1944

(Objectives of establishing international security organization — Contrast with League of Nations — Relationship with Spain — Control of cotton prices — Price of asparagus in January.)

Q. Mr. President, when you were in the Navy Department as Assistant Secretary, I was not a newspaperman, but if my mind serves me right, at that time you supported President Wilson on the League of Nations. I wonder if you could say anything as to what you think about that now?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think I was quite right in supporting it at the time.

Q. How do you feel about it now?

THE PRESIDENT: About a new League of Nations?

Q. Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you know that we are working toward a unity of the United Nations toward the prevention, if we can humanly help it, of another World War. Of course, it

34. *Nine Hundred and Fifty-second Press Conference*

was a new experience for us in those days — brand new. It was going to be a war to end wars, and it was to be done through this altruistic unity of all the Nations, of which we were going to be part. We hoped that there would never be any more wars.

Well, you are older than you were then. Probably, in those days, you would have been in favor of the theory of ending all wars. Today, we are a little older; we have gone through some pretty rough times together. And perhaps we are not saying that we can devise a method of ending all wars for all time. Some of us — I don't think I include myself in this — are a little more cynical than we were then. Some of us — and I don't think I include myself — are a little more foolish-minded domestically than we were when we were twenty-five years younger.

And so we have an objective today, and that is to join with the other Nations of the world not in such a way that some other Nation would decide whether we were to build a new dam on the Conestoga Creek, but for general world peace in setting up some machinery of talking things over with other Nations, without taking away the independence of the United States in any shape, manner, or form, or destroying — what's the other word? — the *integrity* of the United States in any shape, manner, or form; with the objective of working so closely that if some Nation in the world started to run amuck, or some combination of Nations started to run amuck, and seeks to grab territory or invade its neighbors, that there would be a unanimity of opinion that the time to stop them was before they got started; that is, all the other Nations who weren't in with them.

And, in a sense, the League of Nations had that very, very great purpose. It got dreadfully involved in American politics, instead of being regarded as a nonpartisan subject.

And that is why, in this particular year, the Secretary of State and I have been working very closely together, and we have been working in conferences with the duly constituted

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Constitutional machinery of Government, which in this case happens to be the Senators on the Foreign Relations Committee — four from each party. And, so far, the conversations with them have been conducted on the very high level of non-partisanship. So far, they have worked very well.

And as the Secretary of State told you, I think, we have been talking with Britain and Russia about this plan which was evolved over here which, as I said, is a first draft. It will be modified, of course, before you get to a final draft. I also have talked, for instance, with the Generalissimo in Cairo along exactly the same line. And that is where the thing stands today.

But let me emphasize that both the Secretary of State and I — and, I think, the Senators — have been trying to look at this thing in a spirit of nonpartisanship, thinking about a hundred and thirty-five million Americans, and thinking about a great many small Nations, as well as the bigger Nations, who at this stage are directly involved.

After we get through talking — what I call the first draft — we will talk, of course, with all the other Nations of the world.

Well now, that is as closely as you can describe what is happening at the present time. I can't tell you what necktie each of the people will be wearing on a given date, although I notice that tendency in the only afternoon paper I have seen, to begin asking questions of that kind.

Q. What you mean then, if I interpret what you said correctly, is that you are not following the pattern of the former League of Nations, but you are seeking for a new pattern as applied to latter-day questions?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you can't follow the old pattern, because obviously conditions are entirely different from those days in 1919 — entirely different. We are proceeding with a good deal more experience than we had then on a 1944 pattern — at least what we think is a 1944 pattern — rather than a 1919 pattern. . . .

Q. Mr. President, do you want this foreign policy matter elimi-

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nated from the 1944 campaign? Is that what you have in mind, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you see, the trouble is that I don't control all the newspapers of the United States, so it doesn't make much difference whether I would like it or not. (*Laughter*) Is that a fair answer?

Q. I had in mind the Republican Party, Mr. President. (*Laughter*)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I see you are getting into politics again, and the whole basis of this thing, so far, has been going along on an amazingly effective nonpartisan basis, and I don't want you or anybody else to go and gum the works intentionally.

Q. Mr. President, has there been any change in our relations with Spain? Or is there any comment that you could make upon it?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I should say essentially none, but I don't think that I would try to make an international episode of it, because it might hurt the war. And I don't think there's anything that I could contribute, except the fact that we are working along — might almost say from day to day.

I don't think that any of us are satisfied with what the Government of Spain has been doing. Certainly, as long as we have been in the war, they have been sending an awful lot of stuff to Germany, and now the total of the stuff has been cut down very, very materially. But, in my judgment — not enough yet.

Q. Mr. President, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee has approved several amendments to the O.P.A. extension act, which evidently are designed to raise the prices of some basic commodities and also textiles. Do you have any comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT: What were the articles?

Q. Congress would set up an escalator clause requiring the O.P.A. to raise the price of textiles as the price of raw cotton goes up.

THE PRESIDENT: No. I haven't seen it. I can't comment on it,

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except it does carry me back to the days in 1933 or 1934, when I went down to the General Oglethorpe celebration in Savannah.

And the Governor of Georgia at that particular time got up and introduced me, and he made a great speech. And he says, "What we want in the South is 35-cent cotton." It had been selling in March or some time at the end of 1932, beginning of 1933, about 4½ cents a pound. And it got up to about, I think, 11 cents a pound. And as you remember, that was one of the origins of the word "parity." The farmers throughout the country at that time were — through their members of the House and Senate — pleading for parity, so that they could get what their returns were from their agricultural products up to a relatively even purchasing power with things that were made in factories.

And he went on and said, "We want 35-cent cotton." That was the price of cotton in the first World War. Well, at that particular time, parity for cotton would have been 14 cents; and after four or five years we did get it up to 14 cents, with the various other gadgets that were put onto the various bills from the Congress, and the farmer was getting approximately his 14 cents for cotton. Cotton now is, as I remember it, about 22 cents. And, of course, the price of other things that the farmer uses has gone up, but cotton is certainly at parity at the present time, and maybe slightly above, for all I know.

And when I replied to the Governor of Georgia, I started off by saying that I was "agin" — eternally and irrevocably against 35-cent cotton, which at that time would have been about three times over the parity price.

Well, it's the same old thing, anything that you grow. Well, I grow lumber. I am getting twenty-nine dollars a thousand board feet — which is pretty good. Of course, thinking personally, and selfishly, I would like to see lumber selling at seventy-nine dollars a thousand. Well, we have all got that streak in us. If you pick out cotton, you will have somebody else on your neck, and then you will get inflation. But if you

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do it for one — I suppose one out of ten — you ought to do it for almost anything that grows.

Substantially, the price that asparagus and some other things bring is a pretty good price, and I know it has made the cost of buying asparagus in the White House awfully high. This is the asparagus season.

Which reminds me of a friend of mine, a foreman of one of the substantial trades, who came in last January, and said to me, "I have an awful time when I go home." He says, "My old lady is ready to hit me over the head with the dishpan."

I said, "What's the trouble?"

"The cost of living."

"Well," I said, "what, for instance?"

"Well, last night I went home, and the old lady said, 'What's this? I went out to buy some asparagus, and do you see what I got? I got five sticks. There it is. A dollar and a quarter! It's an outrage.'"

Well, I looked at him, and I said, "Since when have you been buying asparagus in January — fresh asparagus?"

"Oh," he said, "I never thought of that."

"Well," I said, "tell that to the old lady, with my compliments."

Q. (*interposing*) Mr. President, is that the same foreman you mentioned in a press conference some time ago who bought the strawberries in the winter? (*Much laughter*)

THE PRESIDENT: It happened to be a different one, but it's all right. Still makes a true story.

Q. I just wondered if it was the same man that came in then. (*Laughter*)

Q. Mr. President, getting back to that former question of mine about the League, do you have a program on a United Nations organization that you want to submit or that you will submit, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, yes. Oh, Heavens, Yes.

Q. You do have a program?

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THE PRESIDENT: That's what Mr. Hull and I both have been talking to the Senators about.

Q. Well, you haven't submitted it to —

THE PRESIDENT: (*interposing*) No, because it's in the first draft stage. It may be tremendously improved before we give it out.

Q. Are there points, or do you get away from them?

THE PRESIDENT: You mean like the Fourteen Points? Oh, No. Oh, No. This is an organization. Things like points, well, are principles. This is a working organization that we are talking about; we have got that far.

Q. Would the President's clearance for this apply to the plan for the organization itself, or merely for the process of putting it up to the Big Four at this time?

THE PRESIDENT: We are putting up a first draft of the plan, with definite objectives and a method of carrying them out.

Q. Would it take in the Senate — submit it to the Senate as to whether they are bound irrevocably —

THE PRESIDENT: (*interposing*) Now you are waxing political, if you start making people sign things when they have got only a first draft. We want them to go along with the general idea for the peace of the world. And, so far, they like the idea.

Q. In other words, then, Mr. President, you don't find any willful men, do you?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I never have. I have known some awful fools in my life, and I have been sorry for some people in my life, but I don't hate. (*Laughter*) And that is an interesting thing to some of you people. It's rather interesting how many people — some of them in this room, I think — have talked about how I hate this person, or hate that person, or a feud, or an awful row between so-and-so and me. It just isn't true. It's what — well, I won't characterize it. You know. I don't hate people — especially on Memorial Day. (*Laughter*) Some of them are dead that I "hated." (*More laughter*) . . .

Q. In your view of the thing, does this plan that Mr. Hull has fall inside the outline of the Mackinac declaration?

THE PRESIDENT: Now you are getting us into politics — pretty

35. *Fireside Chat on the Fall of Rome*

close to it — awfully close. I don't know. I suppose we might take an exceedingly good editorial out of the *Washington Evening Star*. That might enter into it. Or any other paper — that's one that happens to be in front of me. But take that, anything that bears on the subject, including even the suggestions that come from entirely outside sources, because we want to cover the whole ground — including even suggestions from what "T.R." would have called the "lunatic fringe." You sometimes find something pretty good in the lunatic fringe. In fact, we have got as part of our social and economic Government today a whole lot of things which in my boyhood were considered lunatic fringe, and yet they are now part of everyday life.

35 ☪ Fireside Chat on the Fall of Rome.

June 5, 1944

My friends:

YESTERDAY on June 4, 1944, Rome fell to American and Allied troops. The first of the Axis capitals is now in our hands. One up and two to go!

It is perhaps significant that the first of these capitals to fall should have the longest history of all of them. The story of Rome goes back to the time of the foundations of our civilization. We can still see there monuments of the time when Rome and the Romans controlled the whole of the then known world. That, too, is significant, for the United Nations are determined that in the future no one city and no one race will be able to control the whole of the world.

In addition to the monuments of the older times, we also see in Rome the great symbol of Christianity, which has reached into almost every part of the world. There are other shrines and other churches in many places, but the churches and shrines of Rome are visible symbols of the faith and determination of the

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early saints and martyrs that Christianity should live and become universal. And tonight it will be a source of deep satisfaction that the freedom of the Pope and the Vatican City is assured by the armies of the United Nations.

It is also significant that Rome has been liberated by the armed forces of many Nations. The American and British armies — who bore the chief burdens of battle — found at their sides our own North American neighbors, the gallant Canadians. The fighting New Zealanders from the far South Pacific, the courageous French and the French Moroccans, the South Africans, the Poles, and the East Indians — all of them fought with us on the bloody approaches to the city of Rome.

The Italians, too, forswearing a partnership in the Axis which they never desired, have sent their troops to join us in our battles against the German trespassers on their soil.

The prospect of the liberation of Rome meant enough to Hitler and his generals to induce them to fight desperately at great cost of men and materials and with great sacrifice to their crumbling Eastern line and to their Western front. No thanks are due to them if Rome was spared the devastation which the Germans wreaked on Naples and other Italian cities. The Allied generals maneuvered so skillfully that the Nazis could only have stayed long enough to damage Rome at the risk of losing their armies.

But Rome is of course more than a military objective.

Ever since before the days of the Caesars, Rome has stood as a symbol of authority. Rome was the Republic. Rome was the Empire. Rome was and is in a sense the Catholic Church, and Rome was the capital of a United Italy. Later, unfortunately, a quarter of a century ago, Rome became the seat of Fascism — one of the three capitals of the Axis.

For this quarter century the Italian people were enslaved. They were degraded by the rule of Mussolini from Rome. They will mark its liberation with deep emotion. In the north of Italy, the people are still dominated and threatened by the Nazi overlords and their Fascist puppets.

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Our victory comes at an excellent time, while our Allied forces are poised for another strike at Western Europe — and while the armies of other Nazi soldiers nervously await our assault. And in the meantime our gallant Russian Allies continue to make their power felt more and more.

From a strictly military standpoint, we had long ago accomplished certain of the main objectives of our Italian campaign — the control of the major islands — the control of the sea lanes of the Mediterranean to shorten our combat and supply lines, and the capture of the airports of Foggia, south of Rome, from which we have struck telling blows on the continent — the whole of the continent all the way up to the Russian front.

It would be unwise to inflate in our own minds the military importance of the capture of Rome. We shall have to push through a long period of greater effort and fiercer fighting before we get into Germany itself. The Germans have retreated thousands of miles, all the way from the gates of Cairo, through Libya and Tunisia and Sicily and Southern Italy. They have suffered heavy losses, but not great enough yet to cause collapse.

Germany has not yet been driven to surrender. Germany has not yet been driven to the point where she will be unable to recommence world conquest a generation hence.

Therefore, the victory still lies some distance ahead. That distance will be covered in due time — have no fear of that. But it will be tough and it will be costly, as I have told you many, many times.

In Italy the people had lived so long under the corrupt rule of Mussolini that, in spite of the tinsel at the top, their economic condition had grown steadily worse. Our troops have found starvation, malnutrition, disease, a deteriorating education and lowered public health — all by-products of the Fascist misrule.

The task of the Allies in occupation has been stupendous. We have had to start at the very bottom, assisting local Governments to reform on democratic lines. We have had to give them bread to replace that which was stolen out of their mouths by the Germans. We have had to make it possible for the Italians to

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raise and use their own local crops. We have to help them cleanse their schools of Fascist trappings.

I think the American people as a whole approve the salvage of these human beings, who are only now learning to walk in a new atmosphere of freedom.

Some of us may let our thoughts run to the financial cost of it. Essentially it is what we can call a form of relief. And at the same time, we hope that this relief will be an investment for the future — an investment that will pay dividends by eliminating Fascism, by ending any Italian desires to start another war of aggression in the future. And that means that they are dividends which justify such an investment, because they are additional supports for world peace.

The Italian people are capable of self-government. We do not lose sight of their virtues as a peace-loving Nation.

We remember the many centuries in which the Italians were leaders in the arts and sciences, enriching the lives of all mankind.

We remember the great sons of the Italian people — Galileo and Marconi, Michelangelo and Dante — and that fearless discoverer who typifies the courage of Italy — Christopher Columbus.

Italy cannot grow in stature by seeking to build up a great militaristic empire. Italians have been overcrowded within their own territories, but they do not need to try to conquer the lands of other peoples in order to find the breath of life. Other peoples may not want to be conquered.

In the past, Italians have come by the millions into the United States. They have been welcomed, they have prospered, they have become good citizens, community and Governmental leaders. They are not Italian-Americans. They are Americans — Americans of Italian descent.

The Italians have gone in great numbers to the other Americas — Brazil and the Argentine, for example — hundreds and hundreds of thousands of them. They have gone to many other Nations in every continent of the world, giving of their industry

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and their talents, and achieving success and the comfort of good living, and good citizenship.

Italy should go on as a great mother Nation, contributing to the culture and the progress and the good will of all mankind — developing her special talents in the arts and crafts and sciences, and preserving her historic and cultural heritage for the benefit of all peoples.

We want and expect the help of the future Italy toward lasting peace. All the other Nations opposed to Fascism and Nazism ought to help to give Italy a chance.

The Germans, after years of domination in Rome, left the people in the Eternal City on the verge of starvation. We and the British will do and are doing everything we can to bring them relief. Anticipating the fall of Rome, we made preparations to ship food supplies to the city, but, of course, it should be borne in mind that the needs are so great, the transportation requirements of our armies so heavy, that improvement must be gradual. But we have already begun to save the lives of the men, women, and children of Rome.

This, I think, is an example of the efficiency of our machinery of war. The magnificent ability and energy of the American people in growing the crops, building the merchant ships, in making and collecting the cargoes, in getting the supplies over thousands of miles of water, and thinking ahead to meet emergencies — all this spells, I think, an amazing efficiency on the part of our armed forces, all the various agencies working with them, and American industry and labor as a whole.

No great effort like this can be a hundred percent perfect, but the batting average is very, very high.

And so I extend the congratulations and thanks tonight of the American people to General Alexander, who has been in command of the whole Italian operation; to our General Clark and General Leese of the Fifth and the Eighth Armies; to General Wilson, the Supreme Allied Commander of the Mediterranean theater, to General Devers, his American Deputy; to General

36. *D-Day Prayer on the Invasion of Normandy*

Eaker; to Admirals Cunningham and Hewitt; and to all their brave officers and men.

May God bless them and watch over them and over all of our gallant, fighting men.

36 ¶ The President's D-Day Prayer on the Invasion of Normandy. June 6, 1944

My fellow Americans:

LAST night, when I spoke with you about the fall of Rome, I knew at that moment that troops of the United States and our allies were crossing the Channel in another and greater operation. It has come to pass with success thus far.

And so, in this poignant hour, I ask you to join with me in prayer:

Almighty God: Our sons, pride of our Nation, this day have set upon a mighty endeavor, a struggle to preserve our Republic, our religion, and our civilization, and to set free a suffering humanity.

Lead them straight and true; give strength to their arms, stoutness to their hearts, steadfastness in their faith.

They will need Thy blessings. Their road will be long and hard. For the enemy is strong. He may hurl back our forces. Success may not come with rushing speed, but we shall return again and again; and we know that by Thy grace, and by the righteousness of our cause, our sons will triumph.

They will be sore tried, by night and by day, without rest — until the victory is won. The darkness will be rent by noise and flame. Men's souls will be shaken with the violences of war.

For these men are lately drawn from the ways of peace. They fight not for the lust of conquest. They fight to end conquest. They fight to liberate. They fight to let justice arise, and tolerance and good will among all Thy people. They yearn but for the end of battle, for their return to the haven of home.

36. *D-Day Prayer on the Invasion of Normandy*

Some will never return. Embrace these, Father, and receive them, Thy heroic servants, into Thy kingdom.

And for us at home — fathers, mothers, children, wives, sisters, and brothers of brave men overseas — whose thoughts and prayers are ever with them — help us, Almighty God, to rededicate ourselves in renewed faith in Thee in this hour of great sacrifice.

Many people have urged that I call the Nation into a single day of special prayer. But because the road is long and the desire is great, I ask that our people devote themselves in a continuance of prayer. As we rise to each new day, and again when each day is spent, let words of prayer be on our lips, invoking Thy help to our efforts.

Give us strength, too — strength in our daily tasks, to redouble the contributions we make in the physical and the material support of our armed forces.

And let our hearts be stout, to wait out the long travail, to bear sorrows that may come, to impart our courage unto our sons wheresoever they may be.

And, O Lord, give us Faith. Give us Faith in Thee; Faith in our sons; Faith in each other; Faith in our united crusade. Let not the keenness of our spirit ever be dulled. Let not the impacts of temporary events, of temporal matters of but fleeting moment — let not these deter us in our unconquerable purpose.

With Thy blessing, we shall prevail over the unholy forces of our enemy. Help us to conquer the apostles of greed and racial arrogancies. Lead us to the saving of our country, and with our sister Nations into a world unity that will spell a sure peace — a peace invulnerable to the schemings of unworthy men. And a peace that will let all of men live in freedom, reaping the just rewards of their honest toil.

Thy will be done, Almighty God.

Amen.

37 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Fifty-fourth Press Conference—D-Day (Excerpts). June 6, 1944

(Progress of landings — Planning for invasion — Warning against overconfidence.)

(Held on the first day of the invasion of Western Europe by Allied forces.)

THE PRESIDENT: *(as members of the White House staff filed in)*
My goodness! — all smiles — all smiles. Look at these two coming in! *(Laughter)*

MR. JONATHAN DANIELS: You don't look like you're so solemn yourself, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: No, I'm not so solemn, I suppose. . . . All right, bring in the "wolves." *(Laughter)*

MR. EARLY: One hundred and eighty-one of them waiting to come in. *(The correspondents came in and sat in a circle around the President's desk)* . . .

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think this is a very happy conference today. Looking at the rows of you coming in, you have the same expressions as the anonymous and silent people this side of the desk who came in just before you — all smiles!

I have very little more news that I can tell you than what you all got in your offices.

I think it's all right to use this, which has not been published yet. It came in a dispatch from Eisenhower on the progress of the operations, as of about 12 o'clock today. The American naval losses were two destroyers and one L.S.T. And the losses incident to the air landing were relatively light — about one percent.

Q. That's the air-borne troops, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, air losses as a whole.

And, of course, there are a great deal of reports coming in all the time, and it's being given out over there just as fast as it possibly can. I think the arrangements seem to be going

37. *Nine Hundred and Fifty-fourth Press Conference*

all right. I think that's all that I have over here. You are getting it just as fast as we are.

Q. Mr. President, how do you feel about the progress of the invasion?

THE PRESIDENT: Up to schedule. And, as the Prime Minister said, "That's a mouthful." (*Laughter*)

Q. Mr. President, could you now tell us how closely held this secret was, or how many people were in on the actual "know"?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. You would have to ask in London. Over here, there were relatively few. When I say relatively few, of course, a great many people in both the War Department and the Navy Department knew that we were sending very large forces over to the other side. A very small number knew the actual timing.

Q. That is what I refer to.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes — very few.

Q. On the fingers of your hand, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I wouldn't say that. It must have been more than that, but not very much more.

Q. Mr. President, how long have you known that this was the date?

THE PRESIDENT: I have known since — (*pausing*) — I am trying to think back — I would say Teheran, which was last December, that the approximate date would be the end of May or the very first few days of June. And I have known the exact date just within the past few days.

And I knew last night, when I was doing that broadcast on Rome, that the troops were actually in the vessels, on the way across.

Q. I was wondering if you could explain what were the elements entering into the consideration as far back as Teheran that would lead military leaders to be able to choose a date which seems to be quite far ahead?

THE PRESIDENT: Did you ever cross the English Channel?

Q. Never been across the English Channel.

THE PRESIDENT: You're very lucky.

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Q. Tide? Is it largely a question of —

THE PRESIDENT: (*interposing*) Roughness in the English Channel, which has always been considered by passengers one of the greatest trials of life, to have to cross the English Channel. And, of course, they have a record of the wind and the sea in the English Channel; and one of the greatly desirable and absolutely essential things is to have relatively small-boat weather, as we call it, to get people actually onto the beach. And such weather doesn't begin much before May.

Q. Well, was weather the factor, sir, in delaying from the end of May until the first week in June?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes. After the June date was set, there was only an actual delay of one day.

Q. Mr. President, was it timed to come after the fall of Rome?

THE PRESIDENT: No, because we didn't know when Rome was going to fall.

Q. Mr. President, you said only one day after the time — was it postponed one day?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes.

Q. That was the weather consideration again?

THE PRESIDENT: That was the consideration. But, of course, you have all seen — and you will see increasingly — the reasons why we didn't institute, at the behest of politicians and others, a second front a year ago when they began clamoring for it; because their plea for an immediate second front last year reminds me a good deal of that famous editor and statesman who said years ago, before most of you were born, during the Wilson administration, "I am not worried about the defense of America. If we are threatened, a million men will spring to arms overnight." And, of course, somebody said, "What kind of arms? If you can't arm them, then what's the good of their springing to something that 'ain't' there?"

Well, it will be shown that the preparations for this particular operation were far bigger and far more difficult than anybody except the military could possibly determine beforehand. We have done it just as fast as we possibly could. The

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thing came up — of course, it enters into the general, the highest strategy of the war — oh, back the first time that we held a conference of the combined staffs, which was in late December, 1941, and early January, 1942. Why, we took up the question of a second front — of course we did. And we have been taking it up at every conference in the meantime. But there were so many other things that had to be done, and so little in the way of trained troops and munitions to do it with, we have had to wait to do it the very first chance we got. Well, this particular operation goes all the way back to December, 1941, and it came to a head — the final determination — in Cairo and Teheran. I think it is safe to say that.

Q. Mr. President, isn't there another factor, that in the last six months it has given you a chance to double the invasion force?

THE PRESIDENT: I would hate to say that categorically, because I haven't got the exact figures; but, of course, it has made a great deal of difference. We know that it has meant that a great many more divisions, and a great many more of everything, especially landing craft, have been made possible. We couldn't have done it six months ago, because we didn't have enough landing craft. . . .

Q. Mr. President, at Teheran you took this subject up, and as you know, there were constant cries demanding a second front. Can you say whether or not Marshal Stalin was aware of what was going on? Marshal Stalin, for instance, was demanding a second front.

THE PRESIDENT: Not after Teheran.

Q. He understood thoroughly?

THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely. Mr. Stalin's mind was entirely cleared up at Teheran, when he understood the problem of going across the Channel; and when this particular time was arrived at and agreed on at Teheran, he was entirely satisfied.

Q. Mr. President, when you said that the time was fixed at Teheran approximately, was the point of attack also fixed at the same time?

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THE PRESIDENT: Oh, no. Oh, no.

Q. When did that develop?

THE PRESIDENT: That was a matter which was — well, I can't tell you the exact date, but it was always open to change. In other words, it may have been half a dozen different places.

Q. That was a matter of strategy?

THE PRESIDENT: A matter of strategy, yes.

Q. Mr. President, may there still be a half-dozen different places?

THE PRESIDENT: Gosh! What an awful question! You know they are all improper, highly improper. (*Laughter*)

Q. Mr. President, on this date and point of attack then, as I understand it, that was all left up to the high command?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, yes.

Q. And has been decided comparatively recently?

THE PRESIDENT: Decided by General Eisenhower.

Q. Comparatively recently?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, yes — yes. It's a long, long coast from Spain to Norway, you know.

Q. Mr. President, have there been any reports of cooperation by the French underground in the invasion of —

THE PRESIDENT: (*interposing*) With the underground? No.

Q. Nothing yet?

THE PRESIDENT: Nothing yet.

Q. (*interposing*) Mr. President, —

THE PRESIDENT: (*continuing*) It seems probable — don't quote me in any way on this, but in an area where there is fighting going on, the chances are there are very few civilians in that area. We know, for example, that the Germans have been pushing the French population further and further to the rear. Whenever they got a chance they moved them out. So you can't get cooperation out of stones and dirt. I don't believe there are many people in there — French people.

Q. Is that off the record, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: No, as long as you don't attribute it to me. . . .

Q. Mr. President, some reports that have come in on the prog-

37. *Nine Hundred and Fifty-fourth Press Conference*

ress of operations did say that the Germans were taken by surprise tactically.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know — I don't know. Perfectly frankly, I have no idea.

Q. They knew about the time and tide too, didn't they, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: They must have known whether it was raining or not. (*Laughter*)

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us anything about the impact of this invasion on the home front — the population here?

THE PRESIDENT: No. It has all been coming across the ocean. I haven't heard anything except that the whole country is tremendously thrilled; and I would say on that that I think that it is a very reasonable thrill, but that I hope very much that there will not be again too much overconfidence, because overconfidence destroys the war effort.

A fellow came in some time ago whom I have known for quite a while — near home — and he had come — oh, this was several months ago, at the time we took Sicily — and he had had a mighty good job out on the Pacific coast. I don't know what he was — a welder or something like that.

I said, "What are you doing back home?"

"Oh," he said, "the war's over. I am going to try and get a permanent job before everybody quits working on munitions."

He just walked out, quit his job — and he was a good man, he was a munitions worker — because when we took Sicily he said to himself the war's over.

Now, that's the thing we have got to avoid in this country. The war isn't over by any means. This operation isn't over. You don't just land on a beach and walk through — if you land successfully without breaking your leg — walk through to Berlin. And the quicker this country understands it the better. Again, a question of learning a little geography.

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us something of your hopes for the future on this great day?

38. *Toast to Prime Minister of Poland*

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you know what it is, it's win the war and win it a hundred percent.

Q. One last question, Mr. President. How are you feeling?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm feeling fine. I'm a little sleepy. (*Laughter*)

38 ¶ The Past and Future of Poland — The President Offers a Toast at a State Dinner for the Prime Minister of Poland. June 7, 1944

I WANT to say how happy all of us are to welcome again to Washington the Prime Minister of Poland. I think he has arrived here at a very good time, because we have been able to have, even in the one hour this morning, a very frank talk about the future of Poland. Within his lifetime and mine we have seen the rebirth. In my boyhood and his, there was no independent Poland.

After he left me this morning, I had brought to me a series of sixteen maps, showing the map of Poland beginning in 1653. And it is rather an amazing fact that during these intervening years those sixteen maps show, first and last, that practically all of Central Europe was a part of Poland — first and last.

Therefore, it is rather difficult to untangle the map of the Poland which very soon we hope is going to have its own Government back. We hope the events of the past few days will result in the liberation of an independent Poland, with its own Government and its own democracy.

And yet we can't go by history, because if we were to take one Nation that I have in mind, Poland would include most of Russia, and a good part of Germany, and Czechoslovakia. We are not up to that time yet. We can't talk about it even.

We have got to do the practical thing. And that is what the Prime Minister and I have been talking about: the practical restoration of Poland as a country which will be not merely self-governing but self-maintaining, not merely with its own democracy, but also the wherewithal to make both ends meet in food

38. *Toast to Prime Minister of Poland*

and the cost of living. I think we are as one on it. I think we have a meeting of the minds as to the principles and the desires of the future for the people of Poland.

And I hope some time very soon that steps will be taken by which the people of Poland and the very large Nation that lies to the East will become not merely good neighbors — that is an essential — but also two Nations, one very, very large and the other a good deal smaller, that will be able to work out a mutual economic system by which there will be complete independence on the part of Poland.

At Teheran, I was very glad to have Marshal Stalin say, not once but several times, that he did not desire Poland to be an appendage of the Russian Soviet Republics but should, on the other hand, be a completely self-governing, large, and completely independent Nation.

Therefore, with that thought on the part of Marshal Stalin, I formed the conviction that sitting around the table and talking it over would do nobody any harm, that there can be a meeting of the minds, leaving out the smaller details, such as certain portions of what we call boundaries — deferring them until a somewhat later time, when this new disease in Europe will be eradicated by the march of time.

I think of shell shock. Three thousand miles away a good many people in the United States have got shell shock at the present time. If we were close to the actual fighting, or if there were German troops in our midst, I am inclined to think that our shell shock would be a great deal worse. And so some things must await the return of a word which I never liked and which a former President used: "normalcy," when we can think rather more quietly, and think in the longer terms of what is going to happen, not next year or the year after, or even ten years hence, but fifty years and a hundred years hence.

We go back in our relations with Poland to well over 150 years in our struggle for independence. We were very greatly helped by leading Poles — who came over to help us from a sense of justice, from a sense of trying to help people who were trying

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to get self-expression — the great Polish heroes who helped us in our first Revolution. Through all the years we have watched a changing history, changing boundaries, changing designs.

I was saying to the Prime Minister that I go back to the last century, when I traveled over a large part of Europe on a bicycle, without a passport. I never carried a passport.

And I came to a barrier across the road, and a man came out, yawning, and wanted to know where I came from and where I was going.

I told him I was an American; and he said, after a few minutes of a few, very simple questions, "Have you got enough money to live on?"

I said, "Yes. I have ten pounds on the handlebars of my bicycle."

Thereupon, he waved me through the barrier, and said, "Hope you have a good time."

There was a good deal of intermarriage, interchanging of ideas and friendship between the Nations of Europe then. Yet in the last fifty years that has all gone. It is a very sad thing about Europe, that that spirit has gone. It has become so nationalistic.

And yet we know there is the very great, one of the larger European Nations — Poland. It is right that they should continue to have their complete independence, and integrity, and the right spirit, because the spirit counts more than almost anything else.

And so the Prime Minister and I have been talking today — and shall talk again tomorrow — something about the spirit of the future of Europe, getting away from the mere questions of whether this town will be on this side of the line or that side of the line. There is a bigger thing than that — and I am sure the Prime Minister agrees with me — it is not just a question of class or of land ownership, it is a question of the population of Poland.

The Prime Minister has always worked, all his life, for the health of the people at the "bottom of the heap." There is a great deal to do for them, still more in the future than in the past. And yet we in this country recognize the value of the Polish

39. President Recommends 1,000 Refugees Come to U.S.

population, the thing that goes back to hundreds of years, the integrity of it, the good citizenship of it, the fact that they are not Poles in this country any more, they are Americans — Americans of Polish descent. That is why they are so very welcome when they come over here — to become Americans.

So I want to say again how very happy we are that the Prime Minister has come over here, and I hope he will come back, or that we will go over there and meet with the other members of his Government in London; and to meet the President of Poland, with whom I have never had the pleasure of close acquaintanceship yet, but who, as head of the Nation, still does represent a link which has been so welcome in America.

We are glad to have the Prime Minister with us, and I want to drink — we are all very happy to drink — to the health of the Prime Minister, and through him the President of Poland.

39 ¶ The President Recommends Bringing 1,000 Refugees into the United States — Cablegram to Ambassador Robert Murphy in Algiers.

June 9, 1944

INFORMATION available to me indicates that there are real possibilities of saving human lives by bringing more refugees through Yugoslavia to southern Italy. I am also informed that the escape of refugees by this route has from time to time been greatly impeded because the facilities in southern Italy for refugees have been overtaxed. I am advised that this is the situation at the present moment and that accordingly possibilities of increasing the flow of refugees to Italy may be lost.

I understand that many of the refugees in southern Italy have been and are being moved to temporary havens in areas adjacent to the Mediterranean and that efforts are being made to increase existing refugee facilities in these areas. I am most anxious that

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this effort to take refugees from Italy to areas relatively close by be intensified.

At the same time I feel that it is important that the United States indicate that it is ready to share the burden of caring for refugees during the war. Accordingly, I have decided that approximately 1,000 refugees should be immediately brought from Italy to this country, to be placed in an Emergency Refugee Shelter to be established at Fort Ontario near Oswego, New York, where under appropriate security restrictions they will remain for the duration of the war. These refugees will be brought into this country outside of the regular immigration procedure just as civilian internees from Latin American countries and prisoners of war have been brought here. The Emergency Refugee Shelter will be well equipped to take good care of these people. It is contemplated that at the end of the war they will be returned to their homelands.

You may assume that the Emergency Refugee Shelter will be ready to receive these refugees when they arrive. I will appreciate it therefore if you will arrange for the departure to the United States as rapidly as possible, consistent with military requirements, of approximately 1,000 refugees in southern Italy. You may call upon representatives of the War Refugee Board in Algiers to assist you in this matter. The full cooperation of our military and naval authorities should be enlisted in effecting the prompt removal and transportation of the refugees.

In choosing the refugees to be brought to the United States, please bear in mind that to the extent possible those refugees should be selected for whom other havens of refuge are not immediately available. I should, however, like the group to include a reasonable proportion of various categories of persecuted peoples who have fled to Italy.

You should bear in mind that since these refugees are to be placed in a camp in the United States under appropriate security restrictions, the procedure for the selection of the refugees and arrangements for bringing them here should be as simple and expeditious as possible, uncomplicated by any of the usual

40. *Nine Hundred and Fifty-sixth Press Conference*

formalities involved in admitting people to the United States under the immigration laws.

However, please be sure that the necessary health checks are made to avoid bringing here persons afflicted with any loathsome, dangerous, or contagious disease.

If you encounter any difficulties in arranging for the prompt departure of these refugees please let me know.

NOTE: The foregoing cablegram which the President addressed to Ambassador Robert Murphy in Algiers was a preliminary to the President's message of June 12, 1944, to the Congress urging the admission of 1,000 refugees irre-

spective of immigration quotas. For a fuller account of the circumstances surrounding the admittance of these 1,000 refugees, and the text of the President's message of June 12, 1944, see Item 41 and note, this volume.

40 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Fifty-sixth Press Conference — Special Conference of Business Paper Editors (Excerpts). June 9, 1944

(Aircraft production at rate of 100,000 planes a year — Landing craft program — Review of military progress — Need for reconversion legislation.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, it's good to see you all again. I haven't thought of anything. I thought I could tell you a few things off the record.

Of course, well, for instance, Steve [Early] just came in to give me a thing that just arived about our aircraft production. I think some of us real old people remember a day when I went up to Congress and said we need for national defense fifty thousand airplanes in a year. Well, there was the most awful howl all over the country — couldn't be done — just couldn't be done.

Well, we are now up to a hundred thousand a year, and we are keeping on going — keeping on making records. Amer-

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can industry has done a lot better than the non-business press thought it could do. (*Laughter*)

The two-hundred-thousandth United States-financed airplane since July 1, 1940, was accepted on May 31 of this year, a year and three days after the acceptance of the one-hundred-thousandth — which is pretty good. The first hundred thousand, as they say, is the hardest. (*Laughter*) The first hundred thousand took 1431 days to build. The second hundred thousand took 369 days to build, approximately only a third as long. And in May, 8,851 were accepted. That was actually two percent in numbers below the March peak.

But a thing that the layman doesn't understand, which you will understand, is that the weight, 89 million pounds, is really the controlling factor; and that was one percent over March, which is again a new high.

The rest of the figures relate to different types, but just for example, just in one field of action, we have ten thousand American planes working. In another field of action, we have over five thousand American planes. Now, they are operating planes. Of course, the figures vary from day to day, but that is an awful lot of planes that we have got overseas. I haven't got the figures for some of the other areas, but that is just two out of three or four different areas where we are operating planes.

Of course, the whole thing is going along awfully well. I hope that you are in touch with the Departments, and with Leo Crowley, about places where either there is a jam or we want more things.

Now, of course, one thing we have realized, and that is that with the development of warfare we discover new things all the time — new construction. I don't suppose any one of us could have visioned three years ago the building of this vast number of landing craft, turning them out all over the place with all the things that go with landing craft. In the present operations in France, they have been badly bumped on the beaches. They sit down on top of a boulder, and the boulder

comes through the bottom — that sort of thing. Quite a lot of them have been damaged on the railroad rails that the Germans stuck down on the beaches; and sometimes, when they have discharged their cargo on the beach and start to back up, they find they are sitting on the sharp end of a railroad rail. But, of course, a great many of them can be salvaged, but the last three days show that we have got to speed that particular construction up even some more. We thought we had speeded it up just as fast as we possibly could.

Things are going pretty well on the other side. The chief trouble is weather. The English Channel is not a pleasant place to cross. It's rough a great deal. As somebody remarked to me the other day, probably there has been more human suffering on the English Channel than any other place in the world. (*Laughter*)

And on the whole, things are going along pretty well. We have been doing awfully well north of Rome, since I spoke the other day. We are about 40 miles north of Rome. We have got the important seaport of Civitavecchia. Yet the whole operation — the English Channel, and the Mediterranean — Italy — all tie in together, as we have come to understand.

I think the greatest contribution — there is always a silver lining in every cloud that war makes — is teaching people geography. A lot of people in this country now know where Italy is. Now, that's quite an achievement. (*Laughter*)

And of course, on the whole, I really think that we can feel encouraged, but we mustn't be overoptimistic. . . .

Of course, we are trying to plan all we can on the reconversion of plants, which will be of interest to nearly all of you. I think the Executive end of things has done all it could. They have made various recommendations to Congress for legislation, and nothing has yet come out of the hopper. So the more that you do to encourage Congress to speed up a little on reconversion legislation, the better it is. We have done practically all that we can here. I don't know

41. Message to Congress on Refugee Policy

what will come out, but we would like to have something come out. So, if you can help on that, it's all to the good.

Industry has done a perfectly splendid job. And we are doing all we can to think not only about the rest of the war, but about the period after the war.

41 ¶ Message to the Congress on Refugee Policy.

June 12, 1944

To the Congress:

CONGRESS has repeatedly manifested its deep concern with the pitiful plight of the persecuted minorities in Europe whose lives are each day being offered in sacrifice on the altar of Nazi tyranny.

This Nation is appalled by the systematic persecution of helpless minority groups by the Nazis. To us the unprovoked murder of innocent people simply because of race, religion, or political creed is the blackest of all possible crimes. Since the Nazis began this campaign many of our citizens in all walks of life and of all political and religious persuasions have expressed our feeling of repulsion and our anger. It is a matter with respect to which there is and can be no division of opinion amongst us.

As the hour of the final defeat of the Hitlerite forces draws closer, the fury of their insane desire to wipe out the Jewish race in Europe continues undiminished. This is but one example: Many Christian groups also are being murdered. Knowing that they have lost the war, the Nazis are determined to complete their program of mass extermination. This program is but one manifestation of Hitler's aim to salvage from military defeat victory for Nazi principles — the very principles which this war must destroy unless we shall have fought in vain.

This Government has not only made clear its abhorrence of this inhuman and barbarous activity of the Nazis, but, in cooperation with other Governments, has endeavored to alleviate the

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condition of the persecuted peoples. In January of this year I determined that this Government should intensify its efforts to combat the Nazi terror. Accordingly, I established the War Refugee Board, composed of the Secretaries of State, Treasury, and War. This Board was charged with the responsibility of taking all action consistent with the successful prosecution of the war to rescue the victims of enemy oppression in imminent danger of death and to afford such victims all other possible relief and assistance. It was entrusted with the solemn duty of translating this Government's humanitarian policy into prompt action, thus manifesting once again in a concrete way that our kind of world and not Hitler's will prevail. Its purpose is directly and closely related to our whole war effort.

Since its establishment, the War Refugee Board, acting through a full-time administrative staff, has made a direct and forceful attack on the problem. Operating quietly, as is appropriate, the Board, through its representatives in various parts of the world, has actually succeeded in saving the lives of innocent people. Not only have refugees been evacuated from enemy territory, but many measures have been taken to protect the lives of those who have not been able to escape.

Above all, the efforts of the Board have brought new hope to the oppressed peoples of Europe. This statement is not idle speculation. From various sources, I have received word that thousands of people, wearied by their years of resistance to Hitler and by their sufferings to the point of giving up the struggle, have been given the will and desire to continue by the concrete manifestation of this Government's desire to do all possible to aid and rescue the oppressed.

To the Hitlerites, their subordinates and functionaries and satellites, to the German people, and to all other peoples under the Nazi yoke, we have made clear our determination to punish all participants in these acts of savagery. In the name of humanity we have called upon them to spare the lives of these innocent people.

Notwithstanding this Government's unremitting efforts,

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which are continuing, the numbers actually rescued from the jaws of death have been small compared with the numbers still facing extinction in German territory. This is due principally to the fact that our enemies, despite all our appeals and our willingness to find havens of refuge for the oppressed peoples, persist in their fiendish extermination campaign and actively prevent the intended victims from escaping to safety.

In the face of this attitude of our enemies we must not fail to take full advantage of any opportunity, however limited, for the rescue of Hitler's victims. We are confronted with a most urgent situation.

Therefore, I wish to report to you today concerning a step which I have just taken in an effort to save additional lives and which I am certain will meet with your approval. You will, I am sure, appreciate that this measure is not only consistent with the successful prosecution of the war, but that it was essential to take action without delay.

Even before the Allied landing in Italy there had been a substantial movement of persecuted peoples of various races and nationalities into that country. This movement was undoubtedly prompted by the fact that, despite all attempts by the Fascists to stir up intolerance, the warm-hearted Italian people could not forsake their centuries-old tradition of tolerance and humanitarianism. The Allied landings swelled this stream of fleeing and hunted peoples seeking sanctuary behind the guns of the United Nations. However, in view of the military situation in Italy, the number of refugees who can be accommodated there is relatively limited. The Allied military forces, in view of their primary responsibility, have not been able generally speaking to encourage the escape of refugees from enemy territory. This unfortunate situation has prevented the escape of the largest possible number of refugees. Furthermore, as the number of refugees living in southern Italy increases, their care constitutes an additional and substantial burden for the military authorities.

Recently the facilities for the care of refugees in southern Italy have become so overtaxed that unless many refugees who

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have already escaped to that area and are arriving daily, particularly from the Balkan countries, can be promptly removed to havens of refuge elsewhere, the escape of refugees to that area from German-occupied territory will be seriously impeded. It was apparent that prompt action was necessary to meet this situation. Many of the refugees in southern Italy have been and are being moved to temporary refuges in the territory of other United and friendly Nations. However, in view of the number of refugees still in southern Italy, the problem could not be solved unless temporary havens of refuge were found for some of them in still other areas. In view of this most urgent situation it seemed indispensable that the United States in keeping with our heritage and our ideals of liberty and justice take immediate steps to share the responsibility for meeting the problem.

Accordingly, arrangements have been made to bring immediately to this country approximately 1,000 refugees who have fled from their homelands to southern Italy. Upon the termination of the war they will be sent back to their homelands. These refugees are predominantly women and children. They will be placed on their arrival in a vacated Army camp on the Atlantic Coast where they will remain under appropriate security restrictions.

The Army will take the necessary security precautions and the camp will be administered by the War Relocation Authority. The War Refugee Board is charged with over-all responsibility for this project.

NOTE: The President was directly and personally interested in obtaining asylum for the persecuted peoples of Europe. It became apparent early in 1944 that the work of the War Refugee Board (see Item 6 and note, this volume) was being impeded by the lack of facilities to harbor refugees fleeing from German-controlled territory. In a cablegram to Ambassador Robert

Murphy in Algiers on June 9, 1944 (see Item 39, this volume), the President indicated that the facilities for refugees in southern Italy were seriously overtaxed. In the same message, he emphasized the importance of the United States' sharing the burden of caring for war refugees. Accordingly, the foregoing message was sent to the Congress announcing the plan to bring

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1,000 refugees from Italy to an emergency refugee shelter at Fort Ontario, Oswego, New York.

The administration of the shelter was placed under the War Relocation Authority. On August 5, 1944, the refugees arrived after an uneventful voyage from Italy. Eighteen nationalities were represented in the group, including 368 Yugoslavs, 238 Austrians, 153 Poles, 95 Germans, and 40 Czechs. At least 100 of these refugees had previously been confined in Dachau and Buchenwald. Food, clothing, housing, and medical care were provided at the shelter. Educational, religious, and recreational facilities were also available, and a number of private agencies assisted in their administration. As in the camps maintained by the War Relocation Authority for the displaced Japanese and Japanese-Americans (see Item 37

and note, 1942 volume), a measure of community government and employment was provided at the emergency refugee shelter.

Sadness fell over the entire shelter with the death of President Roosevelt on April 12, 1945, since it was the President who had made it possible for them to leave Europe. A special memorial service was held by the refugees at Fort Ontario.

The immigration status of the refugees at Fort Ontario was uncertain until President Truman on December 22, 1945, directed the Secretary of State and the Attorney General to adjust their status so as to allow those who wished to do so to remain in the United States. In February, 1946, the last group of refugees left the shelter. Twenty-three infants born in the shelter were subsequently declared to be citizens of the United States.

42 ☪ Review of the Progress of the War — Fireside Chat Opening Fifth War Loan Drive. June 12, 1944

ALL our fighting men overseas today have their appointed stations on the far-flung battlefronts of the world. We at home have ours too. We need, we are proud of, our fighting men — most decidedly. But, during the anxious times ahead, let us not forget that they need us too.

It goes almost without saying that we must continue to forge the weapons of victory — the hundreds of thousands of items, large and small, essential to the waging of the war. This has been the major task from the very start, and it is still a major task.

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This is the very worst time for any war worker to think of leaving his machine or to look for a peacetime job.

And it goes almost without saying, too, that we must continue to provide our Government with the funds necessary for waging war not only by the payment of taxes — which, after all, is an obligation of American citizenship — but also by the purchase of war bonds — an act of free choice which every citizen has to make for himself under the guidance of his own conscience.

Whatever else any of us may be doing, the purchase of war bonds and stamps is something all of us can do and should do to help win the war.

I am happy to report tonight that it is something which nearly everyone seems to be doing. Although there are now approximately sixty-seven million persons who have or earn some form of income, eighty-one million persons or their children have already bought war bonds. They have bought more than six hundred million individual bonds. Their purchases have totaled more than thirty-two billion dollars. These are the purchases of individual men, women, and children. Anyone who would have said this was possible a few years ago would have been put down as a starry-eyed visionary. But of such visions is the stuff of America fashioned.

Of course, there are always pessimists with us everywhere, a few here and a few there. I am reminded of the fact that after the fall of France in 1940 I asked the Congress for the money for the production by the United States of fifty thousand airplanes per year. Well, I was called crazy — it was said that the figure was fantastic; that it could not be done. And yet today we are building airplanes at the rate of one hundred thousand a year.

There is a direct connection between the bonds you have bought and the stream of men and equipment now rushing over the English Channel for the liberation of Europe. There is a direct connection between your bonds and every part of this global war today.

Tonight, therefore, on the opening of this Fifth War Loan Drive, it is appropriate for us to take a broad look at this pano-

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rama of world war, for the success or the failure of the drive is going to have so much to do with the speed with which we can accomplish victory and the peace.

While I know that the chief interest tonight is centered on the English Channel and on the beaches and farms and the cities of Normandy, we should not lose sight of the fact that our armed forces are engaged on other battlefronts all over the world, and that no one front can be considered alone without its proper relation to all.

It is worth while, therefore, to make over-all comparisons with the past. Let us compare today with just two years ago — June, 1942. At that time Germany was in control of practically all of Europe, and was steadily driving the Russians back toward the Ural Mountains. Germany was practically in control of North Africa and the Mediterranean, and was beating at the gates of the Suez Canal and the route to India. Italy was still an important military and supply factor — as subsequent, long campaigns have proved.

Japan was in control of the western Aleutian Islands; and in the South Pacific was knocking at the gates of Australia and New Zealand — and also was threatening India. Japan had seized control of most of the Central Pacific.

American armed forces on land and sea and in the air were still very definitely on the defensive, and in the building-up stage. Our allies were bearing the heat and the brunt of the attack.

In 1942 Washington heaved a sigh of relief that the first war bond issue had been cheerfully oversubscribed by the American people. Way back in those days, two years ago, America was still hearing from many “amateur strategists” and political critics, some of whom were doing more good for Hitler than for the United States — two years ago.

But today we are on the offensive all over the world — bringing the attack to our enemies.

In the Pacific, by relentless submarine and naval attacks, and amphibious thrusts, and ever-mounting air attacks, we have de-

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prived the Japs of the power to check the momentum of our ever-growing and ever-advancing military forces. We have reduced the Japs' shipping by more than three million tons. We have overcome their original advantage in the air. We have cut off from a return to the homeland tens of thousands of beleaguered Japanese troops who now face starvation or ultimate surrender. And we have cut down their naval strength, so that for many months they have avoided all risk of encounter with our naval forces.

True, we still have a long way to go to Tokyo. But, carrying out our original strategy of eliminating our European enemy first and then turning all our strength to the Pacific, we can force the Japanese to unconditional surrender or to national suicide much more rapidly than has been thought possible.

Turning now to our enemy who is first on the list for destruction — Germany has her back against the wall — in fact three walls at once!

In the south — we have broken the German hold on central Italy. On June 4, the city of Rome fell to the Allied armies. And allowing the enemy no respite, the Allies are now pressing hard on the heels of the Germans as they retreat northwards in ever-growing confusion.

On the east — our gallant Soviet allies have driven the enemy back from the lands which were invaded three years ago. The great Soviet armies are now initiating crushing blows.

Overhead — vast Allied air fleets of bombers and fighters have been waging a bitter air war over Germany and Western Europe. They have had two major objectives: to destroy German war industries which maintain the German armies and air forces; and to shoot the German Luftwaffe out of the air. As a result, German production has been whittled down continuously, and the German fighter forces now have only a fraction of their former power.

This great air campaign, strategic and tactical, is going to continue — with increasing power.

And on the west — the hammer blow which struck the coast

42. *Fireside Chat Opening Fifth War Loan Drive*

of France last Tuesday morning, less than a week ago, was the culmination of many months of careful planning and strenuous preparation.

Millions of tons of weapons and supplies, and hundreds of thousands of men assembled in England, are now being poured into the great battle in Europe.

I think that from the standpoint of our enemy we have achieved the impossible. We have broken through their supposedly impregnable wall in northern France. But the assault has been costly in men and costly in materials. Some of our landings were desperate adventures; but from advices received so far, the losses were lower than our commanders had estimated would occur. We have established a firm foothold. We are now prepared to meet the inevitable counterattacks of the Germans — with power and with confidence. And we all pray that we will have far more, soon, than a firm foothold.

Americans have all worked together to make this day possible.

The liberation forces now streaming across the Channel, and up the beaches and through the fields and the forests of France are using thousands and thousands of planes and ships and tanks and heavy guns. They are carrying with them many thousands of items needed for their dangerous, stupendous undertaking. There is a shortage of nothing — nothing! And this must continue.

What has been done in the United States since those days of 1940 — when France fell — in raising and equipping and transporting our fighting forces, and in producing weapons and supplies for war, has been nothing short of a miracle. It was largely due to American teamwork — teamwork among capital and labor and agriculture, between the armed forces and the civilian economy — indeed among all of them.

And every one — every man or woman or child — who bought a war bond helped — and helped mightily!

There are still many people in the United States who have not bought war bonds, or who have not bought as many as they can afford. Everyone knows for himself whether he falls into that

43. *Pearl Harbor Trial*

category or not. In some cases his neighbors know too. To the consciences of those people, this appeal by the President of the United States is very much in order.

For all of the things which we use in this war, everything we send to our fighting allies, costs money — a lot of money. One sure way every man, woman, and child can keep faith with those who have given, and are giving, their lives, is to provide the money which is needed to win the final victory.

I urge all Americans to buy war bonds without stint. Swell the mighty chorus to bring us nearer to victory!

NOTE: For an account of the first three war loan drives, see Item 99 and note, 1943 volume. The President made a number of other statements on the sale of defense and war savings bonds and stamps, the voluntary payroll savings plan, and the several war loan drives. See Item 34 and note, 1941 volume; Items 47, 67 and 99 and notes, 1943 volume, and Item 115 and note, this volume.

The Fourth War Loan Drive was conducted from January 18 through

February 15, 1944, with a State and local organization essentially similar to that used during the Third War Loan Drive. Once again the drive was directed exclusively to non-bank subscribers, and the goal of \$14,000,000,000 was exceeded by \$2,730,000,000.

The Fifth War Loan Drive was conducted from June 12 through July 8, 1944, with a goal of \$16,000,000,000. Total sales amounted to \$20,639,000,000.

43 ¶ Statement of the President on Approving the Joint Resolution Extending the Time for the Trial of Persons Involved in Pearl Harbor Catastrophe and Providing for an Investigation.

June 13, 1944

I HAVE today approved the Joint Resolution passed by the Congress, extending for the further period of six months all statutory and other provisions that might prevent the trial and punishment of any persons involved in the Pearl Harbor catastrophe of

43. *Pearl Harbor Trial*

December 7, 1941, and directing the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to make an investigation into the facts surrounding the catastrophe and commence proceedings against such persons as the facts may justify.

The Secretaries of War and Navy have both suggested that I withhold my approval from this resolution, on the ground that the investigation and action therein directed might require them to withdraw from their present assignments numerous officers whose services in such assignments are needed for the successful prosecution of the war, and also on the ground that such proceedings would give publicity to matters which national security requires still to be withheld from the enemy.

If there were any doubt in my mind that the resolution might require such action by the Secretaries of War and Navy as would interfere with the successful conduct of the war, I would have withheld my approval from the resolution. I am confident, however, that the Congress did not intend that the investigation of this matter or any proceedings should be conducted in a manner which would interrupt or interfere with the war effort. On the strength of this confidence I have approved the resolution.

NOTE: The President consistently favored a full revelation of the facts of the Pearl Harbor disaster, limited only by the necessities of military security during the war (see Item 136 and note, 1941 volume, for an account of the Roberts Commission investigation of the Pearl Harbor attack and the President's position on the release of information regarding Pearl Harbor). On December 20, 1943, the President approved the first Joint Resolution (57 Stat. 605) extending for six months the statutory limitations that might prevent trial and punishment of persons involved at Pearl Harbor. On June 13, 1944,

the President approved a second six-month extension with the foregoing statement (58 Stat. 276). A third six-month extension was approved by the President on December 15, 1944 (58 Stat. 808). On June 7, 1945, President Truman approved a Joint Resolution (59 Stat. 233) which further extended the time to six months after the termination of hostilities.

Although the Army and Navy conducted investigations on the responsibility for the Pearl Harbor disaster, and the Congress also conducted an extensive investigation, no court martial was held.

44 ¶ Statement of the President on the Postwar Security Organization Program. June 15, 1944

THE conference today with officials of the Department of State on the postwar security organization program is a continuation of conferences which have been held from time to time during the past eighteen months. These conferences have enabled me to give personal attention to the development and progress of the postwar work the Department of State is doing.

All plans and suggestions from groups, organizations, and individuals have been carefully discussed and considered. I wish to emphasize the entirely non-partisan nature of these consultations. All aspects of the postwar program have been debated in a cooperative spirit. This is a tribute to the political leaders who realize that the national interest demands a national program now. Such teamwork has met the overwhelming approval of the American people.

The maintenance of peace and security must be the joint task of all peace-loving Nations. We have, therefore, sought to develop plans for an international organization comprising all such Nations. The purpose of the organization would be to maintain peace and security and to assist the creation, through international cooperation, of conditions of stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among Nations.

Accordingly, it is our thought that the organization would be a fully representative body with broad responsibilities for promoting and facilitating international cooperation, through such agencies as may be found necessary, to consider and deal with the problems of world relations. It is our further thought that the organization would provide for a council, elected annually by the fully representative body of all Nations, which would include the four major Nations and a suitable number of other Nations. The council would concern itself with peaceful settlement of international disputes and with the prevention of threats to the peace or breaches of the peace.

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There would also be an international court of justice to deal primarily with justiciable disputes.

We are not thinking of a superstate with its own police forces and other paraphernalia of coercive power. We are seeking effective agreement and arrangements through which the Nations would maintain, according to their capacities, adequate forces to meet the needs of preventing war and of making impossible deliberate preparation for war, and to have such forces available for joint action when necessary.

All this, of course, will become possible once our present enemies are defeated and effective arrangements are made to prevent them from making war again.

Beyond that, the hope of a peaceful and advancing world will rest upon the willingness and ability of the peace-loving Nations, large and small, bearing responsibility commensurate with their individual capacities, to work together for the maintenance of peace and security.

45 ¶ The President Signs the G. I. Bill of Rights. June 22, 1944

THIS bill, which I have signed today, substantially carries out most of the recommendations made by me in a speech on July 28, 1943, and more specifically in messages to the Congress dated October 27, 1943, and November 23, 1943:

1. It gives servicemen and women the opportunity of resuming their education or technical training after discharge, or of taking a refresher or retrainer course, not only without tuition charge up to \$500 per school year, but with the right to receive a monthly living allowance while pursuing their studies.

2. It makes provision for the guarantee by the Federal Government of not to exceed 50 percent of certain loans made to veterans for the purchase or construction of homes, farms, and business properties.

3. It provides for reasonable unemployment allowances pay-

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able each week up to a maximum period of one year, to those veterans who are unable to find a job.

4. It establishes improved machinery for effective job counseling for veterans and for finding jobs for returning soldiers and sailors.

5. It authorizes the construction of all necessary additional hospital facilities.

6. It strengthens the authority of the Veterans Administration to enable it to discharge its existing and added responsibilities with promptness and efficiency.

With the signing of this bill a well-rounded program of special veterans' benefits is nearly completed. It gives emphatic notice to the men and women in our armed forces that the American people do not intend to let them down.

By prior legislation, the Federal Government has already provided for the armed forces of this war: adequate dependency allowances; mustering-out pay; generous hospitalization, medical care, and vocational rehabilitation and training; liberal pensions in case of death or disability in military service; substantial war-risk life insurance, and guaranty of premiums on commercial policies during service; protection of civil rights and suspension of enforcement of certain civil liabilities during service; emergency maternal care for wives of enlisted men; and reemployment rights for returning veterans.

This bill therefore and the former legislation provide the special benefits which are due to the members of our armed forces — for they "have been compelled to make greater economic sacrifice and every other kind of sacrifice than the rest of us, and are entitled to definite action to help take care of their special problems." While further study and experience may suggest some changes and improvements, the Congress is to be congratulated on the prompt action it has taken.

There still remains one recommendation which I made on November 23, 1943, which I trust that the Congress will soon adopt — the extension of social security credits under the Federal

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Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance Law to all servicemen and women for the period of their service.

I trust that the Congress will also soon provide similar opportunities for postwar education and unemployment insurance to the members of the merchant marine, who have risked their lives time and again during this war for the welfare of their country.

But apart from these special benefits which fulfill the special needs of veterans, there is still much to be done.

As I stated in my message to the Congress of November 23, 1943,

"What our servicemen and women want, more than anything else, is the assurance of satisfactory employment upon their return to civil life. The first task after the war is to provide employment for them and for our demobilized workers. . . . The goal after the war should be the maximum utilization of our human and material resources."

As a related problem the Congress has had under consideration the serious problem of economic reconversion and readjustment after the war, so that private industry will be able to provide jobs for the largest possible number. This time we have wisely begun to make plans in advance of the day of peace, in full confidence that our war workers will remain at their essential war jobs as long as necessary until the fighting is over.

The executive branch of the Government has taken, and is taking, whatever steps it can, until legislation is enacted. I am glad to learn that the Congress has agreed on a bill to facilitate the prompt settlement of terminated contracts. I hope that the Congress will also take prompt action, when it reconvenes, on necessary legislation which is now pending to facilitate the development of unified programs for the demobilization of civilian war workers, for their reemployment in peacetime pursuits, and for provision, in cooperation with the States, of appropriate unemployment benefits during the transition from war to peace. I hope also that the Congress, upon its return, will take prompt action on the pending legislation to facilitate the orderly disposition of surplus property.

A sound postwar economy is a major present responsibility.

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NOTE: The President laid the basis for the G. I. Bill of Rights in November, 1942, when he appointed a committee of educators to study the problem of education and training of veterans of the armed forces (see Item 122 and note, 1942 volume, and Item 118 and note, 1943 volume, for an account of the early steps taken by the President to provide for the post-war education of war veterans).

Under the terms of the G. I. Bill of Rights, as amended, veterans with at least ninety days of active service part of which was between September 15, 1940, and July 25, 1947, could qualify for education or training, regardless of age or previous education. An individual was eligible if discharged for a disability incurred in service or if the discharge was other than dishonorable. Education or training was allowed for one year plus the time served in the armed forces — up to a total of four calendar years. Veterans were allowed to choose any school approved by State authorities or the Veterans Administration, including trade, business, and industrial schools, any grade from elementary schools through universities, or farm schools.

For each qualified veteran, the Veterans Administration paid up to \$500 per school year for tuition and for books, supplies, equipment, and fees required of all students in the same course; this sum was paid directly to the teaching institutions. To assist in living expenses, sub-

sistence allowances of \$65 per month for veterans without dependents, and \$90 per month if veterans had one or more dependents were provided under the terms of the original Act (these subsistence allowances were increased by later legislation). Specified deductions were made from the subsistence allowances if the veteran had a full- or part-time job while attending school. Provision was also made to assist in the financing of on-the-job and apprentice training of veterans, including payment for tools and equipment.

The Veterans Administration lent no money directly under the G. I. Bill of Rights, but guaranteed or insured payment to the lender when veterans made certain types of loans from banks, building and loan associations, public and private lending agencies and, in some circumstances, from individuals. In the case of home real estate, the Veterans Administration guaranteed or insured loans up to certain amounts to buy or build a veteran's residence; to make repairs, alterations, or improvements on the veteran's home; or to buy or build a dwelling to be partly rented to others, and partly used by the veteran as his or her residence. In regard to farm real estate, the Veterans Administration also guaranteed or insured loans within certain fixed limits to buy land or purchase or build buildings for veterans' farming operations; and for the improvement of land, or

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major repairs, alterations, or improvements of farm buildings. In addition, loans for the purchase of business real estate or to make major repairs, alterations, or improvements on buildings could also be guaranteed or insured by the Veterans Administration, and under certain conditions loans to re-finance defaulted debts on real estate or to pay overdue taxes on property could be guaranteed or insured. Under the terms of the G. I. Bill, the Veterans Administration could also back part of loans for the following: purchase of all or part of a going business concern; the establishment of a business by a veteran; the purchase of equipment and supplies for a veteran's business or farming operation — including farm machinery, seed, livestock, and other equipment; purchase of inventories and stock-in-trade for business or farming operations; the supplying of operating capital; payment of overdue business taxes; and certain heavy household equipment, such as furnaces and boilers. In general, the Federal Government guaranteed up to 50 percent of such loans, and the interest rate was limited to not more than 4 percent per year.

As of February 25, 1949, the Veterans Administration reported that since the start of the loan guarantee program, veterans had made 1,570,000 home, business, and farm loans. The loans had an \$8,500,000,000 face value and were insured by the Veterans Administration for about \$4,000,000,000.

The G. I. Bill of Rights also provided for unemployment insurance up to a maximum of \$20 per week for 52 weeks. It included readjustment allowances for unemployed or partially employed veterans and for veterans in business for themselves but with a net income of less than \$100 a month.

As of March 31, 1949, the Veterans Administration reported that about 8,500,000 veterans had received one or more payments or readjustment allowances and that payments since inception of the program in September, 1944, had totalled \$2,957,000,000 for unemployment claims. Approximately \$558,000,000 had been paid in self-employment allowances.

In the foregoing statement on signing the G. I. Bill of Rights, the President made a number of further recommendations for legislation to aid veterans. Among these was a recommendation which he had first made on November 23, 1943 (see Item 26 and note, 1943 volume) for the extension of social security credits under the Federal Old Age and Survivors' Insurance Law to all servicemen and women for the period of their service. Under the terms of Public Law 719, 79th Congress, approved August 10, 1946 (60 Stat. 978), such social security credits were extended to cover survivorship cases.

At the close of February, 1948, 2,655,000 veterans were receiving subsistence allowances under education and training programs. A total of 1,828,000 were in schools,

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including 1,128,000 in colleges, and 596,000 were in on-job-training as apprentices in business and industrial firms under contract with the Veterans Administration.

Vocational rehabilitation for veterans was provided under the Act for as long as necessary to restore a veteran's ability to work — up to a total of four years, with additional training beyond four years authorized in extraordinary cases. The Veterans Administration furnished for each disabled veteran placed in training the necessary tuition, fees, books, equipment, or the tools and equipment necessary for on-the-job training. During training either in an institution or on the job, subsistence allowances were provided by the Veterans Administration, depending upon the nature and extent of the disability of veterans and the number of their dependents.

At the end of March, 1948, there were 2,898,000 veterans and their dependents drawing compensation or pensions at an estimated annual cost of \$1,795,000,000. This number of cases was a reduction of 6,000 from the peak which had been reached in July, 1947.

As pointed out by the President in his statement on signing the G. I. Bill of Rights, the Federal Government by additional legislation and administrative action had provided additional protection and allowances for members of the armed services, including hospitalization, medical care, vocational rehabilitation (see Item 101, 1942 volume), war-risk life insurance, veterans preference in Federal employment (see Item 18, this volume), reemployment rights for returning veterans, and many other related measures.

46 ¶ Statement of the President on Signing Joint Resolutions Concerning Philippine Independence and Rehabilitation. June 29, 1944

I HAVE signed today two joint resolutions of Congress respecting the Philippines. The first of these resolutions lays down a policy for the granting of independence, and for the acquisition of bases adequate to provide for the mutual protection of the United States and the Philippine Islands.

In that resolution it is declared to be the policy of "the Congress that the United States shall drive the treacherous, invading

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Japanese from the Philippine Islands, restore as quickly as possible the orderly, free democratic processes of government to the Filipino people, and thereupon establish the complete independence of the Philippine Islands as a separate self-governing Nation." The measure makes it possible to proclaim independence as soon as practicable after constitutional processes and normal functions of government have been restored in the Philippines.

It is contemplated that as soon as conditions warrant, civil government will be set up under constitutional officers. It will be their duty forthwith to take emergency measures to alleviate the physical and economic hardships of the Philippine people, and to prepare the Commonwealth to receive and exercise the independence which we have promised them. The latter includes two tasks of great importance: those who have collaborated with the enemy must be removed from authority and influence over the political and economic life of the country; and the democratic form of government guaranteed in the Constitution of the Philippines must be restored for the benefit of the people of the islands.

On the problem of bases, the present Organic Act permitted acquisition only of naval bases and fueling stations, a situation wholly inadequate to meet the conditions of modern warfare. The measure approved today will permit the acquisition of air and land bases in addition to naval bases and fueling stations. I have been informed that this action is most welcome to Commonwealth authorities, and that they will gladly cooperate in the establishment and maintenance of bases both as a restored Commonwealth and as an independent Nation. By this we shall have an outstanding example of cooperation designed to prevent a recurrence of armed aggression and to assure the peaceful use of a great ocean by those in pursuit of peaceful ends.

The second joint resolution signed today brings into effect the joint economic commission first ordained in the present Organic Act, and enlarges its scope to include consideration of proposals for the economic and financial rehabilitation of the Philippines.

We are ever mindful of the heroic role of the Philippines and

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their people in the present conflict. Theirs is the only substantial area and theirs the only substantial population under the American flag to suffer lengthy invasion by the enemy. History will attest the heroic resistance of the combined armies of the United States and the Philippines in Luzon, Cebu, Iloilo, and other islands of the archipelago. Our character as a Nation will be judged for years to come by the human understanding and the physical efficiency with which we help in the immense task of rehabilitating the Philippines. The resolution creates the Philippine Rehabilitation Commission whose functions shall be to study all aspects of the problem, and after due investigation report its recommendations to the President of the United States and the Congress, and to the President and the Congress of the Philippines.

NOTE: As pointed out by the President in the foregoing statement, the first of the two joint resolutions which he signed (58 Stat. 625) laid down the policy for the granting of independence to the Philippines, and permitted the acquisition of air and land bases in the Philippines.

The second joint resolution approved by the President (58 Stat. 626) established the Philippine Rehabilitation Commission. The purpose of the Commission was to investigate and formulate recommendations on matters affecting the postwar economy, trade, finance, economic stability, and rehabilitation of the Philippine Islands, including the matter of damages to public and private property occasioned by enemy attack and occupation.

The war had caused serious damage to Philippine commerce and trade. Factories, homes, Govern-

ment and commercial buildings, roads, bridges, docks and harbors were in need of reconstruction or widespread repairs. It appeared that it would be some time before the Philippines could produce sufficient food with which to sustain themselves. Much of the assessable property had been destroyed, and the internal revenues of the country were greatly diminished by war. Foreign trade had virtually vanished, and internal commerce was but a fraction of its prewar level. Machinery, farming implements, ships, bus and truck lines were damaged; and inter-island transportation and communications were wrecked.

On April 30, 1946, President Truman approved an act (60 Stat. 128) establishing the Philippine War Damage Commission. The act authorized the new Commission to compensate for physical loss, de-

47. *Stabilization Extension Act*

struction, or damage to public and private property in the Philippines as a result of the war, between December 7, 1941, and October 1, 1945. It authorized the expenditure of approximately \$400,000,000 for private war damage compensation, and required that payment for these claims be completed by the Philippine War Damage Commission not later than April 30, 1951. It also authorized \$120,000,000,

mainly for reconstruction of public property, and, under it, some 300 Filipinos were to be given technical training under the provisions of the Act.

The act also authorized the transfer to the Philippines of surplus Federal property located in the Islands for the purpose of restoring Government buildings, schools, utilities, and other public properties.

47 ¶ Statement of the President on Signing the Stabilization Extension Act. June 30, 1944

BY THE Stabilization Extension Act which I have just signed, the Congress renews the general authority vested in the executive agencies by the Emergency Price Control and Stabilization Acts to hold the line against inflation.

For more than two years, under the Emergency Price Control and Stabilization Acts, we have been fighting inflation and fighting it successfully. Although the cost of living rose substantially in the early years of the war, for a whole year the cost of living has been held without change. This, of course, was possible only with the aid of the limited subsidies authorized by the Congress. While clothing prices have risen during the past year, they have not risen enough to wipe out the reduction in retail prices of necessary food items. Meantime rents have been firmly held.

The Stabilization Extension Act represents the considered judgment of the Congress that the policies and the programs which have resulted in this achievement are sound policies and sound programs and should be continued for another year.

In particular it should be noted that the Congress rejected all pleas which would require any general change in the wage, price, and subsidy policies now in effect.

47. *Stabilization Extension Act*

During the past three months, while the Extension Act was under consideration and debate in the Congress, the clamor of pressure groups was loud in the land. I think it is a source of gratification that in spite of this clamor the Congress has stood firm against any departure from the basic principles which have made it possible for us to hold the line.

Some of the amendments introduced in the Stabilization Extension Act may make it somewhat harder to hold the line. But I am advised by the enforcing agencies that in their opinion the line can be held against inflationary price increases if they are supported in a firm administration of the law in accordance with its basic objectives.

The provisions of the Extension Act which give me the most concern are those relating to enforcement. No act is any better than its enforcement. No act, least of all a price control act, can be effectively enforced without the support of the people affected by it. But people tend to become careless in the observance of even a good law if it is not enforced against the fringe of chisellers who will violate a law whenever they think they can get away with it.

I know that the Congress in relaxing the penalties against non-willful violations was anxious to protect only those acting in good faith and not those who do not wish to know what the law requires of them. But I fear that the changes made will weaken and obstruct the effective enforcement of the law. I hope that experience may not justify my fear. But if it should turn out that the enforcing officers encounter serious difficulties in bringing chisellers and black market operators to book, I shall ask the Congress to remove the difficulties.

In enacting the Stabilization Extension Act, the Congress has performed a signal service. It has heard and considered all the complaints against the Stabilization Act. It has tried to deal with those complaints fairly. It has shown statesmanship and courage in resisting group pressure and in protecting the public interest. By its action, it has made clear that it is the wish, not of a few

47. *Stabilization Extension Act*

Government officials, but of all our people that the line against inflation should be held.

I think the occasion is appropriate to express deep appreciation of the splendid work done by the officials charged with enforcing the stabilization program, and particularly the workers in the field offices, and in all the county war boards and the local price and rationing boards. Without them we could not have held the line. They have served their country well.

NOTE: The Stabilization Extension Act (58 Stat. 632), which the President approved at the time he issued the foregoing statement, extended the authority for price control and wage stabilization embodied in the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942 (see Item 12 and note, 1942 volume) and the Stabilization Act of 1942 (see Items 92, 97 and notes, 1942 volume).

In signing the new Act, the President expressed concern that certain procedural changes and the relaxation of penalties against non-willful violators might weaken the effective enforcement of the law. The procedural and enforcement amendments which gave rise to the President's concern were of three groups: those enlarging the opportunity for the filing of protests against price regulations and elaborating the procedure for their consideration; those providing for the stay of enforcement proceedings pending the disposition of protests and appeals therefrom; and those reducing the damages recoverable from violators.

Originally, the procedural pro-

visions of the Price Control Act were as narrow as was consistent with due process and the urgency of combatting inflation in wartime. A person aggrieved by a regulation was required to file a protest within sixty days of its issuance or after new grounds for protest had arisen. Under the new Act this time limitation was removed.

A second amendment permitted any protesting party to require that a review board composed of O.P.A. officials consider his protest and make recommendations to the Administrator as to its disposition. The effect was to increase materially the volume of protests and make for a more formal and time-consuming protest procedure.

Amendments to the Stabilization Extension Act permitted persons against whom civil or criminal proceedings were pending to apply for stays in execution of judgment, in the event that protests had been filed with the Administrator or complaints had been filed with the Emergency Court of Appeals to test the Administrator's actions. These amendments meant that a dilatory

48. *Public Health Service Act*

defendant could, through protest proceedings, delay judgment by many months and possibly years.

Prior to the passage of the Stabilization Extension Act, recoverable damages were set at three times the overcharge or \$50, whichever was greater. The amended law allowed the court in its discretion to fix damages between one and three times the overcharge, whichever was greater. Moreover, where the defendant showed that his violation was neither willful nor the result of failure to take practicable pre-

cautions, the court would be required to assess merely the minimum amount of damages — that is, the overcharge or \$25, whichever was greater.

While these amendments weakened the Act to some degree, and promised additional difficulties in enforcement, the President nevertheless felt that the net effect of the Act was beneficial to the stabilization program, and accordingly he decided to sign it while simultaneously issuing the foregoing statement.

48 ¶ Statement of the President on Signing the Public Health Service Act. July 1, 1944

THE Public Health Service Act is an important step toward the goal of better national health. A constituent of the Federal Security Agency since 1939, the U. S. Public Health Service is one of the oldest Federal agencies — and one in which the people have great confidence because of its excellent record in protecting the health of the Nation.

The Act signed today gives authority to make grants-in-aid for research to public or private institutions for investigations in any field related to the public health. It authorizes increased appropriations for grants to the States for general public health work. It strengthens the Commissioned Corps of the Public Health Service for the enormous tasks of the war and the peace to come. Authority is granted to commission the nurses of the Public Health Service, just as the nurses of the Army and the Navy are commissioned.

It provides for the establishment of a national tuberculosis program in the Public Health Service. Since adequate public health facilities must be organized on a nationwide scale, it is

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proper that the Federal Government should exercise responsibility of leadership and assistance to the States.

In establishing a national program of war and postwar prevention, we will be making as sound an investment as any Government can make; the dividends are payable in human life and health.

NOTE: In addition to the specific provisions announced by the President in the foregoing statement, the Public Health Service Act of 1944 (58 Stat. 682) contained a complete restatement of the laws applicable to the Public Health Service. The new Act brought together in a compact and orderly arrangement substantially all existing law on the subject; repealed obsolete laws; resolved ambiguities in existing law; and made a number of revisions which operating experience showed to be desirable.

At the time of the enactment of the Public Health Service Act of 1944, the laws applicable to the Public Health Service were the result of an accumulation, over a century and a half, of a great number of separate enactments. Many isolated provisions of appropriation acts had related to the functions of the Public Health Service, and the new Act was designed to supply a clear statement of all provisions in force.

Under the terms of the Act, the authority then contained in the National Cancer Institute Act (50 Stat. 559) was expanded to allow grants to public or private institutions for research work in all fields related

to public health. Appropriations for grants to the States for general public health work were authorized in the sum of \$20,000,000 annually, of which up to \$2,000,000 was made available, in the discretion of the Surgeon General, for direct Federal expenditures for purposes related to such grants.

Grants-in-aid under the new legislation also became available to the States for the establishment of permanent tuberculosis control programs. Every State in the Union took advantage of this assistance, providing facilities and personnel for advancing toward the goal of finding and treating every early case of tuberculosis.

Prior to the passage of the Public Health Service Act of 1944, the National Advisory Health Council had the power to make only recommendations on health matters. The new law gave the Council additional legal responsibilities for approving research projects for grants-in-aid to public and private institutions; to assist in the enforcement of the interstate quarantine law; and to serve as an advisory body to the Surgeon General on health matters.

Under the authority of the Pub-

49. *Deferment of Premedical Students*

lic Health Service Act, President Truman issued Executive Order No. 9575 on June 21, 1945, declaring the commissioned corps of the Public Health Service a military service and a branch of the land and naval forces of the United States

during the period of the war. The granting of military status, discipline, and obligations on Public Health Service officers was of considerable assistance in recruiting and retaining personnel.

49 ¶ The President Refuses to Order Blanket Deferment of Premedical Students. July 5, 1944

I HAVE given careful thought to your letter of June 16 in which you asked that I review the Selective Service order which does not permit the deferment of premedical students beyond July 1.

No one is more keenly conscious than I am of the need of maintaining the health of the Nation and of making sure that we have an adequate supply of doctors. But in this war the need of the armed forces for young, vigorous men must also be given thorough consideration. The Army and the Navy have presented that need in urgent terms as essential to the winning of the war.

The Inter-Agency Committee on Deferments, which was formed some months ago to advise the Director of Selective Service on deferment of men under 26, gave careful consideration to the case of premedical students. The Committee included representatives of all Governmental agencies interested in manpower. I am told that this Committee recommended that there be no deferment for premedical students who are not in medical school by July 1 of this year.

The Committee, I am advised, took into account the fact that none of these premedical students could be of service in the practice of medicine prior to 1948, and that many of them would never practice medicine. The Committee also gave attention to the fact that young men who do not come up to the exacting physical standards of the armed forces, as well as young women, are available to become premedical students.

As for the future supply of doctors, we must always bear in

50. *State Luncheon for Gen. de Gaulle*

mind the ex-servicemen, a considerable number of whom will unquestionably desire to begin the study of medicine. As you know, there are many young men who have served their country in the armed forces and have already been discharged from further service. These men, and the far larger number later to be demobilized, must be given every opportunity in the way of education and training. I am told that the medical colleges are particularly interested in promoting medical education of well-qualified ex-servicemen. This plan by the medical colleges in behalf of ex-servicemen has my hearty support.

For these reasons, after thorough consideration, I am unwilling to overrule the recommendation of the Inter-Agency Committee on Deferments in regard to premedical students or to instruct the Director of Selective Service to rescind the ruling that he made when he adopted the Committee's recommendation.

I fully appreciate your keen interest in this important subject.

Hon. A. L. Miller,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

50 ¶ The President Offers a Toast at State
Luncheon for General Charles de Gaulle.

July 7, 1944

I THINK we will all agree that this is an historic occasion we will remember all the rest of our lives. A great many of us know France personally. A great many of us were there in our childhood, or in our young manhood. There is something about France that doesn't exist anywhere else in the world. I think you know what I mean. It is the spirit of civilization that endears itself not just to us but to all the world, all the people who ever go there, and that includes the people of France.

During these past four years a great many of us — all of us —

have been thinking about what France has gone through. And so time has gone on, and we have seen the dawn of the new day for France, the complete liberation of that civilization which will go back not just to what it was before, but to something even more appealing, something even greater than before this war.

We are enlisted in this country in the great task of bringing that great day, the liberation of France, even closer. When that day has come, and the Government of France is restored to its own people, a great many of us will want to be there and see France, see the rejuvenated France, taking its rightful place among all the Nations.

So today — there is going to be another Toast, but this one, first — I want to drink to the speeding up of the complete liberation of France.

(The Toast was drunk) . . .

Now I want to say, shall I call it a personal word. A year ago last January, at Casablanca, General de Gaulle and I met for the first time. I am glad this has been the second time, and most assuredly there will be a third time and many other times.

There are a lot of troublemakers in the world. I won't refer just to certain elements of the press in Algiers, and in Washington. That is with us always. But after all, the profession lives by stirring up controversy. That is an inherent part of our public information, which is not always correct.

There are all kinds of problems, most of them what might be called technical, or detailed, or local, which can be resolved by the meeting of the leaders — the old idea that if you get around the table with a man you can solve anything.

There are no great problems between the French and the Americans, or between General de Gaulle and myself. They are all working out awfully well, without exception. They are going to work out all right, if they will just leave a few of us alone to sit around the table.

General de Gaulle and I have been talking this morning about all kinds of things all over the world. We have talked

about controversial things — controversial to the press, but really not controversial at all — things that we are in complete agreement on, things for the future of the world, things to prevent war in the future of the world, to disarm Germany, to see that this kind of thing that has been happening for the last five years shall not happen again for the next fifty.

And, therefore, it has been a great privilege to have General de Gaulle come over here to talk about these things, quietly, and to work out plans not just for the future of France but also plans for the future of the world, the cause of our objectives, our common objectives on which we are all agreed.

Therefore, it seems that at this meeting even now — and it isn't over yet — we will do even more.

I call it historic because it is going to have a great influence on all of humanity, on a great many countries and a great many continents. We can work these problems out if we keep on meeting the way we are meeting now.

It is a real pleasure to have him with us, and as I said before, something is being done for the good of the world. And that is why I think we can all tell the General from the bottom of our hearts how very happy we are to have him here in this common effort. The liberation of France is, of course, the most important of all. Every German boot we want out of France, once and for all. And when that day comes, we will all breathe much more happily and much more safely, not only during our lifetime but the lifetimes of our children.

So I propose the health of General de Gaulle, our friend.

51 ¶ The President Announces He Will Accept a Nomination for a Fourth Term — Exchange of Letters Between the President and Robert E. Hannegan. July 11, 1944

Dear Mr. Hannegan:

YOU have written me that in accordance with the records a majority of the delegates have been directed to vote for my re-nomination for the office of President, and I feel that I owe to you, in candor, a simple statement of my position.

If the Convention should carry this out, and nominate me for the Presidency, I shall accept. If the people elect me, I will serve.

Every one of our sons serving in this war has officers from whom he takes his orders. Such officers have superior officers. The President is the Commander in Chief and he, too, has his superior officer — the people of the United States.

I would accept and serve, but I would not run, in the usual partisan, political sense. But if the people command me to continue in this office and in this war, I have as little right to withdraw as the soldier has to leave his post in the line.

At the same time, I think I have a right to say to you and to the delegates to the coming Convention something which is personal — purely personal.

For myself, I do not want to run. By next Spring, I shall have been President and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces for twelve years — three times elected by the people of this country under the American Constitutional system.

From the personal point of view, I believe that our economic system is on a sounder, more human basis than it was at the time of my first inauguration.

It is perhaps unnecessary to say that I have thought only of the good of the American people. My principal objective, as you know, has been the protection of the rights and privileges

51. *Fourth Term Nomination*

and fortunes of what has been so well called the average of American citizens.

After many years of public service, therefore, my personal thoughts have turned to the day when I could return to civil life. All that is within me cries out to go back to my home on the Hudson River, to avoid public responsibilities, and to avoid also the publicity which in our democracy follows every step of the Nation's Chief Executive.

Such would be my choice. But we of this generation chance to live in a day and hour when our Nation has been attacked, and when its future existence and the future existence of our chosen method of government are at stake.

To win this war wholeheartedly, unequivocally, and as quickly as we can is our task of the first importance. To win this war in such a way that there be no further world wars in the foreseeable future is our second objective. To provide occupations, and to provide a decent standard of living for our men in the armed forces after the war, and for all Americans, are the final objectives.

Therefore, reluctantly, but as a good soldier, I repeat that I will accept and serve in this office, if I am so ordered by the Commander in Chief of us all — the sovereign people of the United States.

Very sincerely yours,

Dear Mr. President:

As Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, it is my duty on behalf of the Committee to present for its consideration a temporary roll of the delegates for the National Convention, which will convene in Chicago on July 19, 1944.

The National Committee has received from the State officials of the Democratic Party certification of the action of the State conventions, and the primaries in those States, which select delegates in that manner.

Based upon these official certifications to the National Committee, I desire to report to you that more than a clear majority

51-A. *Letter on the Vice-Presidential Nomination*

of the delegates to the National Convention are legally bound by the action of their constituents to cast their ballots for your nomination as President of the United States. This action in the several States is a reflection of the wishes of the vast majority of the American people that you continue as President in this crucial period in the Nation's history.

I feel, therefore, Mr. President, that it is my duty as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee to report to you the fact that the National Convention will during its deliberations in Chicago tender to you the nomination of the Party as it is the solemn belief of the rank and file of Democrats, as well as many other Americans, that the Nation and the world need the continuation of your leadership.

In view of the foregoing, I would respectfully request that you send to the Convention or otherwise convey to the people of the United States an expression that you will again respond to the call of the Party and the people. I am confident that the people recognize the tremendous burdens of your office, but I am equally confident that they are determined that you must continue until the war is won and a firm basis for abiding peace among men is established.

Respectfully,

ROBERT E. HANNEGAN

51-A. ¶ A Letter Setting Forth the President's Position on the Vice-Presidential Nomination.

July 14, 1944

My dear Senator Jackson:

IN THE light of the probability that you will be chosen as permanent chairman of the convention, and because I know that many rumors accompany all conventions, I am wholly willing to give you my own personal thought in regard to the selection of a candidate for Vice President. I do this at this time because I expect to be away from Washington for the next few days.

52. *Bastille Day*

The easiest way of putting it is this: I have been associated with Henry Wallace during his past four years as Vice President, for eight years earlier while he was Secretary of Agriculture, and well before that. I like him and I respect him and he is my personal friend. For these reasons I personally would vote for his renomination if I were a delegate to the convention.

At the same time I do not wish to appear in any way as dictating to the convention. Obviously the convention must do the deciding. And it should — and I am sure it will — give great consideration to the pros and cons of its choice.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Samuel D. Jackson,
Stevens Hotel,
Chicago, Ill.

51-B. ¶ Letter to Robert E. Hannegan Endorsing Truman or Douglas for Vice-Presidential Nomination. July 19, 1944

Dear Bob:

You have written me about Harry Truman and Bill Douglas. I should, of course, be very glad to run with either of them and believe that either one of them would bring real strength to the ticket.

Always sincerely,

52 ¶ A Salute to the People of France on Bastille Day. July 14, 1944

ONCE again I salute, on Bastille Day, the heroic people of France.

July 14 this year is different, for we hope that it is the last fourteenth of July that France will suffer under German occupation. With full confidence, I look forward that the French people on July 14, 1945, will celebrate their great national fete on

53. *Address to Democratic National Convention*

French soil, liberated alike from the invader and from the puppets of Vichy.

For the great battle of liberation is now engaged. It is a battle resolutely waged by the American, British, and Canadian forces, together with the valiant fighters of the home French, who have already contributed so greatly to the success of the operations. At the same time gallant French fighting forces are carrying on the victorious struggle in Italy, joined in traditional unity with their comrades of the American Fifth Army and the British Eighth Army.

Here, on this side of the Atlantic, the fourteenth of July, 1944, offers an equally great spectacle of the indissoluble unity and the deep friendship of the American and French peoples.

Together, the French and American peoples stand today, united as they have always been when the cause of freedom was endangered.

Together, we shall win, and France shall be free!

53 ¶ Address Broadcast from a Naval Base on the Pacific Coast to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. July 20, 1944

I HAVE already indicated to you why I accept the nomination that you have offered me — in spite of my desire to retire to the quiet of private life.

You in this Convention are aware of what I have sought to gain for the Nation, and you have asked me to continue.

It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, sooner or later, and that the world once more will be at peace — under a system, we hope that will prevent a new world war. In any event, whenever that time comes, new hands will then have full opportunity to realize the ideals which we seek.

53. *Address to Democratic National Convention*

In the last three elections the people of the United States have transcended party affiliation. Not only Democrats but also forward-looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership — a leadership which has sought consistently — and with fair success — to advance the lot of the average American citizen who had been so forgotten during the period after the last war. I am confident that they will continue to look to that same kind of liberalism to build our safer economy for the future.

I am sure that you will understand me when I say that my decision, expressed to you formally tonight, is based solely on a sense of obligation to serve if called upon to do so by the people of the United States.

I shall not campaign, in the usual sense, for the office. In these days of tragic sorrow, I do not consider it fitting. And besides, in these days of global warfare, I shall not be able to find the time. I shall, however, feel free to report to the people the facts about matters of concern to them and especially to correct any misrepresentations.

During the past few days I have been coming across the whole width of the continent, to a naval base where I am speaking to you now from the train.

As I was crossing the fertile lands and the wide plains and the Great Divide, I could not fail to think of the new relationship between the people of our farms and cities and villages and the people of the rest of the world overseas — on the islands of the Pacific, in the Far East, and in the other Americas, in Britain and Normandy and Germany and Poland and Russia itself.

For Oklahoma and California, for example, are becoming a part of all these distant spots as greatly as Massachusetts and Virginia were a part of the European picture in 1778. Today, Oklahoma and California are being defended in Normandy and on Saipan; and they must be defended there — for what happens in Normandy and Saipan vitally affects the security and well-being of every human being in Oklahoma and California.

Mankind changes the scope and the breadth of its thought and

53. *Address to Democratic National Convention*

vision slowly indeed. In the days of the Roman Empire eyes were focused on Europe and the Mediterranean area. The civilization in the Far East was barely known. The American continents were unheard of.

And even after the people of Europe began to spill over to other continents, the people of North America in Colonial days knew only their Atlantic seaboard and a tiny portion of the other Americas, and they turned mostly for trade and international relationship to Europe. Africa, at that time, was considered only as the provider of human chattels. Asia was essentially unknown to our ancestors.

During the nineteenth century, during that era of development and expansion on this continent, we felt a natural isolation — geographic, economic, and political — an isolation from the vast world which lay overseas.

Not until this generation — roughly this century — have people here and elsewhere been compelled more and more to widen the orbit of their vision to include every part of the world. Yes, it has been a wrench perhaps — but a very necessary one.

It is good that we are all getting that broader vision. For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and the ostriches who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are becoming slowly extinct. The American people now know that all Nations of the world — large and small — will have to play their appropriate part in keeping the peace by force, and in deciding peacefully the disputes which might lead to war.

We all know how truly the world has become one — that if Germany and Japan, for example, were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own grandchildren would again have to be fighting in their day for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure as greatly in our physical defense as they have in the past. For our own safety and for our own economic good, therefore — if for no other reason — we must take a leading part in the

53. *Address to Democratic National Convention*

maintenance of peace and in the increase of trade among all the Nations of the world.

And that is why your Government for many, many months has been laying plans, and studying the problems of the near future — preparing itself to act so that the people of the United States may not suffer hardships after the war, may continue constantly to improve their standards, and may join with other Nations in doing the same. There are even now working toward that end, the best staff in all our history — men and women of all parties and from every part of the Nation. I realize that planning is a word which in some places brings forth sneers. But, for example, before our entry into the war it was planning which made possible the magnificent organization and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which are fighting for us and for our civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. Even in military affairs, things do not stand still. An army or a navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not have been a safe reliance in 1944. And if we are to progress in our civilization, improvement is necessary in other fields — in the physical things that are a part of our daily lives, and also in the concepts of social justice at home and abroad.

I am now at this naval base in the performance of my duties under the Constitution. The war waits for no elections. Decisions must be made — plans must be laid — strategy must be carried out. They do not concern merely a party or a group. They will affect the daily lives of Americans for generations to come.

What is the job before us in 1944? First, to win the war — to win the war fast, to win it overpoweringly. Second, to form worldwide international organizations, and to arrange to use the armed forces of the sovereign Nations of the world to make another war impossible within the foreseeable future. (And third, to build an economy for our returning veterans and for all Americans — which will provide employment and provide decent standards of living.)

The people of the United States will decide this fall whether

they wish to turn over this 1944 job — this worldwide job — to inexperienced or immature hands, to those who opposed lend-lease and international cooperation against the forces of aggression and tyranny, until they could read the polls of popular sentiment; or whether they wish to leave it to those who saw the danger from abroad, who met it head-on, and who now have seized the offensive and carried the war to its present stages of success — to those who, by international conferences and united actions have begun to build that kind of common understanding and cooperative experience which will be so necessary in the world to come.

They will also decide, these people of ours, whether they will entrust the task of postwar reconversion to those who offered the veterans of the last war breadlines and apple-selling and who finally led the American people down to the abyss of 1932; or whether they will leave it to those who rescued American business, agriculture, industry, finance, and labor in 1933, and who have already planned and put through much legislation to help our veterans resume their normal occupations in a well-ordered reconversion process.

They will not decide these questions by reading glowing words or platform pledges — the mouthings of those who are willing to promise anything and everything — contradictions, inconsistencies, impossibilities — anything which might snare a few votes here and a few votes there.

They will decide on the record — the record written on the seas, on the land, and in the skies.

They will decide on the record of our domestic accomplishments in recovery and reform since March 4, 1933:

And they will decide on the record of our war production and food production — unparalleled in all history, in spite of the doubts and sneers of those in high places who said it cannot be done.

They will decide on the record of the International Food Conference, of U.N.R.R.A., of the International Labor Conference, of the International Education Conference, of the International Monetary Conference.

54. *Remarks at Schofield Barracks, Pearl Harbor*

And they will decide on the record written in the Atlantic Charter, at Casablanca, at Cairo, at Moscow, and at Teheran.

We have made mistakes. Who has not?

Things will not always be perfect. Are they ever perfect, in human affairs?

But the objective at home and abroad has always been clear before us. Constantly, we have made steady, sure progress toward that objective. The record is plain and unmistakable as to that — a record for everyone to read.

The greatest wartime President in our history, after a wartime election which he called the “most reliable indication of public purpose in this country,” set the goal for the United States, a goal in terms as applicable today as they were in 1865 — terms which the human mind cannot improve:

“... with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation’s wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all Nations.”

NOTE: The foregoing address was delivered to the Democratic National Convention from his train at San Diego, California. The President then proceeded across the Pacific to Pearl Harbor and Honolulu, for conferences with military and naval commanders.

54 ¶ Informal, Extemporaneous Remarks at Schofield Barracks, Pearl Harbor.

July 27, 1944

I AM ALWAYS horrified when I have to make a speech. I am not here for that purpose. But I do want to tell you all about one experience of my life. Ten years ago today, I was out here taking a review. Here there has been the most amazing change in one place that I have ever seen. I remember that review very well. There were some first World War tanks in it. I think that of the twelve that took part, seven broke down before they could

55. *Nine Hundred and Sixty-second Press Conference*

get past. Some difference in ten years! Half the trucks broke down before they could get across. And the aircraft at Schofield — not more than fifteen or twenty — three-fourths of them got past, though whether they got back safely on the earth, I don't know.

At that time, Hawaii was one of our major outposts, *the* outpost. We weren't allowed to fortify Guam. Today, it is no longer an outpost, it is one of our rear areas, in one sense of the word. From here we are conducting a campaign, one more advanced than any other campaign of the past, largely because of the good work you are doing here at this advance base.

I am awfully glad to come back here and see it with my own eyes ten years to the day later. I wish we could stay here — see more. It is being felt all through this area — all the way down to General MacArthur's area, which thank the Lord is coming a little closer toward us, and automatically closer toward the enemy than it was two years ago.

It is good to see the three services together, because I think this morning I have seen not only the Marine Corps Air, but the Navy Air and the Army Air working so closely together in all their component parts. I wish everybody back home could see and understand a little more of what is going on out here.

It has been good to see you.

55 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Sixty-second Press Conference (Excerpts). Waikiki, Honolulu.

July 29, 1944

(Changes in Oahu — Discussions of Pacific strategy — The meaning of unconditional surrender — American superiority over Japanese soldiers.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I just want to say what a pipe dream this has been. Greatest sight in the world. Think of the people who would like to change places with you.

55. *Nine Hundred and Sixty-second Press Conference*

Q. What can you tell us of your visit here, your trip, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: I have had quite a full three days. Accomplished a great deal. . . . By coincidence, I think it was exactly ten years to the day since my previous visit.

Of course, I find many changes here on the military and naval front. I never imagined any place could change as much as the Island of Oahu has. Today, city-occupied land extends right up to the military and naval areas. The city has gone to the military and naval areas, where a few years ago the military and navy had to go to the city. There are small communities all over the island. Land is scarce, instead of being plentiful.

One other thing I noticed. Two and one-half years ago — December, 1941 — I got a whole great flood of telegrams from the Islands asking me to please send food right away. They thought everybody in the Islands was going to starve. They were asking for food. I said, "I am frightfully sorry. I haven't got any food to send you. Haven't got any ships to send it in if I had it."

So I made the very simple recommendation: grow more. And the Islands have grown more. As for the necessities of life, they have been forced to solve their own problem. They have solved it, and they have helped, too, by not demanding everything from the continent. And I don't notice that anybody has starved. They've done a good job, and done it out here.

Q. Mr. President, could you to help our stories, describe the purpose of your visit to the Hawaiian Islands?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, as I remember, one of the objects of the trip was to look this place over. This is no longer the outpost of our defense. A few years ago it was. We weren't allowed to fortify Guam. Today the outermost points of our defense line are thousands of miles to the westward. Hawaii is still the main distributing point, but not the outpost. It is our main depot nearest to where we are meeting the enemy in the Pacific.

55. *Nine Hundred and Sixty-second Press Conference*

The other thing that we have talked about, of course, is the strategic question. I have had two very successful days with Nimitz, MacArthur, and Leahy, talking about future plans. It's perfectly obvious that any operation has to be planned ahead. You've seen that about a particular operation. And you'll remember that that particular operation was talked about, and the logistics of it talked about, for many, many months before. We've had several conferences on different questions. Of course, I cannot go into more details than that.

Q. Within the limits of security, can you tell if these conferences involved any new offensives against Japan?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Soon, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: They have been continuing in fairly regular progress in the last year, and now that we have the offensive we shall keep it. . . .

Q. At your conference at Casablanca, you gave us a very fine phrase about unconditional surrender. Are we going to make that our goal out here in the Pacific? I wonder if you could tell us anything about that from your talks here?

THE PRESIDENT: There is nothing I can tell you, except that at Casablanca I made no differentiation between our European enemy and our Far Eastern enemy. The same thing applies to Japan.

Q. And the goal with Japan is still unconditional surrender?

THE PRESIDENT: Still is with everybody. There has been a good deal of complaint among some of the nice, high-minded people about unconditional surrender, that if we changed the term "unconditional surrender," Germany might surrender more quickly.

Mr. Churchill and I have made no modification of the terms of unconditional surrender.

They complain that it is too tough and too rough. I will explain it a little this way.

Back in 1865, Lee was driven into a corner back of Richmond, at Appomattox Court House. His army was practically

55. *Nine Hundred and Sixty-second Press Conference*

starving, had had no sleep for two or three days, his arms were practically expended.

So he went, under a flag of truce, to Grant. Lee had come to Grant thinking about his men. He asked Grant for his terms of surrender.

Grant said, "Unconditional surrender."

Lee said he couldn't do that, he had to get some things. Just for example, he had no food for more than one meal for his army.

Grant said, "That is pretty tough."

Lee then said, "My cavalry horses don't belong to us, they belong to our officers and they need them back home."

Grant said, "Unconditional surrender."

Lee then said, "All right. I surrender," and tendered his sword to Grant.

Grant said, "Bob, put it back. Now, do you unconditionally surrender?"

Lee said, "Yes."

Then Grant said, "You are my prisoners now. Do you need food for your men?"

Lee said, "Yes. I haven't got more than enough for one meal more."

Then Grant said, "Now, about those horses that belong to the Confederate officers. Why do you want them?"

Lee said, "We need them for the spring plowing."

Grant said, "Tell your officers to take the animals home and do the spring plowing."

There you have unconditional surrender. I have given you no new term. We are human beings — normal, thinking human beings. That is what we mean by unconditional surrender.

Q. The fact is that unconditional surrender still stands?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Practically all Germans deny the fact they surrendered in the last war, but this time they are going to know it.

And so are the Japs.

55. *Nine Hundred and Sixty-second Press Conference*

Q. Is that to demonstrate the fact that eventually we may have to feed the liberated in all these countries?

THE PRESIDENT: We will help them get back on their feet physically. We don't believe in wholesale starvation. But it doesn't mean that we will send the first spare food that we have into Germany. We will take care of our own and our allies first. . . .

Q. When General MacArthur was about to leave the Philippines, I recall he said something to the general effect that "I will return." In view of the setting of this meeting with him, is there anything that you could tell us? Is that true now?

THE PRESIDENT: The only thing I could say in answer to that question, in answer to any direct question, would be such as to possibly give the enemy an inkling as to which way we are going. We are going to get the Philippines back, and without question General MacArthur will take a part in it. Whether he goes direct or not, I can't say.

Q. Can we say that General MacArthur will return to the Philippines?

THE PRESIDENT: He was correct the day he left Corregidor, and I told him he was correct. Remember, I came out and said it then?

Q. When I say General MacArthur, I mean that we shall return to the Philippines.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, and General MacArthur shall take part.

Q. Mr. President, from your conferences here, will there be any emphasis or speedup in the conduct of the war?

THE PRESIDENT: Neither one nor the other.

Q. Were you reviewing or reestablishing strategy?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you review or reestablish strategy about once a week as you go along, it's just normal procedure. But it was very useful, this particular conference. I think it was one of the most important we have held in some time. I found it was awfully hard to get along without it, because I haven't talked in person with General MacArthur in the

56. *Statement on Death of Miss Marguerite LeHand*

past seven years — have not seen him for seven years. He was then my Chief of Staff in Washington. . . .

Q. Why do you think that United States soldiers have been able to beat the Japanese at their own game of atoll and jungle fighting?

THE PRESIDENT: Perhaps it sounds like a little bit of boasting, but it is the difference between our type of civilization and our type of fellow, and their type of civilization and fellow. We will take them on at any game, war or pleasure, and beat them at it. . . .

NOTE: See Item 6 and note, 1943 which he first set forth at the Casablanca Conference. See also Item 138, this volume.

56 ¶ Statement of the President on the Death of His Secretary, Miss Marguerite LeHand.

July 31, 1944

MEMORIES of more than a score of years of devoted service enhance the sense of personal loss which Miss LeHand's passing brings. Faithful and painstaking, with charm of manner inspired by tact and kindness of heart, she was utterly selfless in her devotion to duty. Hers was a quiet efficiency, which made her a real genius in getting things done. Her memory will ever be held in affectionate remembrance and appreciation, not only by all the members of our family but by the wide circle of those whose duties brought them into contact with her.

NOTE: Miss LeHand had worked for Mr. Roosevelt since 1922 and had become one of his most trustworthy and efficient associates. She

Washington. To the family and to her friends she was affectionately known as "Missy."

soon came to live with the Roosevelt family and continued to do so in the Executive Mansion in Albany and in the White House in

In hundreds of ways, as the personal secretary of the President, she was able to lighten the burdens of his office, and to steer details away from his desk. She had great charm

57. *Remarks at Naval Air Station, Adak, Alaska*

and personal vivacity. She had an unconquerable loyalty toward Roosevelt and an unfailing devotion to his interests. She had a feminine instinct for distinguishing between those who sought out the the President for selfish reasons and those who sought to be of service to him. She was perhaps the frankest of those around the President, in telling him unpleasant truths and in expressing her opinions, favorable and unfavorable, with respect to his words and actions. For that reason and because of her sound

common sense and good judgment, the President had great respect for her opinion about persons and about events. Although she evaded public notice as much as she could, she was really one of the very important people around the President.

She suffered a stroke in the summer of 1941 and until her death in 1944 she was an invalid. Her illness and death deprived the White House of one of its most effective public servants.

57 ¶ Informal, Extemporaneous Remarks at Naval Air Station, Adak, Alaska.

August 3, 1944

GENTLEMEN, I like your food. I like your climate. (*Laughter*) You don't realize the thousands upon thousands of people who would give anything in the world to swap places with you. I have seen some of them. Of course, I haven't been down to the Southwest Pacific, but last year I saw two battalions of our engineers down in Liberia, and I would much rather be here than in Liberia.

It's a treat to see this place and see what has been done here in such a short time. Say, for example, the spot where the Army moved a stream and made a harbor out of it. I have never been to this country before, but I know the parallel of it very well. I have spent lots of time up around the coasts of Maine and Newfoundland. And Americans of all kinds can live here and get by with it all right. I am thrilled with what we have done here. I wish more people back home could come out to Alaska and see what we have done here in an incredibly short time.

57. *Remarks at Naval Air Station, Adak, Alaska*

When the Japs first struck out here — not here but west of here — two years ago, folks back home, especially on the Coast, got panicky. The newspapers were in the lead. Well, they figured out that from these islands the enemy was going to come down and destroy San Francisco, Seattle, and Los Angeles. The invasion was on! The continent of the United States was going to be captured by the Japs!

And of course, we live in a pretty big country. The people in the Midwest didn't quite see the peril. There was a lot of feeling, a lot of fear, a lot of laughter about the Pacific Coast. And the mere fact of what we have done in regaining the islands west of here from the Japs has had a tremendous morale effect on all of the United States. People see things now — on the war — from a more ordinary common sense point of view. People realize, I think, the fact that we are actually engaged in a war, either working or fighting, all over the Pacific, all over Europe, and in many parts of Africa. They realize for the first time that this is a global war. That is one reason why many of us realize that it is a great privilege to take part in this kind of thing, a thing that has changed our people's point of view tremendously.

I have to be in close contact every day with the Army and Navy on the potential defense of the United States, and I was thinking a little while ago that if back in 1940 or early in 1941 I had said to the Chiefs of Staff of the Army and the Navy, "Our next war is going to be in the Aleutians and down in the Southwest Pacific," they would have all laughed at me. They are the experts at that sort of thing. I am not an expert. I am just an ordinary American. We can see now that we Americans were caught unprepared, because we were ordinary human beings, following the best advice we had at the time. No one would have guessed in 1941 that we would be attacked in such an unsportsmanlike manner as we were. No one could have visualized Pearl Harbor, either out there or in Washington. But if we had known then what we know now, we would have expected an attack in 1941.

No one then visualized the great many thousands of our men

57. *Remarks at Naval Air Station, Adak, Alaska*

in the services who would be up here in Alaska, first throwing the Japs out, and secondly making it impossible for the Japs to come back. Live and learn. That is one thing we are all doing these days. In the days to come I won't trust the Japs around the corner. We have got to make it impossible for them — and we are all doing a great deal to make it impossible for them — to repeat this particular route of access to the United States. That is why it is important, this work we are all doing on this spot. We are going to make it humanly possible to deny access to or aggressive attack by the Japanese of another generation against any part of the United States.

And so we are all taking part in a very interesting and historical development — the protection of our kind of life, our kind of civilization back home, and at the same time we are gaining a better knowledge of a different part of the United States. We will remember that this is the United States, and that it is always going to be a part of the United States.

It has made me very happy, seeing with my own eyes the development of this place, the greatest part of which is not even one year old. What we are doing here is going to be of real value to our national defense and to our national growth.

I was talking to Admiral Nimitz down at Hawaii the other day, talking about the problem of a lot of people — people in our services who want to go places after this war. There is a certain percentage of our people who haven't got roots back in the villages, on the farms — people who want to go on pioneering. And after all, the ancestors of most all of us, from one generation back to ten generations, were pioneers in a pioneer country. And although this is not the best climate in the world up here in the Aleutians, it isn't the worst, and Alaska — the mainland of Alaska — is a big country.

I was noticing, just the other day, that if you superimpose Alaska on a map of the United States, one corner of it, the southeastern corner, would land somewhere around Charleston, South Carolina, and these islands — the Aleutian Islands — would end up somewhere near Los Angeles. And the mainland of Alaska

58. *Address at Puget Sound Navy Yard, Bremerton, Wash.*

would occupy nearly all of the central and midwestern States — Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. It's an enormous territory.

Well, it is going to open up for those in the services who want to start life in a new spot; and there are people like that. I wouldn't say we will bring a hundred thousand people to Alaska, but there are those who will at least want to go to a country much of which is good land to live on. There are an awful lot of people in Norway, Sweden, and Finland who live in a country very similar to this. In spite of the climate, and, in winter, the long nights, they are a thoroughly happy people with a very high type of civilization. Alaska opens up a new field, and a very promising field too, from all that I hear of its possibilities.

It has been a privilege to be with you, and to see this pioneer work. You are doing it awfully well — doing a good job, first, for the defense of your country, and secondly you are doing it for the future of our Nation. You are making our future secure for the years to come, more so than it has been in the past; and it took this war to make us do it.

It is good to be with you. Good luck. I won't say I want to stay longer, for I have to see other places too. My time is limited, and I have to be careful in scheduling it. By the time I get back home next week, I will have been gone thirty days — my limit, when Congress is left in Washington all alone.

58 ¶ The President Reviews His Pacific Trip—
Radio Address at Puget Sound Navy Yard,
Bremerton, Washington. August 12, 1944

Ladies and gentlemen, officers and men of the Puget Sound Navy Yard:

I AM GLAD to be back here in well-known surroundings, for, as you know, I have been coming here off and on ever since I was Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1913, and that's over thirty years ago.

It's nearly about four weeks ago since I left Washington, but,

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of course, at all times I have been in close touch with the work there and also in daily communication with our forces in the European and Far Eastern theaters of war.

Since my visit here at Bremerton nearly two years ago I have been happy at all times to know of the splendid progress that is being maintained — kept up — both here and at many other places on the coast, progress in turning out ships and planes and munitions of almost every other kind and in the training of men and women for all of the armed forces.

So I have thought that you would be interested in an informal summary of the trip I have just taken to Hawaii and from there to the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, from which, when I get across the Sound, I am about to step foot on the shore of the continental United States again.

When I got to San Diego three weeks ago I spent three days before going on shipboard, and I had the opportunity at the southern end of the Pacific Coast to visit many of the patients in the large hospitals there, a large number of these patients having just come back from the fighting in the Marshall Islands and the Marianas.

And I also witnessed a large practice landing operation on the beaches of southern California, between Los Angeles and San Diego.

It's a kind of warfare that has been most successfully developed by us during the past two years. It's a warfare of a wholly new type calling for all kinds of new equipment and new training.

And I think I can safely say that no other Nation in the world has worked it out as successfully as we have — the way we have shown it within the past few weeks in the capture of Saipan and Tinian and the recapturing of Guam, an effort which is resulting in new threats against Japan itself and against all of their operations in the Southwest Pacific.

You know, it takes a personal observation — you've got to see things with your own eyes, such as I saw from a high bluff right on the coast overlooking the shore below — to understand how well the application of experience in war is being carried out.

The landing craft, a wholly new type of ship, one we didn't

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dream of two years and a half ago, came to the beach from the transports that were lying offshore under cover of a fog.

They came on in waves, the marines and the infantry getting the first toehold, followed by other waves and then by all manner of equipment, ammunition and wire and tanks, all protected by air coverage and preceded theoretically — because I wouldn't be here today if it was real — by a devastating bombardment from heavy ships lying offshore.

When the beachhead was obtained to a depth of a mile or two there followed the unloading of great quantities of supplies and stores of all kinds, including tanks and trucks and jeeps.

Timing — that's why we have to practice this — timing is of the utmost importance. Any operation of this kind has to be carried out click-click-click, right on schedule, together with instantaneous communication — both the radio, the written kind, and the voice from the shore to the ships and to the planes themselves.

Here was demonstrated the perfect cooperation between all the services — Army and Navy and Marines, and to this should be added the teamwork for the immediate care of the wounded — in the case I saw it was the theoretically wounded — and the quick transfer of them back to the hospital ships.

We in our comfortable homes, I think, ought to realize more than we do that to all troops and Marines who are to conduct a new landing expedition on some far-distant island in the Pacific, as well as on the coast of France, this amphibious training is being given at a number of places in the United States before the expedition ever starts.

Hundreds of instructors are required, nearly all men who have participated in actual combat operations beforehand, and many of these instructors, most of them, indeed, will, of course, accompany the troops in the actual operation of the future landings.

The cruiser, which is on her way to another place, the cruiser on which I went from San Diego to Honolulu, is one of a number of what we call post-treaty cruisers, much larger, more pow-

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erful and faster than the prewar cruisers, which were limited by the old treaties to 10,000 tons.

This particular ship on which I voyaged joined the Pacific Fleet less than a year ago in the Western and Southwestern Pacific. Hers is a magnificent record. Her skipper and crew have brought her through all of these many offensive missions unscathed, fifteen of them, fifteen battles.

And because of the experience that she has gained and that they have gained she is an even more powerful weapon than she was the day that she joined the fleet.

Well, the voyage was uneventful and we arrived at Pearl Harbor on July 26. At this moment may I just add a word of appreciation to the press and the radio of our country. You know we have a voluntary censorship, purely voluntary. I want to thank them for the protection and the security which they gave to me and to my party at a time on this trip when nearly all the time I was within easy reach of enemy action.

The press associations and some of the newspapers actually refused to publish the facts which they got from local friends who had heard of my arrival and my trip around the Hawaiian Islands — or from local friends whose sons out there had written home about it — and the newspapers didn't print it. That is a modern marvel.

Well, I got there on July 26 and what an amazing change since my visit there ten years ago: as big and bigger a change than a comparison between the Puget Sound Navy Yard of today with what this was ten years ago.

But out there — the change! At that time Pearl Harbor had maintained a steady growth as this yard has, so that today it is capable of making repairs to the heaviest ships, and employs a force nearly ten times as great as it did then. And, incidentally, very many of that force came straight there during the past two years and a half from the West Coast.

All of the battleships and smaller craft that were sunk or damaged in the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, have been raised with the exception of the *Arizona*. In her case,

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because of the explosion in her forward magazine, salvage was impossible. But again in her case, her main battery of heavy guns was removed and remounted and now forms a part of the coastal defenses on the island of Oahu.

All of the other ships are afloat, most of them having been put back into commission here at Puget Sound, and nobody will ever forget that.

And, incidentally, the ships that you put back into commission, what you did to them in the process, has made of them vastly more powerful ships, better ships, with more gun power than they had before they were sunk.

And that's one thing that I'll never forget, the way that sunken fleet was set afloat again and has gone over the world in actually carrying out the plans of this war.

They've been in service, they've been in action, in the Pacific and elsewhere. Indeed, one of them, I think it is the *Nevada*, took part in the bombardment of the coast of Normandy during and after the landing operations there on June 6 this year.

I spent three days on the island of Oahu, and everywhere, as at the navy yard, the war activities have multiplied almost beyond belief.

On the afternoon of my arrival my old friend General Douglas MacArthur arrived by air from New Guinea and we began a series of extremely interesting and useful conferences, accompanied by Admiral Nimitz and by my own Chief of Staff, Admiral Leahy, who stands beside me now, and General Richardson, the commanding general of the Army forces in the Hawaiian area, and Admiral Halsey, commander of the Third Fleet.

In the three days we were there we talked about Pacific problems and the best methods of conducting the Pacific campaign in the days to come. These discussions developed complete accord both in the understanding of the problem that confronts us and in the opinion as to the best methods for its solution.

All of us must bear in mind the enormous size of the Pacific Ocean, the Pacific area, keeping a mental map of the world constantly in mind. The distances are greater there than anywhere else on earth.

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In the old days the Hawaiian Islands used to be considered an outpost. We were not allowed to fortify Guam, nor did we fortify Wake, or Midway or Samoa.

Today the Hawaiian Islands are no longer a mere outpost. They constitute a major base from which, and from the Pacific coast, frontline operations are being conducted twice as far away as the distance between the coast and Hawaii itself.

The Hawaiian Islands have helped to make possible the victories at Guadalcanal and New Guinea and the Marshalls and the Marianas. The Islands will make possible future operations in China — will make possible the recapture and independence of the Philippines and make possible the carrying of war into the home islands of Japan itself and their capital city of Tokyo.

In a few minutes I think it will interest you if you will let me say a few additional words about the future of the Pacific.

But first, during the rest of my stay in Hawaii, I visited the many activities, including the great airfields, the hospitals, and an ambulance plane at Hickam Field which had just flown in with wounded men from Saipan. I reviewed the Seventh Division, which has made such a splendid record.

I saw a large Army group that was going through a complete course in jungle warfare — they have to do it there because we haven't got any jungles around here — jungle warfare, an art which we have developed so expertly that our troops are more than a match in the jungle for any Japanese whom we have met yet. And I am proud of all of this basic training and the final training of our sons — all that they're getting both at home and when they get near the front.

After rejoining our ship we headed for the Aleutian Islands. I had read about them — heard about them — but I'd never been there before.

Arriving four days later at Adak, which is one of the more westerly islands of the group, there again I found intense activity at what might be called a nearly completed advance base. It was from there that a great part of the expeditions for the recapture of Attu and Kiska started. Adak two years ago was a bleak and practically uninhabited spot which with the other Aleutian

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Islands seemed relatively unimportant in the plans for the security of our own continent.

You here can well realize the commotion that followed the Japanese occupation of Attu and Kiska. You've dreamt of Japanese marching up the streets of Bremerton or Seattle tomorrow morning. You may have thought that the Chiefs of Staff in Washington were not paying enough attention to the threat against Alaska and the coast. We realized, of course, that such a Japanese threat could become serious if it was unopposed. But we knew also that Japan did not have the naval and air power to carry the threat into effect without greater resources and a longer time to carry it out.

Preparation to throw the Japanese from their toehold, very skimpy toehold, had been laid even before the Japs got there, and the rest of the story you know.

It took great preparations and heavy fighting to eject them from Attu and by the time the great expedition to recapture Kiska got there the Japanese had decided that discretion was the better part of valor. They decided that retirement and retreat was better for them than hari-kari, and so they abandoned the Aleutians.

The climate at Adak is not the most inviting in the world, but I want to say a word of appreciation to the thousands of officers and men of all the services who have built up this base and other bases, many other bases, in the extreme northwest of the American continent, built them up in such a short time to a point where the people of our Pacific Coast, the people of British Columbia and of Alaska, can feel certain that we are safe against Japanese invasion on any large scale.

We were delayed by fog and rain as almost everybody is up in those parts; we had to give up putting in at Dutch Harbor but we did stop at Kodiak, a large island off the end of the Alaskan Peninsula. Here, also, the three services completed a very excellent, though smaller, base. That was the first little town really that we built in those parts, and there's actually a small community there, the first that we saw in Alaskan waters and the

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first trees that we saw, because the outer Aleutians just don't have trees. That town and those trees made me think of the coasts of Maine and Newfoundland.

We were told that a number of officers and men at this place and other posts are considering settling in Alaska after the war is over. I do hope that this is so because the development of Alaska has only been scratched and it is still the country of the pioneers, and in one sense every American is a descendant of pioneers.

Only a small part of Alaska's resources have been explored and there is, of course, an abundance of fish and game and timber, together with great possibilities for agriculture. I could not help remembering that the climate and the crops and other resources are not essentially different from northern Europe—Norway, Sweden, Finland—for the people of these countries in spite of the cold and in winter darkness have brought their civilizations to a very high and very prosperous level. On my return to Washington I am going to set up a study of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands as a place to which many veterans of this war, especially those who do not have strong home roots, can go to become pioneers. Alaska is a land with a very small population, but I am convinced that it has great opportunities for those who are willing to work and to help build up all kinds of new things in new lands.

So this trip has given me a chance to talk over the social and economic future of the Hawaiian group with Governor Stainback and the future of the people of Alaska with Governor Gruening. By the way, he asked me to assure you that the tan which I have acquired in Alaska in a week has come from the bright sunlight of Alaska. Near Juneau one afternoon, when we were nearly fogged out, I played hookey for three hours. I went fishing and I caught one halibut and one flounder.

Speaking again of the future, of the future of the defense of the Pacific and the use of its strong points in order to prevent attacks against us:

You who live in the Pacific Northwest have realized that a line

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for sea and air navigation following the Great Circle course from Puget Sound to Siberia and China passes very close to the Alaskan coast and thence westward along the line of the Aleutian Islands.

From the point of view of national defense, therefore, it is essential that our control of this route shall be undisputed. Everybody in Siberia and China knows that we have no ambition to acquire land on the Asiatic continent.

We as a people are utterly opposed to aggression and sneak attacks. But we as a people are insistent that other Nations must not under any circumstances through the foreseeable future commit such attacks against the United States. Therefore, it is essential that we be fully prepared to prevent them for all time to come.

The word and the honor of Japan cannot be trusted. That is a simple statement from the military and naval and air point of view. But with the end of a Japanese threat, soon we hope, there is an excellent outlook for a permanent peace in the whole of the Pacific area.

It is therefore natural and proper for us to think of the economic and the commercial future. It is logical that we should foresee a great interchange of commerce between our shores and those of Siberia and China.

And in this commercial development Alaska and the Aleutian Islands become automatic stepping stones for trade, both by water and by cargo planes. And this means the automatic development of transportation on the way there, including the Puget Sound area.

It is as long as ten years, I think, that I talked with Mr. MacKenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, in regard to the development of highways, in regard to air routes and even a railroad via the Northwest and British Columbia and the Yukon. Great interest in both Nations was aroused but it took the war to get quick action.

Today the Alcan Highway is practically completed and an air route to Fairbanks enables us to deliver thousands of planes to

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our ally Russia by way of Alaska and Bering Straits and Siberia. These planes are an important factor in the brilliant and brave advance of the Russian armies on their march to Berlin. And I might observe also that our close relations, our true friendship with Canada during these years has proved to be an illustrious example of working hand in hand with your neighbor for the general good.

South of this northern route, Alaska and the Aleutians, the use of other island groups must also be thought of for defense and for commerce in getting to and from the Asiatic and the American continents. We understand at last the importance of the Hawaiian Islands. It is important that we have other bases, forward bases nearer to Japan than Hawaii lies.

The same thing, we have to remember, holds true in regard to the defense of all the other American Republics, twenty others, from Mexico down past the Panama Canal and all the way down to Chile. There are hundreds of islands in the South Pacific that bear the same relation to South America and Central America and the Panama Canal as Hawaii bears to North America.

These islands are mostly in the possession of the British Empire and the French. They are important commercially just as they are from the defense point of view because they lead to New Zealand, and Australia, and the Dutch islands, and the Southern Philippines. With all these places we undoubtedly are going to have a growing trade.

We have no desire to ask for any possessions of the United Nations. But the United Nations who are working so well with us in the winning of the war will, I am confident, be glad to join us in protection against aggression and in machinery to prevent aggression. With them and with their help I am sure that we can agree completely so that Central and South America will be as safe against attack — attack from the South Pacific — as North America is going to be very soon from the North Pacific as well.

The self-interest of our allies is going to be affected by fair

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and friendly collaboration with us. They too will gain in national security. They will gain economically. The destinies of the peoples of the whole Pacific will for many years be entwined with our own destiny. Already there is stirring among hundreds of millions of them a desire for the right to work out their own destinies and they show no evidence in this Pacific area to overrun the earth — with one exception.

That exception is and has been for many, many years that of Japan and the Japanese people — because whether or not the people of Japan itself know and approve of what their war lords and their home lords have done for nearly a century, the fact remains that they seem to be giving hearty approval to the Japanese policy of acquisition of their neighbors and their neighbors' lands and a military and economic control of as many other Nations as they can lay their hands on.

It is an unfortunate fact that other Nations cannot trust Japan. It is an unfortunate fact that years of proof must pass by before we can trust Japan and before we can classify Japan as a member of the society of Nations which seeks permanent peace and whose word we can take.

In removing the future menace of Japan to us and to our continent we are holding out the hope that other people in the Far East can be freed from the same threat.

The people of the Philippines never have wished and never will wish to be slaves of Japan. Of the people of Korea, that ancient kingdom which was overrun by the Japanese half a century ago, the same is true. The peoples of Manchuria and all the rest of China feel the same.

The same thing is true of the peoples of Indo-China and Siam, the peoples of Java, and even the most primitive peoples of New Guinea and the so-called mandated islands from which I am glad to say we are in the splendid process of throwing the Japs out.

I am glad to have the opportunity of taking this short trip, first, for the conferences with General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz and, second, for the first-hand view of certain bases that

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are of vital importance to the ending of the war and to the prevention in the future of any similar attack.

More than a million of our troops are today overseas in the Pacific. The war is well in hand in this vast area, but I cannot tell you, if I knew, when the war will be over, either in Europe or in the Far East or the war against Japan itself.

It will be over sooner if the people of this country will maintain the making of the necessary supplies of ships and planes and all the things that go with them. By so doing we shall hasten the day of the peace. By so doing we will save our own pocketbooks and those of our children. And by so doing we will stand a better chance of substantial unity not only at home but among the United Nations in laying so securely what we all want, the foundation of a lasting peace.

NOTE: For this speech, delivered standing before a large crowd of Navy Yard workers, the President used his braces for the first time in more than a year. He had grown unaccustomed to them. In many speeches prior to this one, the President had been seated in his study, at a banquet table, or in the back of his open car, but for the delivery of this speech he resolved to put on his heavy steel braces and stand.

Several unfortunate circumstances combined to make this one of the poorest speeches Roosevelt ever delivered. He spoke from the forecastle deck of a destroyer, and a stiff wind was blowing throughout the speech. There was a marked slant to the deck. The slant and the wind meant that, to maintain his balance, he had to depend more heavily than usual on his braces. In recent months the President had lost some weight, which meant that

his braces did not fit him. Under the best of conditions, his position was none too secure and the steel braces hurt when worn for any length of time. Under the conditions, at Bremerton, the President's feeling of insecurity was increased.

The speech itself, although rambling in nature, ordinarily might have been an acceptable, chatty account of the President's journeys and experiences on his recent trip. However, the pain of the braces, the feeling of insecurity, and the other adverse circumstances combined to make the President's delivery hesitant, halting, and ineffective.

The reaction of the audience — which the President was always quick to sense during the delivery of a speech — was so unfavorable that it only served to make the President's delivery worse.

The reaction of the entire coun-

59. *Nine Hundred and Sixty-fourth Press Conference*

try to this speech was very bad. Even some of the President's best friends and most loyal supporters began to whisper to each other that they were afraid the old master had lost his touch, that his days of campaigning must be over and that he would be a sorry spectacle in the coming campaign against the young, virile Governor of New York. His en-

emies, of course, just wrote him off — as "through."

Exactly six weeks later, however, after this poor speech at Bremer-ton, the President, at the Teamsters' Union dinner of September 23, delivered his famous "Fala" speech — one of the greatest speeches of his career (see Item 76 and note, this volume).

59 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Sixty-fourth Press Conference (Excerpt). August 18, 1944

(*Universal training.*)

Q. Mr. President, there have been some proposals that Congress might consider a plan for universal military training after the war.

THE PRESIDENT: (*interjecting*) Yes.

Q. (*continuing*) Would you care to express your thought on that?

THE PRESIDENT: Not at this time, other than that I have given a great deal of study to that question and I wish people would study it.

You know, we shall have one problem after the war — I have seen a small angle of it on this last trip — we have all over the United States, and outside the United States for that matter, an enormous amount of soldiers' and sailors' housing — these great training camps both on the military and the naval and marine end of it, and the Coast Guard too. And that is how we have been able to effect this very extraordinary and successful training of about ten million men. I suppose in those camps today we have Government housing for five million men. And it's very good housing, even in the distant Aleutian Islands and Alaska, all over this country.

Frankly, it's infinitely better than the housing of the first

59. Nine Hundred and Sixty-fourth Press Conference

World War, with which I had something to do. We built housing for troops and for naval trainees during the first World War, and some of it is still in Washington. It's in a pretty decrepit state. Well, it's twenty-five years later, but it's still there because it was in the Capital City, and we kept it painted, and we kept it properly underpinned.

The new housing is very much better. It is rather interesting to compare the construction. The estimate in 1917 and 1918 on that housing was that it would last ten or twelve years. We all thought it would last that long, and most of it at the end of the first World War was scrapped — sold for lumber while we could sell it — turned into kindling wood, if we couldn't sell it. And today, the construction, if you go and look at it all over the country, probably has a life with normal care of perhaps twenty-five years. It sits on concrete pillars, or stone foundations, whatever it is. It won't rot away if it is kept painted, and especially if it is kept lived in. As we all know, a building that isn't lived in is very hard to maintain — a great deal harder than a building that is lived in.

Well, we will have about five million beds. What are we going to do with them? It's an awful problem. That's an awful lot of buildings.

There are two or three different things which obviously it could be put to use on. One is taking care of the large number of veterans. The buildings are not fireproof but they are two stories high, and most certainly we ought not to put veterans on the second floor. They are all fitted out so that you can get out at any one of the four corners of a building and climb down a fire-escape, but non-ambulatory cases, that is, cases that can't walk, should not be put on the second floor of any of those buildings.

Then, there will be a tremendous number of wounded or sick veterans at the end of this war who will have to be taken care of. That is one use that we can put many of these encampments to work on, under the Veterans' Administration.

Another use. We are going to have a great many problems

59. *Nine Hundred and Sixty-fourth Press Conference*

of vocational training of these veterans. I am just taking samples — there are a great many other uses they can be put to. I would rather at the end of the war, if we can help it, not put up any new buildings if we have other buildings that can be used for that purpose.

Then, there is still another use, and that is to use them for people in training, and there is a great deal of talk today about how good it would be for the average boy to get training of some kind. I am not putting the word *military* on it — some of it would be military — but it would be training, somewhere between the ages of 17 to 22-23 — one year out of their life to serve their own Government. Well, it's worth studying.

You know, the average one of us who hasn't had military training doesn't know how to get along and keep clean in a camp with a lot of other human beings. It's rather a special art, to live with a large crowd of people. And then there is a curious thing called discipline, which is not to be sneezed at, although it is sneezed at by a very large number of people in this country today. I am not specifying. You can specify if you want to. Discipline is rather a good thing for a Nation to have. It makes for law. We are not a very law-abiding people. It makes for order. We are not so bad on that, but a year of learning how to keep clean, how to live with a group of a hundred, two hundred people is a good thing.

One of the best examples is what happened to the Civilian Conservation Corps. I suppose a much higher percentage of boys in 1933 and 1934 and those following years — a very, very much larger percentage than I had had any idea of — were improved physically and mentally by C.C.C. At the same time, they were given certain other things in C.C.C., how to live together in a group, and how to do things that they were told — use their muscles a bit. Well, for instance, this crowd in this room is muscularly in very bad shape. *(Laughter)*

Well, C.C.C. did them good. And we taught them other things. We gave many of them, without their recognizing it,

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we gave them vocational training. I see people here that couldn't wield a spade. Perfectly obvious. They would have an awful time if they were told to dig a ditch, even a little shallow ditch. It would be a very good thing for some people that I am looking at. (*Laughter*)

So there is this problem of a year of Government service — vocational training, and some other kind of training. Even stenography — not a bad idea. Fit them for Government work. If nothing else, they might be able to pass the examination for the Civil Service a little more easily, if they had a year in the Federal Government.

And that is why I am glad you raised the question. It's being studied. It's being thought about. But I think that public opinion ought to be gradually formed in this country. We have one of the practical financial questions that come up. We have the housing for the bulk of the two and a quarter million boys who would come in, somewhere between the ages of 17 and 22, or something like that, and give a year of service to the Government. I wouldn't call it compulsory military training, because in many cases we wouldn't have military training. A year of service to *their* Government. . . .

Q. Mr. President, Senator Truman today has already endorsed combining the Army and Navy commands. Have you any comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I thought —

Q. (*adding*) One service.

THE PRESIDENT: (*continuing*) — the thing is being studied. It's a thing that everybody is practically agreed on now that we are not going to do anything about it until after we have won the war.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us any plans you have for Mr. Truman in the campaign? He said he will be guided by your views.

THE PRESIDENT: Not yet, because I haven't seen him yet. He is coming in to lunch today.

Q. Have you any plans to see Mr. Wallace?

60. *Dumbarton Oaks Conference*

THE PRESIDENT: Just as soon as he gets back.

Q. He is out of town now, I believe?

THE PRESIDENT: He is out of town.

60 ¶ Informal, Extemporaneous Remarks on
Receiving the Delegates to the Dumbarton
Oaks Conference. August 23, 1944

GENTLEMEN, this is an informal occasion. I have not prepared any speech. This is merely a feeling on my part that I would like to shake hands with you. I should like to be able to go out to Dumbarton Oaks, to take a part in your discussions.

A conference of this kind always reminds me of an old saying of a gentleman called Alfred E. Smith, who used to be Governor of New York. He was very, very successful in settling any problem between capital and labor, or anything that had to do with the State Government in which there was a controversy.

He said if you can get the parties into one room with a big table and make them take their coats off and put their feet up on the table, and give each one of them a good cigar, you can always make them agree. Well, there was something in the idea.

You have a great responsibility. In a way, it is a preliminary responsibility. But after all we learn from experience, and what I hope is that in planning for the peace that is to come we will arrive at the same good cooperation and unity of action as we have in the carrying on of the war. It is a very remarkable fact, that we have carried on this war with such great unanimity.

I think that often it comes down to personalities. When, back in 1941, at the time of the Atlantic Charter, just for example, I did not know Mr. Churchill at all well. I had met him once or twice very informally during the first World War. I did not know Mr. Eden. But up there in the North Atlantic — three or four days together, with our two ships lying close together — we got awfully fond of each other. I got to know him, and he got

to know me. In other words, we met, and you cannot hate a man that you know well.

Later on Mr. Molotov came here and we had a grand time together. Then during the following year, at Teheran, the Marshal and I got to know each other. We got on beautifully. We cracked the ice, if there ever was any ice; and since then there has been no ice. And that's the spirit in which I know you are going about your work.

I was just talking with the Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson. He was saying that one of the tasks we face is making this conference of ours — and the successor conferences — something that will last, last a long time. He said that unfortunately in Germany the young people, the young Nazis favor an idea which will be dangerous to the peace of the world just as long as they have anything to say about it.

The prisoners of 17, 18, 20, that we are capturing now — both on the French front and the Soviet front — these German prisoners of that age are even worse in their Nazism than the prisoners of 40 or 45. And, therefore, as long as these young men have anything to say about it, the peril of Nazism will always be before us.

And we have got to make, not merely a peace but a peace that will last, and a peace in which the larger Nations will work absolutely in unison in preventing war by force. But the four of us have to be friends, conferring all the time — the basis of getting to know each other — “putting their feet up on the table.”

And so I am very hopeful that it can be done because of the spirit that has been shown in the past in getting together for the winning of the war. But that is the spirit that we have learned so well in the last few years. It is something new, this close relationship between the British Empire and the United States. This great friendship between the Russian people and the American people — that is new. Let's hang on to both friendships, and by spreading that spirit around the world, we may have a peaceful period for our grandchildren to grow up in.

All I can do is to wish you every possible success in this great

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task that you have undertaken. It will not be a final task, but at least it gives us something to build on, so that we can accomplish the one thing that humanity has been looking forward to for a great many hundreds of years.

It is good to see you. Good luck.

NOTE: From August 21 to October 7, 1944, representatives of the Governments of China, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States held conferences at Dumbarton Oaks, an estate in Georgetown, Washington, D. C. It was at these historic meetings that the framework was devised for what ultimately was to become the United Nations organization.

We are so apt to take things for granted — even stupendous things like the United Nations. But it required not only much work and thought and planning but also a driving, forceful personality determined to put it through. That personality was Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Long months of preparatory work and conferences had preceded the Dumbarton Oaks meetings. Even before Pearl Harbor, the President and Prime Minister Churchill had met at the Atlantic Charter meeting and had pledged cooperation for victory and a just peace (see Item 74 and note, 1941 volume). Most of the Allied Nations agreed on the desirability of creating an international organization which would protect world peace in the future.

The President recognized the obstacles in the way of an early agree-

ment on postwar international organization. In the earlier phases of the war, full participation of all the Allied Nations in peace organization conferences was precluded, particularly since China was a belligerent and Russia was a neutral in the war against Japan. A less transient obstacle was Russia's hesitance and apparent lack of enthusiasm — perhaps because of her basic distrust of capitalistic Nations — for entering into comprehensive international agreements which limited her absolute right to act unilaterally. Nevertheless, the President came to feel that, despite all obstacles, it was imperative that, even while the war was going on, some international organization be formulated which would hold some promise of permanent peace. He recognized that there would have to be compromises with the ideal, compromises impelled by the demands not only of Russia but of other Nations — including our own, which was jealous of preserving its complete sovereignty. He devoted much time and thought to mapping out the organizational plans for the United Nations, and indeed, had some time before Dumbarton Oaks (see Item 65, this volume), suggested an organization substantially like that

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which was ultimately agreed upon. At the President's direction, the Department of State prepared plans for a postwar security organization with a council and assembly, an international court of justice, and various other agencies designed to maintain peace and security and to remove the causes of war (see Item 44, this volume, for a Presidential statement on the conversations with Department of State officials on the postwar security organization program).

The President was firm in his conviction that the future peace and welfare of the world depended on a cooperative system in which all Nations of the world were participants. He recognized that the full support of the larger and more powerful Nations was necessary if a United Nations organization were to achieve success. Therefore, in October, 1943, the President sent Secretary of State Cordell Hull to Moscow to meet with Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden of the United Kingdom and Foreign Secretary V. M. Molotov of the Soviet Union in a three-power conference of foreign ministers to discuss wartime problems and the principles of postwar collaboration. The Moscow Conference met from October 19-30, 1943, and the three participating Governments pledged their cooperation in the period following the end of hostilities. In addition to the three Nations participating at Moscow, China also signed a declaration in which the four Nations

recognized the "necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

During the summer of 1944, the four Governments exchanged tentative proposals which were used as a basis for the Dumbarton Oaks conversations. The Dumbarton Oaks conversations were held in two phases: in the first phase, August 21-September 28, 1944, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics participated; the second phase, September 29-October 7, 1944, included the United States, the United Kingdom and the Republic of China as participants. The conversations were divided into phases because of the different positions of Russia and China in the Far Eastern war. Nevertheless, the proposals resulting from the conversations were agreed upon for submission to the four participating Governments.

The recommendations of both the first and second phases of the Dumbarton Oaks conversations were included in a document entitled "Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization."

These proposals outlined the principles, purposes, membership, and general organization of the

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new body, which was to be called the United Nations. According to these proposals, the United Nations was to be established to maintain international peace and security, develop friendly relations among Nations, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace, to achieve international cooperation in the solution of economic, social, and other humanitarian problems, and to afford a center for harmonizing the actions of Nations in the achievement of these common ends. Included in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals was a fairly detailed organizational pattern for The United Nations, almost all of which was eventually incorporated into the United Nations Charter. Provision was made at Dumbarton Oaks for a general assembly, security coun-

cil, international court of justice, secretariat, economic and social council. In addition, certain basic powers, functions, and procedures were formulated.

No agreement was reached at the Dumbarton Oaks conversations on the knotty problem of voting procedure in the Security Council. That issue was not resolved until the Yalta Conference (see Item 134 and note, this volume).

The four participating Governments agreed to study the proposals made at Dumbarton Oaks so that they might serve as the basis for discussion at an international conference of all the United Nations, the United Nations Conference on International Organization which was held at San Francisco, California, April 25 – June 26, 1945; (see Item 137 and note, this volume).

61 ¶ The President Offers a Toast at a State Dinner to the President of Iceland.

August 24, 1944

ONLY four members of my Cabinet are here tonight; the others are off on holiday or for some other reason, but I am glad to say that half of them have been in Iceland. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Treasury have been there, so in having been there they know more about Iceland personally than I do. However, as I said to the President, I have always been a student of Iceland.

About two years ago there was put up to me the great question as to where Iceland was. Was it in the European hemisphere

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or the American hemisphere? And I used the judgment of Solomon, I said it was in both hemispheres — which is true. To be quite frank, chiefly for practical reasons. But it belongs in both hemispheres, it belongs to the life of both hemispheres. And in the future — this is a prediction — I think that Iceland will always be considered, for certain practical reasons, a part of the Americas, and a part of Europe.

For practical reasons we all know Iceland is necessary to our defense, illustrated some three years ago when there was real danger, when Germany was not only on the offensive but was overrunning a greater part of the world every day. And there was the danger in those days — when all of us were on the defensive, and I am speaking from the American point of view — that Iceland would be occupied by the Germans.

And on that particular occasion, whether it was constitutional or not the historians will determine a hundred years from now, the State Department took up with the Icelandic Government — which was then closely associated with Denmark — the possibility of our making sure, by sending troops to Iceland, that Germany could not use it as a “*fait accompli*” against this continent. We were selfish. We couldn’t afford to let Germany use Iceland as a base from which to bomb or send expeditions against the American continent.

And therefore, because of the cordial relations that existed, we were able to make a perfectly legal agreement with the Government of Iceland by which we sent in our troops. We said quite frankly, and we meant it as the President knows, that when this danger of a German occupation of Iceland was over and the world returns to peace, we not only would recognize but we would work for the complete independence of what is the Iceland, not of today but of a thousand years back, the Iceland that essentially has always been independent, a Nation — and this is something that perhaps some people could use to some advantage — Irish in its origin.

I was asking the President, who incidentally is the first President of their Republic — we haven’t had many, thirty-two, that’s

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all — who were the first people in Iceland, were they Esquimaux? No, an Esquimau was never there. He said the first people in Iceland were the Irish, which is extremely interesting. Not only the Irish, by the founding of a monastery in Iceland, but the first white people — as we call them — in Iceland were the Irish, followed after that, after the Vikings had come — by another influx of Irish, including an Irish princess, the President said. So there you are.

And from that time on, for more than a thousand years — we celebrated their thousandth anniversary a short time ago — we have had an independent Nation in Iceland, the oldest of our civilization in all the world, with a parliamentary government, with complete independence in the best sense of the word, not only making their own laws but living their own lives, not only their own government but a people's government, who said what they wanted, and who always had their way, including the right to elect the present President, who incidentally — probably a good thought, which I won't press — was elected unanimously. (*Laughter*) I catch the eyes of Senator Vandenberg. (*More laughter*) But that is the way they elected their first President.

And, of course, we did, too, in 1788–9. We elected George Washington unanimously, and he was the first and the last that was thus elected. So I warn you for my colleagues, if you should run for a second or a third or a fourth term, you mustn't expect to be elected unanimously. (*More laughter*)

And so Iceland is a great deal more than a name in mythology. In the last few years, Iceland was a name to us. One and eight-tenths percent of our trade to Iceland went that way. Things differ from time to time. Today it is 58 percent, something like that, due primarily to the war — we might just as well admit that. But at the same time, and thinking of the future, we want to keep Iceland on the map, that is the great point, always. The whole of civilization wants Iceland as the cradle of the oldest Republic that has ever happened — something to teach the world a lesson. You run your own universities, you are friends with all the Scandinavians, and those who are in Iceland too.

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But you run into the curious fact that last year or the year before — a few years ago — Sweden issued stamps to celebrate the freedom of the Swedes from Danish control. Remember that. The Norwegians have insisted on their independence from Sweden. The Norwegians and the Danes are first cousins. You have Scandinavian blood, with a very good Irish admixture. And, on the whole, in the family of Nations, the American people have a great deal of Scandinavian blood in them, a lot of them — there are a great many Swedes, and Norwegians, and some Danish and a few Icelanders here. But we want the future to look at it from the point of view that we are all of the same basic stock, fundamentally.

And we want intermarriage. I am alluding now to a number of people — several thousand have already — who are now under the jurisdiction of Secretary Stimson, who are related by marriage with Icelandic girls, and who are going to stay in Iceland, if you let them, after the war. It's all right. Now, I don't protest against that one bit. We like it, and we hope that some of their children will come over here and become a part of the American family.

Now on the other more practical things, like trade, I was saying to his Minister a few minutes ago there is an American habit of cocktails, but we haven't yet acquired the Scandinavian habit of the things that go before cocktails. Don't sell us cod liver oil, I don't like cod liver oil — (*laughter*) — but go into the things that pay more money. Send us some smoked salmon, and things of that kind that go well before the cocktails. In that way you can help, and we can help, by general trade between Iceland and the United States. After all, things are going to go by trade a great deal in the future.

It has been easier, because of the shorter distance, to send your hors d'oeuvres to England, but they don't know a good hors d'oeuvre when they see it. Please send us some, for we are very fond of them. And specialize in them, not the vulgar stuff, but the specials. You can send us wool, for you have a special kind of wool we don't know of here. And so trade, if we go at it from

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the point of view of building it up on special lines — Iceland is small, and therefore you have to specialize — I think it can be done.

And in the days to come — I am not speaking about this treaty or that treaty or the other treaty they are talking about now, but it depends very largely on the spirit, very much on the spirit. If the spirit is all right behind the objective, greater friendship and greater trade, we can get somewhere. You have your politics, Mr. President, and you have a legislature, the oldest legislature in the world, incidentally. Over here I have my politics — I am not taking a very great part in them — and I have a legislature, a very young legislature, it's only 160 years old. They learn with age. (*Laughter*) And so I have great hopes that when this thing comes up, the Senate of the United States which has a great deal to do with foreign policy will accept a treaty of trade and friendship, — all-inclusive — with the Republic of Iceland, without saying "No" just because they don't like the President of the United States.

Now that's an ideal, and perhaps my hope will be justified. Time alone will tell.

But, at least, in welcoming you to Washington, you know that the present President has his heart in the right place.

And so I drink to the first President of Iceland.

62 ¶ The President Hails the Liberation of Paris.

August 24, 1944

THE joy that entered the hearts of all civilized men and women at the news of the liberation of Paris can only be measured by the gloom which settled there one June day four years ago when German troops occupied the French capital. Through the rising tide of Allied successes that patch of gloom remained and has only today been dispelled. For Paris is a precious symbol of that civilization which it was the aim of Hitler and his armed hordes to destroy. We rejoice with the gallant French people at the

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liberation of their capital and join in the chorus of congratulation to the commanders and fighting men, French and Allied, who have made possible this brilliant presage of total victory.

63 ¶ The President Requests the Bureau of the Budget to Compile Information Needed for Reconversion Planning. August 26, 1944

My dear Mr. Smith:

THE recent favorable development of the military situation on the world's battlefronts has emphasized the need to speed up preparations for the eventual reconversion of the Nation's productive energies to peaceful pursuits. This will be a huge and intricate task, requiring careful preparations. In addition to legislative action already under consideration it will call for a great deal of accurate and comprehensive information concerning industrial production, the status of industry, and the well-being of the Nation's workers. Such information should be currently maintained as we move from war to peace.

In particular I believe that the statistical record should include an account of our industrial system while it is geared up for maximum production during 1944. This may well be the peak year of production for many years to come. An intimate knowledge of the main characteristics of the economy during this war year will be important not only as a guide to our steps toward reconversion but as a part of the record which is essential for military preparedness in the future. I should think it would be possible, if production data were obtained for 1944, to avoid the necessity of appropriations for the regular biennial census of manufactures pertaining to 1945.

Again, it is important that we should have a running account of the status of employment, unemployment, and wages in the Nation as a whole and in the principal industrial areas. With this we should know more about the effects of the war on the in-

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comes, expenditures, and savings of the great masses of our people whose work in the factories and mines, in transportation and on the farms, has equipped our armies in the field.

I believe that the costs of obtaining such information for the use of business, large and small, labor, agriculture, the general public, and governmental agencies themselves may properly be regarded as an essential part of the costs of the war emergency. In conjunction with the agencies concerned will you please undertake the preparation of plans for providing these types of information, and report to me at your early convenience upon the ways and means by which these plans can most appropriately be effectuated.

Honorable Harold D. Smith,
Director,
Bureau of the Budget,
Washington, D. C.

NOTE: On August 29, 1944, the White House released the following statement received from the Bureau of the Budget, entitled "Program of Statistical Information Needed for Reconversion":

"From now on the Government and the public will require a great deal of up-to-date information to guide the Nation's return to a peacetime economy. Demand for such information has already been expressed by representatives of business and labor and by Federal agencies which will have responsibilities in the reconversion process. It will be especially important to obtain a clear picture of production during 1944, which in all probability will be the peak for some years to come.

"There has been no general census of manufactures since 1940, covering 1939 production. The censuses of 1941 and 1943 were laid aside as a part of

the wartime curtailment of peacetime activities. Under the law as it stands, a census of manufactures will again be required in 1946, covering the calendar year 1945. However, there is general agreement that 1945 figures will be of doubtful value at best. Industry will probably be in the midst of reconversion and the figures, like those of the census for 1919, will represent neither a war- nor a peacetime economy. It is therefore desirable at once to close up the five-year gap in the data since 1939 with a census of manufactures for 1944.

"The problems involved in demobilization of members of the armed services and the readjustment of the civilian labor force will be solved more readily if reliable information on employment and unemployment is available. An expansion of existing statistical activities is needed in order to obtain employment and unemployment information periodically for the principal war production areas. We likewise need more data on wages and wage rates.

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"Further, to plan for full employment we need to gauge the backlog of purchasing power in the hands of the public. This requires information upon the incomes, expenditures, and savings of consumers. The last full-scale study of these matters was completed in 1937.

"Steps to secure the foregoing types of information have been urged by many officials and citizens. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods have given their endorsement. Members of business groups working with the Division of Statistical Standards of the Bureau of the Budget have expressed desire for them, as have also various research organizations.

"Details of the required studies, the means of financing them, and the allocations of work among the Federal organizations which will conduct them will need to be planned carefully. The Director of the Bureau of the Budget has been asked to prepare these plans in conjunction with the other agencies concerned. However, the present statistical machinery of the Federal Government will in all cases be utilized. . . ."

Representatives of various Government agencies were immediately named to form an Interdepartmental Committee on Reconversion Statistics, with the Bureau of the Budget responsible for planning of the over-all program. The result of this cooperative effort was a unified program known as the Reconversion Statistics Program, which was submitted by the President to the Congress on November 11, 1944, for inclusion in the First Supplemental Appropriation Bill for 1945. The program was planned to supply Government, business, or-

ganized labor, and other groups with the basic informational tools which would be needed in making postwar economic adjustments. The specific items for which appropriations were requested were:

1. A Census of Manufactures covering 1944, to be taken early in 1945 and obtain information on production in a peak war year.
2. A sample Census of Business covering 1944, to be taken early in 1945 and provide the benchmark data needed in the fields of retail trade, wholesale trade, and services.
3. More adequate information on employment and unemployment through
 - a. expansion of the Monthly Report on the Labor Force, to provide reliable quarterly estimates for important war production centers of work status by age and sex;
 - b. development of State employment estimates, by industrial establishments, based on employer reports.
4. More complete information on wages and wage rates.
5. A consumer income study, based on a survey obtaining data on earnings and family income, by geographical areas and by broad occupational and industry groups, from a representative sample of 300,000 households.
6. A consumer expenditures and savings study, based on a survey obtaining data on family ex-

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penditures by major categories, savings and taxes, by income level, geographical areas, and broad occupational and industry groups, from a representative sample of 20,000 households.

The House Committee on Appropriations held detailed hearings on the program and submitted a unanimous and favorable report thereon. On the floor of the House, however, all segments of the program except the collection of information on wage rates and the development of State estimates of employment were eliminated. Re-

visions in the program were then made, and in his Budget Message of January 3, 1945 (See Item 125, this volume), the President again called attention to the necessity of basic statistics needed for economic planning during the remainder of the war and the reconversion and postwar periods. Renewed hearings on the program were held early in 1945, but despite a report by the Subcommittee on Deficiencies of the House Committee on Appropriations recommending adoption of all parts of the program, the Congress never acted favorably on the recommendations.

64 ¶ The President Urges Legislation to Allow Self-Government for Puerto Rico.

August 29, 1944

My dear Judge Bell:

LAST year I appointed a committee of Puerto Rican and continental Americans to explore the problem of increasing self-government in Puerto Rico.

S. 1407, which is now before your Committee, incorporates the conclusions of that committee. The measure as originally submitted would amend the Organic Act of Puerto Rico by allowing the people to elect their own Governor, who is now appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the United States Senate. It would also lodge in the elected Governor the power of selecting other officials, who are now Federal appointees. Broadly, it would increase local self-government and local responsibilities. This bill, with certain amendments, has been unanimously passed by the Senate.

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The Puerto Ricans have long since reached political maturity. Under our traditional policy and practice they are entitled to go beyond the rudiments of democracy that they now have.

The passage of this bill is advocated by all of the political parties in Puerto Rico. It has met with almost unanimous approval in the Island and among students of Puerto Rican affairs on the continent. Its passage would be another illustration of the liberal American policy towards dependent areas. By extending home rule in Puerto Rico, we would multiply the good will we have already gained throughout the Western Hemisphere, as we did among the peoples of the East by our liberal policy towards the Philippines.

I strongly recommend the passage of this legislation; and I hope that the House Insular Affairs Committee will find it possible to give early and favorable consideration to it.

Hon. C. Jasper Bell,
Chairman, Committee on Insular Affairs,
House of Representatives

NOTE: In two prior messages to the Congress, on March 9, 1943, and on September 28, 1943, the President had urged the enactment of legislation which would allow the people of Puerto Rico to elect their own Governor (see Items 26 and 105, and notes, 1943 volume, for the texts of these messages and an account of the gradual development of self-government for Puerto Rico).

As described in some detail in the note to Item 105, 1943 volume, President Truman on August 5, 1947 approved Public No. 362, 80th Congress (61 Stat. 770) which allowed the people of Puerto Rico to elect their own Governor beginning with the 1948 election, and made other changes increasing the power of self-government for the people of Puerto Rico.

65 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Sixty-sixth Press Conference (Excerpts). August 29, 1944

(Need for emphasis on postwar jobs — Care and raising of Christmas trees — Plans for a not “very political” speech before the Teamsters’ Union — Outline of the President’s thoughts on organization of United Nations — Contrast with League of Nations.)

Q. Mr. President, Chairman Doughton of the House Ways and Means Committee said today on the floor that there was a good deal of unnecessary excitement about the postwar unemployment problem, that we can meet that problem when it arises. Do you feel that generally reflects Administration policy?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I would have to have the whole thing before I can comment. But I can say this about it, because he may have said other things too, which might not be fair for me to make any comment on just that one thing. What I felt all along is that, in a sense, the word *reemployment* is the wrong emphasis to put on the whole subject. Just the same way, the word *reconversion* involves the wrong emphasis. Well, I know quite a number of people who are in the armed forces, and a number of people who are not in the armed forces, who don’t really understand what reconversion means. It isn’t a simple word. There’s a much simpler way of putting it: that what we require is *employment*, not talking about not wanting unemployment. I say we do want *employment*. It’s just a fine distinction of emphasis. Now, that’s the simplest English to put it in. We do not want to have problems of unemployment. There are a lot of things that we are paying a great deal of attention to — jobs. *Jobs* — that’s even simpler than employment. It’s a good old Anglo-Saxon word, which I like. . . .

Then, next thing I have, I was seriously in doubt. Steve [Early] almost had a fit that I would make another nonpolitical speech. (*Laughter*) And I thought of making a speech on a subject that is very close to my heart, because I will make

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a little money on it — you see how close to my heart it is — this is a dissertation to the public on the planting and the raising and the selling of Christmas trees. I really thought of making a radio speech on that, and then having somebody say that it was on a political subject and demanding equal time on the air. (*Laughter*)

That would create another controversy, and probably people would want to see my books to prove that I do make money raising Christmas trees; there would be an investigation to prove that I do take a lot of time.

I have some very, very carefully kept books on the subject of Christmas trees — a thing called a check-book. And I pay for the labor of planting these little trees at the age of four years and about six inches high, and I pay a man about once every two years to go through and keep the briars out of them; and then I pay several people — some of them school-boys — to go in and cut them off.

And then the next entry is on the other side of the check-book. Along comes a department store or chain store with a truck, and they themselves load these little trees — this is ten years after the planting — into the truck. They take them down to New York, and sell the trees — at a profit. They get a good profit. And then they send me a check for the little trees, which is recorded in the stub of the check-book on the other side.

I think there probably should be an investigating committee. I will be glad to show them my check-book. No particular secret in it. I thought trees a very good topic for a political talk. And then we would have another discussion, as to whether it was political or wasn't political, so you might say joy would be had by all.

But I *am* going to make a political speech. You might just as well know about it. (*Laughter*) I don't think it will be very political. Of course, it will seem so. It won't be. But it will have a tinge, and just because it will have a tinge, I don't see why it shouldn't be called a political speech.

And the time on the air will be paid for by the Democratic

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National Committee. Dan Tobin [President of the Teamsters' Union], on the 23rd of September, is having a group at a hotel in Washington for supper, and because it will undoubtedly leak through the press or the radio within a day or so, I might just as well say it now.

It won't be very political, but we will call it my first political address of the campaign. And you will all be frightfully disappointed. The evening of the 23rd at, I think, the Statler Hotel in Washington. It's the meeting of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America. So the cat's out of the bag. (*Laughter*) . . .

Q. Mr. President, if we might go to the Dumbarton Oaks statement this morning, you said that you saw the statement last night. There were two statements issued, one a joint statement in behalf of all three delegates, the other a separate statement in the name of Mr. Stettinius.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I couldn't tell you about that particular detail, because what I saw was all in one. They probably decided to separate them, but they were both in one document.

Q. Mr. President, there was one document on which the three chief delegates had agreed on the general outline for a world security organization which resembled very much your draft of June 15. Would you care to comment on the differences between the two?

THE PRESIDENT: My draft of June 15? My goodness, was it that far ahead? What was my draft?

Q. Mr. Stettinius this morning said it was June 15.

Q. Your summary of the international security plan.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh. To tell you the honest truth, I had forgotten I had done it. Don't say I am claiming authorship, because I haven't compared them. I have had an idea, not since June but way back for a year and a half, on certain general principles. It would be different from the League of Nations, I thought a great deal more workable than the League of Nations, calling for two bodies. On one, membership would

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be for every Nation — large and small — a little Nation to have just as good a vote as a big Nation. Second, there would be a much smaller working body, talking about terms — I called it council, and that would be aimed primarily at averting a future war, that would be the main function. Then third, there would be some system of a court, or courts, for the judicial determination of disputes between Nations.

Well, I think we all want to put the future peace of the world and the settlement of disputes, working out all kinds of things, like food problems and financial problems and everything else, onto a non-partisan basis. Well, you all got that. I don't remember doing it, but anyway, back in June I had the same idea I had for a year and a half before, and a lot of other people have done it.

It's like back in 1933, when I sent a message to Congress about the Civilian Conservation Corps camps, and they authorized them. And we started the C.C.C. camps. Well, it was something I had been thinking about a great deal, and I had, as a result — after they got going, after everybody liked them — I didn't claim authorship of them, but I did send a message to Congress — I had, I suppose, seven or eight letters from people who said, "I wrote you in nineteen hundred and twenty-nine that we ought to have some kind of camps," or "I wrote you in 1930 and outlined the whole plan. Will you please give me credit for the idea."

Well, I suppose there were five hundred people that have brought the idea of C.C.C. camps to my mind. I merely happened to be in a position where I could properly recommend it to Congress.

Now, on this idea of the relationships between Nations after the war, credit should not go to any one person. People have been talking about it, and I have been talking about it on and off the stump since 1919. I was for the League of Nations. I did all I could to get it. I wasn't the author of it.

Now, on this plan that they are talking about at Dumbarton Oaks, nobody is the author of it. It's a general idea, and

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they are putting it down on paper in such form that all the Nations of the world can talk it over before they all express their views in a meeting. Nothing is hard and fast. This is the very first step.

And it is obvious they have got to have some kind of an organization — might be called judicial, that is the first step. When they get to that stage, they will take it before a judicial body. If that doesn't work, the next step is to have some kind of meeting place where they will talk it over. Call it the assembly, for want of a better term. I will take a better term if anybody will suggest it.

And if anybody starts to kick over the traces and violates the frontiers of a neighbor country, you have got to have quick action, got to have quick action by some small body, because the time in that case, when you start bombing somebody or invading them, you can't have a man — call him whatever you will — send out notices that there will be a meeting next month on this subject. Next month might be too late. You have got to have a small body that can act quickly for all the other Nations. There are various ways of talking about that. That is why this preliminary conference is being held at Dumbarton Oaks. They are not making final decisions, they are going to make recommendations to all the United Nations of the world.

Well, that's the common sense point of view of what the differences are about, including the political aspects.

Q. Well, Mr. President, you said it was your idea that this body should be different from the League of Nations and more workable. In what way is it going to be different?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, there again I think that you all have to get out the League of Nations and read the Covenant, and you would find that it was very, very different insofar as this body has gone.

The League of Nations had no means within the Covenant of taking up all kinds of questions like things we have discussed already: international food, for example. They had

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no financial organization for world finances. This one would. They had no method by which a council could enforce peace in the world. This one would. And so if I were to sit down and go over it, I could find fifty different reasons why the two things are different. . . .

Q. Another point in which there has been a great deal of interest in Washington is what mechanisms you might favor to translate decisions of the council into forceful sanctions on the part of the United States. Would there be reference to the American Congress, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think we have got nearly as far as that yet. I think, again, we are emphasizing the details, not the great object. We are very apt to forget the great object.

And a very good illustration is this. In 1920 I was addressing a very big meeting out of doors up in Michigan — an out of doors meeting, there must have been fifteen or twenty thousand people — and I got to talking about the League.

And some woman got up and said, "I can't be for the League of Nations, it legalizes white slavery." (*Laughter*)

I said, "Where?"

So she trotted out article something, which authorized the League to set up machinery — the objective was perfectly clear — to put down white slavery by international agreement. And she construed it, because it did not say "put down" — it used the word which meant to work together, to eliminate — I have forgotten what the word was, you can dig it out — but she assumed that it meant to *regulate* white slavery, and therefore to approve white slavery.

Well, I had a violent discussion with her, and we both left the meeting thoroughly angry.

Now that's what comes of bringing politics or partisanship, or — well, the old word I had used before: picayune — by the way, I found George Washington used that word — (*laughter*) — of bringing carping discussions into the details of a thing like white slavery, or any other current thing.

Now, I don't know how they are going to word anything

66. *Toast to President-Elect of Cuba*

in regard to the elimination of war, but stepping on it before it grows up. We all know what we mean. I can't give you the details of it, but we are at one — almost — in this country, in wanting to end future wars by stepping on their necks before they grow up.

Now that's plain English. For details, go to a political rally. . . .

66 ¶ Presidential Toast to the President-Elect of Cuba at a State Luncheon. August 31, 1944

I WANT to say a word of welcome to a gentleman whom I feel I have known for a great many years. Dr. Ramon Grau San Martin came into my life very soon after I came to Washington in 1933. I am very, very happy that he is about to be inaugurated as President of Cuba, one of the three countries closest to us, not only geographically but in intercourse — visiting every day that goes by. We are a real neighbor, I think a good neighbor of Cuba.

Which reminds me, that the President-Elect is largely responsible for the good neighbor policy. I don't know that he is aware he is in large part responsible, because of the fact that he was mixed up in the revolution in Cuba in 1933. And there was a real reason for dissatisfaction in Cuba with its own government; and firing started.

And there were a great many people in this country who said, "Ah, now you must intervene under the Platt Amendment for the third time." And I got letters and telegrams that we must do something about this problem in Cuba.

And thinking it over for a week or two, as the trouble was continuing, I asked the ambassadors and ministers of all the other American Republics to come to the White House. They came into my study and sat down, and I said, "Gentlemen, I am going to make a very revolutionary announcement. I have decided not to send the armed forces of the United States into

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Cuba. I am going to send some Coast Guard cutters, and other gunboats and small craft to the ports of Cuba, and send word to every American in Cuba that if they are afraid for their lives, to go down to a port and they will find a Coast Guard revenue cutter they can get on, and we will take them home to the United States without any expense. And having done that, we will send word to all the people of Cuba to go right ahead and have the revolution. We think it's rather silly not to work it out some other way, but we are not going to interfere under the Platt Amendment."

Well, the result was there was a certain amount of trouble in a short time. We never fired a shot. The Congress of the United States repealed the Platt Amendment, and Cuba since that time has had no trouble at all.

The President of Cuba, whom we have seen here before, we know is a military man. The President-Elect was not of his party, and at very low cost — I wish we could say the same thing about our coming election — was elected President. He does not represent the military profession. He is a doctor, he is a professor.

And so we are looking forward to a new Government in Cuba under their Constitution and under the leadership of Señor Grau San Martin; and looking forward to it with a great deal of satisfaction, because we know he is a true liberal.

Some people, nowadays, say that a liberal is merely another name for Communist. Señor Grau San Martin is not a Communist. I know that. Other people say that a liberal is a Fascist. I know that he is not that. I think that all of us who know anything about it feel that Cuba is to be congratulated on having him as their next President. We in the United States look forward to an even closer relationship, and a better understanding with the Government of Cuba, and the people of Cuba. We know that the President-Elect stands for certain ideals — practical ideals, human ideals.

So we are very happy to have him here at the White House. And I hope after the tenth of October, when his inauguration takes place, that he will come here very often. He knows, quite

67. *The President's Labor Day Statement*

frankly, that it would probably be easier for him to come to Washington, during this war, than for me to go to Habana. But I hope when the war is over that as a private citizen, shall we say, or otherwise — (*laughter*) — I will have the chance to visit him in Habana.

So, to your health, Señor Martin. . . .

67 ¶ The President's Labor Day Statement.

September 2, 1944

AMERICAN workers can observe this Labor Day in the proud knowledge that in the battle of production their free labor is triumphing over slave labor. It was their determination to safeguard liberty and to preserve their American heritage for coming generations that made possible the greatest production achievement in the world's history.

Our soldiers, sailors, and marines are carrying on an amazing offensive all over the world. They are doing it with the finest weapons in the world — weapons which have been made possible only by the unwavering loyalty and unflagging resolution of the workers and managers of our industries.

The position of our battle lines in Italy, in France, and in the Pacific zone today is greatly dependent on the production miracle which labor and management and farmers have accomplished.

We now have the enemy on the run. Yet we must face the prospect that the hardest fighting and the biggest job of supply are still ahead of us. Our needs for the products of our industries, mines, and farms — weapons, raw materials, transportation, and food — are as urgent as ever.

Our immediate job is victory. To attain it quickly will require the fullest utilization of our manpower and woman power in the production of the necessary weapons of war. American labor can be depended on, I know, to continue to devote itself primarily to that task.

Once the forces of tyranny have been overcome, we shall be

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faced with difficult problems of transition from war to peace. There will be matters of international arrangements as well as questions of internal economic policy. What we do in both spheres will affect our success in attaining a durable world peace — a peace which will contribute to the progress of mankind, and will give to all who work and produce, an opportunity constantly to better their own lives.

In the solution of these problems we will need the cooperation of free American workers, free American employers, and free American farmers. I am confident that we shall have it in days of peace as we have had it in days of war.

68 ¶ Letter to the Secretary of State Relating to Elimination of Cartels. September 6, 1944

Dear Mr. Secretary:

DURING the past half century the United States has developed a tradition in opposition to private monopolies. The Sherman and Clayton Acts have become as much a part of the American way of life as the due process clause of the Constitution. By protecting the consumer against monopoly these statutes guarantee him the benefits of competition.

This policy goes hand in glove with the liberal principles of international trade for which you have stood through many years of public service. The trade agreement program has as its objective the elimination of barriers to the free flow of trade in international commerce; the anti-trust statutes aim at the elimination of monopolistic restraints of trade in interstate and foreign commerce.

Unfortunately, a number of foreign countries, particularly in continental Europe, do not possess such a tradition against cartels. On the contrary, cartels have received encouragement from some of these Governments. Especially is this true with respect to Germany. Moreover, cartels were utilized by the Nazis as gov-

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ernmental instrumentalities to achieve political ends. The history of the use of the I. G. Farben trust by the Nazis reads like a detective story. The defeat of the Nazi armies will have to be followed by the eradication of these weapons of economic warfare. But more than the elimination of the political activities of German cartels will be required. Cartel practices which restrict the free flow of goods in foreign commerce will have to be curbed. With international trade involved this end can be achieved only through collaborative action by the United Nations.

I hope that you will keep your eye on this whole subject of international cartels because we are approaching the time when discussions will almost certainly arise between us and other Nations.

NOTE: Before the second World War, the Federal Government had carefully watched the growth of international cartels, monopolistic trusts on an international scale. Like domestic monopolies, the purpose of a cartel is to eliminate or control competition in order to protect the markets and profits of the cartel partners.

Members of cartels arrange among themselves the division of markets and fields of operation, the restriction of production, fixing of prices, and, often, discrimination against certain countries. Since cartels seek to operate in non-competitive, high-priced markets they tend to reject or suppress technological improvements in their fields. The frequent result is that the public is denied the benefits of new inventions even though the advantages of such inventions are well known to the cartel associates.

The unhealthy economic conditions created by international cartels are not difficult to identify. Their political ramifications, although more obscure, may be even more far reaching in their effects. In the modern world a Nation's domestic and international economic policies help determine the nature of its relationships with other countries. For totalitarian Nations like Germany and Japan before the second World War, where the establishment of international cartel connections by native business firms was not only tolerated but fostered by the state, the cartel became an important instrument of political as well as economic aggression. The strong political influence which Germany exerted in Latin America before World War II was due at least in part — and probably in substantial part — to the powers of the Ger-

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man-dominated cartels in those countries.

By means of cleverly conceived cartel contracts the Germans were sometimes able to interfere with our rearmament and war production program and to retard our prosecution of the war in its early stages.

Late in 1943, Mrs. Roosevelt, whose deep interest in the principles of liberalism was rivalled only by that of the President, sent to talk to me two employees of the Foreign Economic Administration who had expressed concern to her about the continued growth of international cartels. After talking with them, I discussed the problem with Dean Acheson, then Assistant Secretary of State. We concluded that there was great need for stronger international machinery to combat cartels in an active and continuing fashion.

Some European countries actually favored the encouragement of international cartels. Under these circumstances, I felt it advisable for the President to take some more positive stand against cartelization. On August 17, 1944, I advised the President to make a statement on the subject, in the face of the opposition of those who would postpone action until after the war. As I stated in a memorandum to him, "I think this is one field where there will be an up-hill fight even to get any international action, and, therefore, I think it should be pushed

now while the cohesive force of the war is in effect."

In drafting the President's statement, the Department of State was very helpful and cooperative because the program of reducing international trade barriers naturally tied in closely with Secretary of State Hull's lifelong interest in reciprocal trade agreements.

The President was acutely conscious of the harmful economic and political consequences of domestic monopolies and international cartels. Throughout his administration, the President had pursued a firm anti-trust policy. In the foregoing letter to the Secretary of State, the President once more reiterated his vigorous opposition to the dangerous growth of monopolies at home and cartels abroad and emphasized the urgency of taking action to prevent the revival of cartels after the war.

As a result of this letter, an informal interdepartmental committee, known as the Committee on Private Monopolies and Cartels, which had been established previously by the Secretary of State to consider the problem of cartels and related subjects, was strengthened and made a permanent subcommittee of the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy. The latter committee had been created at the President's suggestion early in 1944 to examine problems and developments affecting the economic foreign policy of the United States and to formulate recommendations

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for the consideration of the Secretary of State and of the President. The Government agencies represented on the Committee on Private Monopolies and Cartels were the Departments of State, Justice, and Treasury, Office of Alien Property Custodian, Foreign Economic Administration, and Federal Trade Commission.

The task of the Committee on Private Monopolies and Cartels was challenging and difficult. While hostilities were still in progress, the Committee attempted to formulate cartel control policies that would be imposed upon defeated enemy countries and to design a pattern for our dealings with members of the United Nations whose traditional attitude toward cartels, as the President pointed out, was not like our own. In due course, the Committee submitted to the President and the Secretary of State a number of proposals establishing policies for future action. These policies concerned the "decartelization" of the economies of Germany and Japan and the establishment of appropriate machinery under the United Nations to curb international cartels in the future.

The objective of the "decartelization" policy in Germany and Japan was to eliminate excessive and dangerous concentrations of economic power traditional to those countries and to ensure economic and political democracy.

In respect to Germany this policy found concrete expression in the

Potsdam Agreement of August 2, 1945, signed by the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. With reference to cartels, the three powers there agreed that at the "earliest practicable date, the German economy shall be decentralized for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as exemplified in particular by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements."

The execution of this policy began in October, 1945, when the Commander in Chief of the United States Forces of Occupation in Germany was directed by his Government to prohibit all cartels and other private business arrangements and cartel-like organizations. Similarly, the post-surrender policy for Japan provided that the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers should favor a program for the dissolution of the large industrial and banking combinations which had exercised control of a great part of Japan's trade and industry.

Acceptance of this policy by other countries was indicated in the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation with Italy, February 22, 1948, and in the bilateral agreements with the governments participating in the European Recovery Program, concluded in accordance with the Economic Cooperation Act of April 3, 1948. In the treaty with Italy, each government, recognizing that restrictive business practices may have harmful effects

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on the commerce between their respective territories, agreed to consult upon the request of the other on any instance of restriction and to take appropriate measures for eliminating the harmful effects of such practices. In the E.R.P. bilateral agreements, each participating government, in pledging to seek maximum recovery through the employment of U. S. assistance, assumed several undertakings. One of these consisted of agreement to take appropriate measures itself, and to cooperate with other participating governments, in preventing "business practices or business arrangements affecting international trade which restrain competition, limit access to markets or foster monopolistic control whenever such practices or arrangements have the effect of interfering with the achievement of the joint program of European recovery."

At the same time, in the spring of 1948 the efforts of the United States Government to persuade other members of the United Nations to adopt cartel control policies on an international basis showed some signs of success. In support of this policy the United States became one of fifty-three Nations which signed the Havana Charter for an International Trade Organization. Under the Charter each member Nation pledged to take appropriate measures to prevent business practices affecting international trade which restrain competition, limit access to markets, or foster monopolistic control, whenever such practices have harmful effects on the expansion of production or trade and interfere with the other objectives for which the International Trade Organization was established.

69 ¶ Presidential Statement on the Liberation of Luxembourg. September 11, 1944

TO NO PEOPLE who have borne the Nazi yoke can liberation mean more than those of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. Ruthlessly attacked and occupied by the German military in May, 1940, their country was not only incorporated into the Third Reich and German citizenship thrust upon them, but their sons were forced to serve in the ranks and wear the hated uniform of their oppressors. With unparalleled sacrifice and fortitude the heroic Luxembourgers have resisted every Nazi effort to break their spirit. On the occasion of their release from

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tyranny and their return to the free institutions which they hold so dear, the American people salute the brave people of Luxembourg.

70 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Sixty-eighth Press Conference—Joint Press Conference of the President, Prime Minister Churchill, and Prime Minister Mackenzie King (Excerpts). Quebec, Canada. September 16, 1944

(The President reviews the Conference — Hopes for German surrender — Joint action against Japan — Logistics problems in the Pacific — Remarks of Prime Minister Churchill on results of Conference and British participation in war against Japan — Remarks of Prime Minister King.)

PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING: The President will proceed to address you.

THE PRESIDENT: The Prime Minister of Canada asked me to address you in a formal manner, but we have never done a thing like that before in a press conference yet, and I hope I won't have to begin in Quebec.

This is a press conference, I am told, in the usual manner—limited as usual in Quebec, to the principal speakers, not to the correspondents. In other words, no questions will be asked of us, which I think we are all agreed is rather nice for us. *(Laughter)*

The outstanding fact is that this conference has taken less time, less argument, and a complete unanimity, faster and more easily, than any conference that we have had yet, and this I think is the tenth or the eleventh.

We have been very happy to come back to Quebec, and to be the guests of the Governor General—in this most delightful of spots—and the Prime Minister, and I think to a

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large degree the people of Canada. We have been very happy these past few days. I wish I did not have to go away, but we both have to — very soon.

We have taken up all manner of things, east and west. We have reached not only a complete unanimity, but we have made plans as far as any persons can make plans today. You know how fast things are moving, over on the German front, and also what good progress we have made in the Pacific. On these matters we have had many talks about the next major operation. We are not giving a date to the time when they will begin, because we are not willing, yet, to put a specific date on the surrender of Germany. We hope it will come. The quicker the better.

When that ends, the Allies are going to start in to do as fast a job as they possibly can in the war against Japan. The Prime Minister and ourselves are in accord to work it together — our armies, our navies, and our air forces — in bringing the war against Japan to a quick conclusion.

And in that I may say that we are all looking forward to having the Dominion take part in that war. We are making plans already for that particular operation. We in the United States have been fighting alongside of the Canadians, and we are going to keep on fighting alongside of them all the way across the Pacific, until the empire of Japan surrenders. In other words, we are going to see this thing through together. We are going to make certain of ending barbarism in the Pacific.

On those operations, we have to remember a simple thing, and that is at a distance not of three thousand miles but of nearly six thousand miles, a new element enters into the conduct of that war, the element of what we call in the staff circles logistics. We cannot order a navy or any part thereof to a sector of the Pacific, or a landing, or an army, or an air force to a given point, without taking care of them when they get there. In other words, we have to provide fuel and food and ammunition of all kinds to maintain the campaign

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once we have crossed the ocean. That means endless planning, as you know.

I note that there has been some discussion of individuals, of who will command in the Pacific. I go back to certain occasions in Washington when I pleaded with people to look at their maps.

There are three major commands in the Pacific today. One is the command under Lord Mountbatten, who was here last year; another is the extreme southern one under General MacArthur; and the third is the command of the floating part of the operations under Admiral Nimitz, whose headquarters are in Hawaii. You will recognize, of course, that because of the distances involved all the way to Ceylon, all the way to Australia and New Zealand, and all the way north to the Aleutians, and all the territory in between, it isn't a question of one person running the whole show. Human beings are not capable of transferring themselves mentally to the conduct of large operations over that whole distance.

And, therefore, I might say that the impressions some people have got, that we talked about the problem of command of the Pacific, unfortunately arose purely from the imagination. We haven't talked about the problems of command once. I think this is the first time that anybody has ever mentioned it. And that is worth the searching thought, that geography is still a major science. . . .

On this question of logistics, we have been confronted primarily with the problem of finding room and opportunity for marshalling all the Allied forces against Japan. It isn't a question of numbers. We have got plenty of numbers of people, we have plenty of materials located all over the world. The difficulty is to bring together the men and the materials at the point of contact with the enemy. All of us want to be engaged, and it is a very small front — so much sea space, so much land space — that we find it difficult to use all of the opportunities of men and munitions that we have.

I don't think that there is anything else that I can say, except to repeat that there has been an extraordinary unanim-

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ity. We planned as far as people can plan for the future in days like these, when new things are happening every day, and every week.

We are awfully glad to have been here again. It is becoming a little like home to us, and I think that Prime Minister Churchill and I believe that Quebec is the ideal spot for one of these conferences, especially when we have Prime Minister King and the Governor General as our hosts.

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL: Mr. President and gentlemen, I have been pressing the President for several weeks to let us have another meeting. Our affairs are so intermingled, our troops are fighting in the line together, and our plans for the future are so interwoven that it is not possible to conduct these great affairs and to fulfill these large, combined plans without frequent meetings between the principals, between the heads of the Governments, and also between the high officers on each side. It is nearly nine months since we were together in Cairo, and I felt that a further conference was much overdue.

It is a year since we met here. Well, no one can say that the conference last year was simply of an idle and agreeable character. (*Laughter*) Out of it came decisions which are now engraved upon the monuments of history. Out of it came arrangements by which the vast armies were hurled across the sea, forced their way on shore in the teeth of the enemy's fire and fortification, broke up his armed strength and liberated, almost as if by enchantment, the dear and beautiful land of France, so long held under the corroding heel of the Hun.

All this took its being in our meeting last year, and was carried to a higher and finer point by the subsequent conversations at Teheran, in which our Russian ally took part.

This conference has met under happier auspices than any other we have had. We cannot but feel that one large part of our tasks is steadily and surely approaching completion. The completion of that task leads to other problems of a military and quasi-military character, which have to be understood in common by the two great western powers, in order that the

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events which will follow the suppression of all resistance by Germany may seem to wear the same aspect of design as have the military operations themselves.

But that is not the whole nor even the main part of our work. We have had to consider the extraordinarily complicated processes by which, after the downfall and unconditional surrender of the Nazi power, the enormous forces now gathered in Europe can be applied in as large a degree as possible, with as much shrewdness as possible, and as soon as possible, to the reduction of the fighting capacity of Japan, and to bend that evil and barbarous Nation to the will of those they have outraged, and at whose feet they will presently be suppliant.

A curious feature in this conference has struck me. I read some of the papers when I am over here, these great big papers about an inch thick — (*laughter*) — very different from the little sheets with which we get on in Great Britain. I read these papers, and I see from time to time suggestions that the British wish to shirk their obligations in the Japanese war, and to throw the whole burden onto the United States.

And that astonished me very much, because as a matter of fact, the Conference has been marked by exactly the opposite tendency. If there was any point of difference which had to be adjusted, it was that we undoubtedly felt that the United States meant to keep too much of it to themselves — (*laughter*) — and some of them did — some of the representatives.

But I am glad to say we have arrived at thoroughly amicable agreement, and that Great Britain with her fleet and her air forces and, according to whatever plans are made, her military forces, all that can be carried by the shipping of the world to the scene of action will be represented in the main struggle with Japan.

And we shall go on to the end.

You can't have all the good things to yourselves. You must share. (*Laughter*)

And of course, Mr. Mackenzie King and the Dominion of

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Canada came up and said that they insisted on having their part assigned to them too. And that is the feeling. It isn't a question of people shirking an awkward and painful job. It was a question of a stern resolve of all parties to assert their right to be in at the death, with forces proportionate to their national strength.

So that, I think, may be given full publicity.

As to the plans we have made, we didn't tell you about them from day to day as we were making them, because we thought you would rather hear from us, at the press conference at the end of our meetings, than that we wouldn't be able to tell you about them at all. I sympathize very much, as an old former journalist and war correspondent, with the many able representatives of the press who waited here from day to day, but I know they understood; and this time they were left in no doubt. All these matters have to be secret, and there cannot be any detailed information given here from day to day, or even at the end of the proceedings.

The enemy will learn soon enough, in due course, all that we have decided here. I think we said this last year, now I come to think of it—almost these very words. Well, they have learned. What was then secret is now public. What was then concealed is now apparent. What was then in the egg is now afoot. (*Laughter*) What was then a tender sprout has become a gigantic forest tree. What was then design has become a blow, a mortal blow to the greatest of military powers which have ranged themselves up against civilization and the progress of the world.

So let it be with this Conference, and let it carry with it the seeds of a future victory, a victory which I earnestly trust may be achieved within the shortest limit of time. But, as to that, no one can tell.

This is a struggle not only against the Japanese but over the vast distances of the Pacific Ocean and the continent of Asia. But just in the same way as we worked out all the details with our able staffs, all the details of the liberating

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invasion of Europe, so that it worked like a piece of clock-work, I cannot doubt that our planning resources and our material and mechanical resources will be capable of confronting Japan with problems even more painful and even more difficult than those which Hitler and his lieutenant Rommel failed so conspicuously to solve.

The main object of this Conference has been the focussing, with the utmost rapidity, of all the resources of the grand alliance of the western democracies upon Japan. That guilty and greedy Nation must be stripped of the power to molest and disturb the peace of the world, and must be forced to take a place where neither their virtues nor their vices can inflict miseries upon their fellowmen.

I asked my right honorable friend Mr. Eden, the Foreign Secretary, to come out and see me, and I see a lot of speculation has arisen upon that point, but I don't know why there should.

People have said, "Oh, we thought it was going to be a purely military conference, and here the President brings up the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Prime Minister asks the Foreign Secretary to fly out to see him. What is all this?"

But the business of government, in these times, is all one, and when I have the rare and fortunate chance to meet the President of the United States, we are not limited in our discussions by any sphere. We talk over the whole position in every aspect — the military, economic, diplomatic, financial. All is examined. And obviously that should be so. And the fact that we have worked so long together, and the fact that we have got to know each other so well under the hard stresses of war, makes the solution of problems so much simpler, so swift and so easy it is.

What an ineffectual method of conveying human thought correspondence is — telegraphed with all its rapidity, all the facilities of modern intercommunication. They are simply dead, blank walls compared to personal contacts. And that applies not only to the President and the Prime Minister

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of Great Britain, it applies to our principal officers who at every stage enter in the closest association, and have established friendships which have greatly aided the tasks and the toil of our fighting troops.

Now I cannot pretend to be talking to you in an humble frame of mind. Thank God, we have been blessed with so much good fortune, far more than we deserve; but the fact remains we have conducted successful war, beginning from small beginnings and at great disadvantage, against the most powerful embattled forces. We have conducted successful war on a scale — and I cannot refrain from saying with a measure of success — which certainly you will go far to match, and further still to surpass.

Do not fear about the future. The same processes that have led us from the dark days of Dunkirk, and the Americans from the dark days of Pearl Harbor, to our present situation when the skies are clearing and when the remaining objectives are becoming singularly plainly isolated and defined, the same processes can be applied and will bring the toiling millions of the world the quicker out of this burden of trial. Then, indeed, there will be happiness, when the long strain of the heavy burden of war is ended, and when we turn also with provision and preparation to the task of rebuilding, and when the human heart — relieved from the burdens of anxiety, from the exceptional toil, from the anxieties of the loss of dear ones — will have a resurgence of hope which cannot but repay the toil and sacrifices we have undergone.

I have enjoyed this Conference very much. It has been conducted in a blaze of friendship. I never have seen more close and complete unity, apart from this little friction about our having our proper share. (*Laughter*) Apart from that, which is very satisfactorily adjusted, it has been the most agreeable of all the conferences which I have ever attended. And may I say that I hope that if we should meet here again in another year, we shall be able to tell you more about the plans we

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have made than it is open to us to do on the present occasion.
(*Applause*)

PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING: Mr. President, Mr. Churchill, ladies and gentlemen. May I say, first, one word before the afternoon conference breaks up. I should like, on behalf of the Government of Canada, to express to the members of the press our very warm appreciation of the manner in which you have all cooperated with the Government and its officials here, in helping to make this Conference as expeditious and as efficient in its progress as it has proven to be. We have all been anxious, knowing the demands of the time — the moments today — to do whatever would facilitate these proceedings as rapidly as possible. As you have seen, the week has gone by very, very quickly. . . .

It has been an added pleasure to us that Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs. Churchill have both found it possible to be in Canada at the same time, and I would like to express our pleasure at that.

May I also say, Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister, how honored the people of Canada feel that Quebec has again been chosen as the center for the Conference. At any time that Canada can afford to be host at a conference for those who are seeking to bring together the Nations of the world in bonds of friendship and peace, we shall be able to afford, I imagine, some ideal spot in Canada, Quebec, or elsewhere, and will do so with the greatest pride and pleasure. . . .

NOTE: Almost ten months followed the completion of the Cairo and Teheran Conferences late in 1943 before the President once again met with the leaders of several Allied powers in order to map the strategy of war and peace. This ten-month gap was the longest of the entire period since the President and Churchill had first met at

Argentia to frame the Atlantic Charter in August, 1941.

Initially, it was thought the next conference might be held in Scotland or in Bermuda, but it was eventually decided to have the meeting at the same location as the August, 1943, meeting — at the Citadel, several hundred feet above the St. Lawrence River in Quebec.

70. *Nine Hundred and Sixty-eighth Press Conference*

Accompanying the President as his principal advisory staff at the second Quebec Conference were Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief; General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff of the U. S. Army; Admiral Ernest J. King, Chief of Naval Operations; General Henry H. Arnold, Commanding General of the U. S. Army Air Forces; Lieutenant General Brehon B. Somervell, Commanding General of the Army Service Forces; Rear Admiral Emory S. Land, Administrator of the U. S. Maritime Commission; Brigadier General Andrew J. MacFarland, Secretary to the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Henry Morgenthau Jr., Secretary of the Treasury; and Henry D. White of the Treasury Department. Stalin was invited to attend the conference, but once again preoccupation with current military operations prevented his attendance.

Many aspects of war and peace plans for both Europe and the Pacific areas were discussed at the second Quebec Conference. An important decision reached at Quebec was the assignment of the southern section of Germany as the American zone of occupation. The President was deeply interested in the American use of northern German port facilities to aid in supplying American occupation troops, and as a result the "enclave" including Bremen and the port of Bremerhaven was assigned to the United States.

Another important issue which arose at the second Quebec Conference was the postwar treatment of Germany, which had been inconclusively discussed at the Teheran Conference nine months before. At the Conference, the President initially approved the so-called "Morgenthau Plan" which, in brief, would have reduced Germany to the status of an agricultural Nation. The President's more considered judgment, however, was to reject such a postwar approach to the German economy, as he clearly indicated in the following memorandum he wrote to Secretary of State Hull on September 29, 1944:

"I do not think that in the present stage any good purpose would be served by having the State Department or any other Department sound out the British and Russian views on the treatment of German industry. Most certainly it should not be taken up with the European Advisory Commission which, in a case like this, is on a tertiary and not even a secondary level.

"The real nub of the situation is to keep Britain from going into complete bankruptcy at the end of the war.

"Somebody has been talking not only out of turn to the papers or on facts which are not fundamentally true.

"No one wants to make Germany a wholly agricultural Nation again, and yet somebody down the line has handed this out to the press. I wish we could catch and chastise him.

"You know that before the war Germany was not only building up war manufacture, but was also building up enough of a foreign trade to finance rearming sufficiently and still maintain enough international credit to keep out of international bankruptcy.

71. *Entrance of Allied Troops Into Holland*

"I just cannot go along with the idea of seeing the British Empire collapse financially, and Germany at the same time building up a potential rearmament machine to make another war possible in twenty years. Mere inspection of plants will not prevent that.

"But no one wants 'complete eradication of German industrial productive capacity in the Ruhr and Saar.'

"It is possible, however, in those two particular areas to enforce rather complete controls. Also, it must not be forgotten that outside of the Ruhr and Saar, Germany has many *other* areas and facilities for turning out large exports. . . ."

The question of mutual lend-lease aid between the United States and Britain came up at the second Quebec Conference, and it was agreed to set up a temporary joint committee to consider such aid after the defeat of Germany and while the war against Japan was progressing. A further topic of discussion was the treatment of Italy and it was agreed to place a gradually increasing degree of responsibility on the Italian Government in efforts to develop Italy's industry and the general well-being of the Italian people.

71 ¶ Statement by the President on the Entrance of Allied Troops into Holland. September 18, 1944

FOR four long years the Netherlands has suffered under the heel of German oppression. For four long years its liberties have been crushed, its homes destroyed, its people enslaved. But the spark of freedom could never be extinguished. It has always glowed in the hearts of the Netherlands people. It now emerges as an avenging flame.

The armies of liberation are flowing across the borders of Holland. A gallant Queen is returning to her gallant people. The Netherlands again stands on the threshold of her ancient liberties.

But the fight will not end with the restoration of freedom to Holland. It will not end with the inevitable defeat of Germany. The people of the Netherlands know as the people of the United States know that final victory cannot be achieved until Japan has likewise been vanquished.

Only then can peace and freedom return to the world.

72 ¶ The President Requests the Bureau of the Budget to Make a Study of War Agency Liquidation and Administrative Reorganization for Peace. September 18, 1944

My dear Mr. Smith:

TOTAL war has required a great expansion of Government activities, agencies, and personnel. Our success on the battle fronts all over the world bears witness to the effectiveness of our efforts.

Upon the termination of hostilities, we must proceed with equal vigor to liquidate war agencies and reconvert the Government to peace. Some steps along these lines may be taken when the fighting ends in Europe. The transition from war to peace should be carried forward rapidly, but with a minimum of disorder and disruption. Only careful planning can achieve this goal.

This is the time to do the planning, although the war — even in Europe — is not over. Most of the planning will probably have to wait for execution until the Japs have surrendered — and there is no way of telling when that will happen. But the plans should be ready.

In order that I may most effectively fulfill my responsibilities as Chief Executive in the demobilization period and may present appropriate recommendations to the Congress on the reconversion of the Government agencies, I am asking you to reexamine the programs, organization, and staffing of Government agencies and submit to me at the earliest possible date recommendations for adjusting the executive branch of the Government from the needs of war to the needs of peace.

Such recommendations should include plans for (1) the liquidation of war agencies and the reassignment of such permanent or continuing functions as they possess, (2) the reduction of Government personnel to a peace footing, and (3) the simplification and adaptation of the administrative structure to peacetime requirements.

72. *Budget Bureau Study of War Agency Liquidation*

In general, recommendations should include the methods for effecting the proposed changes and the appropriate timing of these changes. Immediate attention should be focussed on the adjustments needed upon the termination of the war in Europe.

Honorable Harold D. Smith,
Director,
Bureau of the Budget,
Washington, D. C.

NOTE: It was typical of the President's foresight that he should insist that the Government plan ahead and not wait for the last minute to prepare for orderly demobilization. For example, as early as October 15, 1943, he had set up a unit to study and make recommendations for war contract termination and reconversion of war plants. (See Item 113 and note, 1943 volume.)

The foregoing letter requested the Bureau of the Budget to review the vast wartime administrative structure of the Government, and formulate plans for liquidating war agencies and placing the Government on a peacetime footing.

A few weeks after the President asked the Bureau of the Budget to make this survey, the Congress, in the War Mobilization Act of 1944 (see Item 81 and note, this volume), directed the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion to study the need for consolidating and eliminating war agencies. The Director of the O.W.M.R., by letter of November 29, 1944, asked the Bureau of the Budget to proceed with this planning and study.

The heads of all agencies sub-

mitted statements to the Budget Bureau on what program readjustments they could make both in 1944 and following the end of the war. In this way, the basic planning was done, so that demobilization and reconversion proved to be a fairly speedy process after victory was achieved.

Shortly after V-J Day, on August 21, 1945, President Truman by letter of August 21, 1945, appointed a committee composed of the Director of O.W.M.R. (John Snyder), the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (Harold Smith), and myself to make recommendations on the proper disposition of the various war agencies. As a result of this committee's recommendations, many of the major war agencies of the Government were terminated soon after the end of the war.

The work of the Bureau of the Budget in formulating plans for administrative demobilization was but one phase of the extremely useful work which this agency performed during the war.

Established in 1921 as a part of the Treasury Department, the Bureau of the Budget was elevated to

72. *Budget Bureau Study of War Agency Liquidation*

the Executive Office of the President in 1939 (see Items 66, 125, and notes, 1939 volume, for discussions of the functioning of the Bureau of the Budget in prewar years). The Estimates Division of the Bureau, after extensive investigation of the requirements of every agency, was a key factor in the formulation of the President's Budget which was annually transmitted to the Congress early in January. Through this "power of the purse" and its close contact with the activities of the various agencies, the Estimates Division could aid in preventing overlapping and duplication of activity, and could allocate funds in a way that would best promote the President's objectives.

The Division of Administrative Management of the Bureau (see note to Item 125, 1939 volume) performed the brunt of the work in setting up the new war agencies. This Division, under the capable direction of Donald C. Stone, helped me on numerous occasions in my work for the President in administrative reorganizations. Its sound advice, ready information, and wise suggestions for the establishment of new agencies or the regrouping of activities among existing agencies were of great assistance. It also conducted surveys of the continuing activities of the federal agencies, helping to improve their organization, procedures, and management.

The Fiscal Division of the Bureau of the Budget assisted the President in the economic planning of govern-

mental programs of a broader nature than the agency-by-agency activity of the Estimates Division. Staff of the Fiscal Division, for example, were helpful in formulating the details of the President's fight against inflation, and his whole economic stabilization program.

In order to insure that legislative proposals of the federal agencies were in accord with the program of the President, the Legislative Reference Division of the Bureau performed a useful clearance service (see note to Item 125, 1939 volume, for a fuller discussion of the activities of the Legislative Reference Division). The Statistical Standards Division of the Bureau of the Budget, among other duties, administered the Federal Reports Act of 1942, which required federal agencies to clear plans for the gathering of data and report forms with the Bureau of the Budget. The Statistical Standards Division also prepared standard statistical classifications, suggested improvements in sampling techniques and standards of form design, and surveyed the government publication of statistical data in the interest of national security.

Generally, the Budget Bureau acted not only as the immediate adviser to the President in budgetary, fiscal, legislative, and administrative matters, but served, in a sense, as his right hand in contributing to efficiency, economy and consistency in the administrative agencies of the government.

73 ¶ Message to the Congress on the Missouri River Development Plan. September 21, 1944

To the Congress:

I ENCLOSE a copy of a resolution adopted by all but one of the Missouri River States, represented in a recent meeting of their Governors and the members of the Missouri River States Committee. In general, the resolution asks for executive and legislative action toward procuring a single, coordinated plan for the development of the Missouri River basin "for the greatest benefit of its citizens both present and future, and for the greatest benefit to the United States."

As the Congress knows, I have for many years advocated the establishment of separate Authorities to deal with the development of certain river basins where several States were involved. The general functions and purposes of the Tennessee Valley Authority might well serve as a pattern for similar developments of other river basins. The Tennessee Valley Authority was charged by the Congress with the development of practically all of the factors which are important in establishing better living standards and a better life for the people throughout that great watershed.

The benefits which have resulted in the Tennessee River Valley include flood prevention, irrigation, increased electric power for farms and shops and homes and industries, better transportation on land and water, reforestation and conservation of natural resources, the encouragement of small businesses and the growth and expansion of new businesses, development and widespread use of fertilizers and improved agricultural methods, better education and recreational facilities — and many kindred improvements which go to make for increased security and greater human happiness.

The Congress has at all times retained the final authority over the Tennessee Valley Authority, for the Authority comes before

the Congress each year to obtain appropriations to continue its work and carry out its plans.

I have heretofore suggested the creation of a similar Authority for the development of the Arkansas River watershed from the Mississippi all the way west to its source in Colorado.

I have also suggested the creation of an Authority to render a similar service in the Columbia River watershed, including the States of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana.

I now make a similar recommendation for the Missouri River basin.

The resolution very properly asks that the legislation dealing with matters relating to the waters of the Missouri River basin recognize that it is dealing with one river and one problem; and points out the necessity of a comprehensive development of the Missouri River, indicating that there can be no piecemeal legislative program. The resolution asks that "the Congress should recognize now the problem in its entirety as it affects the people of the Missouri basin and their economic destiny and that of the United States."

I am in hearty accord with these principles. I hope that the Congress will give careful and early consideration to the creation of this Federal Authority to consider the problem in its entirety, remembering always that any appropriations to carry out any plan are and will be within the complete control of the Congress, and that the interest of each of the States in the basin will, of course, be given full consideration. I am sure that none of the States in the Tennessee River basin have lost any of their rights because of the creation of the Authority in that valley.

May I also ask that renewed consideration be given to a study of the Arkansas and Columbia River basins? The fact has been established that such legislation can do much to promote the welfare of the great mass of citizens who live there — as well as their fellow citizens throughout the United States.

I need hardly point out to the Congress, in addition, how helpful this legislation will be in the creation of employment and in the stimulation of industry, business, and agriculture throughout

73. *Missouri Valley Authority*

the areas involved, in the days which will follow the end of the war.

NOTE: As early as June, 1937, the President had recommended to the Congress the establishment of additional regional Authorities modeled after the Tennessee Valley Authority (see Item 67, pages 252-256, 1937 volume; see Item 5 and note, and references cited therein, 1941 volume, for an account of the Tennessee Valley Authority). Following the President's message of June, 1937, bills were introduced in the Congress providing for the development of the river basins of the Missouri, Arkansas, and Columbia Rivers. None of these bills was passed.

About one-sixth of the area of the United States — 529,350 square miles — is drained by the Missouri River and its tributaries. This area covers all of Nebraska and parts of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, North Dakota, and South Dakota. In the northern and western portions of the Missouri Valley, frequent droughts have caused the depletion of soil and emigration of farmers from the area. In the lower part of the valley disastrous floods have occurred; heavy rains and melting snows, for example, combined to cause damage estimated at \$150,000,000 in the years 1942-1944 alone.

The political problem of securing an integrated program for the Missouri Valley was complicated by

the hostility between the upstream arid areas and the downstream more heavily populated areas. In the upper valley, the sentiment was very strong for developing the Missouri Valley primarily for irrigation purposes, while in the lower part of the valley the interests demanded that navigation and flood control be emphasized. Aside from this sectional cleavage within the valley, numerous private interests opposed the development of a Missouri Valley Authority for a variety of selfish reasons. Railroad interests felt that they would suffer from competition if river transport were developed; and private utilities vigorously opposed any public power development. These conflicts of interests were still further aggravated by Federal interagency disagreements concerning the Missouri Valley. The Army Corps of Engineers was chiefly interested in flood control and navigation work on the lower Missouri River, while the Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior insisted upon emphasizing irrigation development throughout the upper Missouri Valley.

In 1943 and 1944, the differences between the upper and lower valleys of the Missouri River, and the divergent opinions of the Army engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation, were crystallized by the presentation of the Pick and Sloan

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plans for the development of the Missouri Valley. The Pick plan of the Army Corps of Engineers was submitted to the Congress by the Secretary of War, on December 31, 1943; the Sloan plan of the Bureau of Reclamation was submitted to the Congress by the Secretary of the Interior on May 4, 1944.

The primary emphasis of the Pick plan was on flood control. It provided for a series of levees from Sioux City, Iowa, to the mouth of the Missouri River, and various multiple-purpose dams and reservoirs to provide for irrigation, navigation, and power production. The Pick plan received strong support from the backers of flood control and navigation in the lower part of the valley, but the plan did not satisfy the irrigation interests of the northern and western portions of the Missouri Valley.

The Sloan Plan of the Bureau of Reclamation provided for irrigating 4,760,000 acres of new land through the construction of approximately 90 multiple-purpose reservoirs, 16 power plants, and facilities for navigation and flood control. As anticipated, the Sloan plan was strongly opposed in the lower valley as insufficient, while warmly supported in the upper valley.

The Governors of eight Missouri Valley States met at Omaha, Nebraska, on August 5 and 6, 1944, and adopted a resolution for an over-all comprehensive plan rather than a piecemeal approach to the development of the valley. Follow-

ing this Governors' conference, the members of which also comprised "the Missouri River States Committee," the President, with the foregoing message, forwarded a copy of the report of the conference, and urged an integrated approach similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority.

On October 16 and 17, 1944, representatives of the Bureau of Reclamation and the Army Corps of Engineers met at Omaha, Nebraska to decide on principles of compromise between the Pick and Sloan plans.

For the moment, the Omaha conference had resulted in a reconciliation of some of the divergent views, but the agreement did not resolve the vexing issues of the amount of water to be reserved respectively for navigation and irrigation, and the extent of control to be exercised by the States over waters within their own boundaries. Nevertheless, the President then recommended that this agreement be used as the basis of an engineering plan to be developed and administered by a Missouri Valley Authority (see Item 114, this volume, for the President's press conference discussion of November 14, 1944, on how a Missouri Valley Authority could be established).

On August 18, 1944, Senator James E. Murray had introduced a bill to establish a Missouri Valley Authority, for the prevention of floods, reclamation of public lands, irrigation, navigation, encouragement of agriculture based on fam-

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ily-type farming, the fuller utilization of the region's resources, and for conservation. No formal hearings were held on the bill in 1944.

Meanwhile, the Omnibus Flood Control Act of 1944 was passed by the Congress, and approved by the President on December 22, 1944. Upon signing this Act, the President stated:

"I note that the bill authorizes for construction by the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation those improvements in the Missouri River basin which, on November 27, 1944, I recommended be developed and administered by a Missouri Valley Authority. My approval of this bill is given with the distinct understanding that it is not to be interpreted as jeopardizing in any way the creation of a Missouri Valley Authority, the establishment of which should receive the early consideration of the next Congress."

On February 15, 1945, Senator Murray reintroduced his Missouri Valley Authority proposal in the 79th Congress. After a legislative struggle over which committee should have jurisdiction over the bill, it was assigned to the Senate Committee on Commerce for consideration of its navigation and flood control aspects; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation for its irrigation aspects; and the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry with respect to agriculture. It would appear that these multiple assignments were designed more for delay than to satisfy the demands of logic.

Several weeks before his death,

the President indicated again his strong support of the regional development of the Missouri Valley. On March 20, 1945, the President asked the Congress to appropriate funds for the Interior Department to prepare plans for developments in the Missouri River Valley. No hearings were held prior to the President's death on April 12, 1945.

During hearings on Senator Murray's bill in the spring of 1945, opposition developed from many special interests and pressure groups, including chambers of commerce, automobile and lumbermen's associations, stockgrowers, dude ranchers, "fish and game associations," and other organizations. The opposition to the creation of a Missouri Valley Authority was based on two main arguments: An M.V.A. would injure their own interests; and valley Authorities were "unsound in theory."

Senator Murray's bill to carry out the recommendations of the President and create a Missouri Valley Authority died without action by the Congress. Defeat of legislation for the development of the Missouri Valley is comparable to the defeat of legislation for the development of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway. Both proposals of the President were attacked mercilessly by special and sectional interests and by pressure groups determined to block any action along these lines proposed for the national welfare.

74 ¶ Statement by the President on Signing a Bill to Extend Rural Electrification.

September 22, 1944

I HAVE today affixed my signature to H. R. 4278, providing statutory authorization for several agricultural programs.

The Congress has thereby materially advanced the program of the Rural Electrification Administration by including in H. R. 4278 permanent authorization for the loan funds required in the program, and provisions liberalizing the terms of rural electrification loans. These provisions will make it possible to bring electricity to many more thousands of farm homes which could not previously be served.

From the point of view of raising the living standards of rural America and providing a more efficient form of farm management, one of the most important projects interrupted by the war is the extension of rural electrification.

In the press of other matters, many of us have overlooked the rapid expansion which has taken place in rural electrification since this Administration instituted the program in 1935. At that time only one out of every ten of our farm families had central station electric service. Today 43 percent of our farms are electrified — in spite of the necessary curtailment in construction resulting from the exigencies of war.

On the other side of the picture, we must bear in mind that there are still approximately seven million farm houses and other rural homes still without the benefits of electricity. The comforts and economic advantages of electricity are greatly desired by these American homes. I am sure of it, and I am sure that you agree with me. Not only are these rural dwellers of America anxious to participate in the advantages of farm electricity, but most of them, as a result of improved farm income, are now in a better position to acquire and make effective use of electrical labor-saving devices.

74. *Extension of Rural Electrification*

It is particularly important that extensions of rural electrification be planned in such a way as to provide service on an area basis. The practice has been too frequent in the past for private utility companies to undertake to serve only the more prosperous and more populous rural sections. As a result, families in less favored and in sparsely settled sections were left unserved. I believe that our postwar rural electrification program should bring modern service of electric power to the farm families in the back country.

While H. R. 4278, which I have just signed, represents a great step forward in achieving the ultimate objectives of the rural electrification program, further action appears to be necessary to satisfy the demands of an accelerated postwar program. Provision should be made for immediate comprehensive surveys of unelectrified areas and for preparation of plans for rural electrification projects which can be placed in construction as soon as manpower and materials are available. The funds required for the construction of such projects should be made immediately available to assure the carrying into effect of these plans.

There is now pending in the Congress legislation making such provision. I am hopeful that the Congress, as soon as its legislative program will permit, will give consideration to the objectives of this legislation.

It is desirable not only from the standpoint of improving rural living standards, but also of providing a great amount of industrial employment after the war. It will provide employment not only in the construction of facilities, but a considerably greater employment in the manufacture of electrical equipment. Such a program involves new standards of living and will therefore do much to help promote the economic health and strength of the country.

I need not call your attention to the fact that the Rural Electrification Administration program is of a self-liquidating nature; and that, therefore, it is one of the most promising vehicles for attaining a stronger, a happier, and a more prosperous America.

74. *Extension of Rural Electrification*

NOTE: The bill, the signing of which was accompanied by the foregoing statement of the President, was the "Department of Agriculture Organic Act of 1944" (58 Stat. 734).

As indicated by the President, the new Act substantially strengthened the Rural Electrification Administration. Other provisions of the Act provided for the control and eradication of certain animal and plant pests and diseases; assisted the States in fire control; provided for more efficient protection and management of the national forests; aided in the orderly marketing of agricultural commodities; and facilitated the carrying out of agricultural conservation and related agricultural programs.

As Governor of New York, the President had taken steps to develop water power resources and more adequately to supervise utility companies in order to assure cheaper electricity to the farms of New York State. The President regarded rural electrification as one of the very important phases of his domestic program. He had established the Rural Electrification Administration by Executive Order on May 11, 1935. This agency had been expanded and strengthened by the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 (see Item 58 and note, pp. 172-175, 1935 volume).

In an address at Barnesville, Georgia, on August 11, 1938, the President stated that "Electricity is a modern necessity of life," and that

it "ought to be found in every village, in every home and on every farm in every part of the United States" (see Item 100, pp. 463-471, 1938 volume).

The passage of the Act to which the President referred in the foregoing statement was important in the development of rural electrification. Among the provisions of the Act was the reduction of the interest rate on all R.E.A. loans — both new loans and those outstanding — to two percent per annum.

The new Act also made possible the amortization of major loans over a thirty-five-year period. Previously, these loans were for a maximum twenty-five-year period.

The liberalization of the terms of R.E.A.'s loans to its borrowers permitted the extension of R.E.A.-financed rural electrification into more sparsely settled rural areas.

Prior to the institution of the President's rural electrification program in 1935, only one out of every ten farm families had been provided with electricity; at the time the President signed the 1944 Act, 43 percent of the Nation's farms were electrified; as of June 30, 1949, the Rural Electrification Administrator reported that seventy-five percent of the farms in the Nation had electricity. Fewer than 750,000 United States farms had obtained power-line electricity when the R.E.A. program began in 1935. By June 30, 1949, approximately 4½ million United States farms had obtained electricity.

75. *Aid to Veterans in Farming*

This striking progress over a twelve-year period was achieved in the face of opposition on the part of many commercial power companies, whose vast propaganda and pressure activities attempted to discredit the ideals and activities of R.E.A.

Rural electrification has strengthened the rural economy of the Nation, raised standards of living, and contributed materially to high-level agricultural production. When electricity is available, the farmer can diversify his crops to a greater extent, contributing to sounder practices of soil conservation as well as a more efficient type of production. Electricity reduces the time farmers must devote to onerous farm jobs. On thousands of farms, electricity provides lights, pumps water, grinds feed, milks cows, refrigerates milk, and provides power for repair shops for farm implements. Electrically lighted poultry farms help to stabilize the year-round production of eggs, and electrically heated

brooders help to protect baby chicks. New methods of preventing crop loss have been developed by using electric power to ventilate and thereby save grain and hay by reducing the moisture content after storage.

Better schools and better medical and other community facilities have resulted from the extension of the program.

The opponents of rural electrification claimed that electricity for farmers was a luxury which few could afford, that rural power lines could not be profitable, and that rural electrification was a socialistic or communistic experiment. The experience of R.E.A. has proved beyond doubt the falseness of these assertions. Electricity is no longer a luxury to a farmer, but is a necessity. The government loans are being repaid, with interest, far ahead of schedule. Most important of all, the R.E.A. has contributed toward a richer, fuller, and higher standard of living not only for the farmer but for the entire Nation.

75 ¶ The President Requests the Department of Agriculture and the Veterans Administration to Study Methods to Aid Veterans Who Wish to Engage in Farming. September 23, 1944

IT HAS been reliably estimated that more than a million members of our armed forces have indicated their intention to reestablish themselves in civilian life as farmers and ranchers. Their

75. *Aid to Veterans in Farming*

sacrifice and courage entitle them to expect this Nation to be prepared, within the limits of its capacities, to offer them reasonable opportunities to get started in agriculture.

This is not a light responsibility for the Nation to discharge — for we do not possess within our borders a great new and unsettled Oklahoma or Northwest territory to be declared open for settlement by these men and their families.

Congress, by the recent adoption of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, has shown its specific interest in aiding veterans who want to live on the land. Full advantage must be taken of the provisions of this Act and of other legislation in order that the maximum number of veterans who desire to do so may find successful careers in agriculture.

It seems highly desirable that a thorough canvass of this problem be made very soon, and you are requested jointly to make such a canvass and furnish me with a report and your recommendations at an early date.

Some of the servicemen who have indicated a desire to become farmers or ranchers may not be actually equipped by experience or education to take over a full-size farming operation. Therefore, it is important that a part of your inquiry be focused on means for fully apprising these veterans of the factors involved in operating a farm, and for making more certain that those who start to farm may continue with reasonable assurance of success. Perhaps some veterans with insufficient training might be directed to seek temporary employment for farm training with a capable farmer. Certainly, many of the veterans interested in farming can use some additional training and education in modern farming practices and techniques.

Your inquiry might also deal with the adaptation of special types of farms to the abilities of veterans whose capacities have become limited as a result of war injuries. Adequate credit upon reasonable terms must be assured. Further, it will not do merely to see that the veteran settles on some piece of land. The lands for a veteran should constitute an economically sound farm or ranch from which he can earn a sufficient income to keep his

76. *Teamsters' Union Address*

family in comfort and health, educate his children, and integrate himself and his family into the community as happy and useful citizens.

These points are, of course, only some of the more important phases of this study and of the objectives which I hope it will accomplish.

76 ¶ "I Think I Have a Right to Resent, to Object to Libelous Statements About My Dog" — Address at Dinner of International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America. Washington, D. C. September 23, 1944

WELL, here we are together again — after four years — and what years they have been! You know, I am actually four years older, which is a fact that seems to annoy some people. In fact, in the mathematical field there are millions of Americans who are more than eleven years older than when we started in to clear up the mess that was dumped in our laps in 1933.

We all know that certain people who make it a practice to depreciate the accomplishments of labor — who even attack labor as unpatriotic — they keep this up usually for three years and six months in a row. But then, for some strange reason they change their tune — every four years — just before election day. When votes are at stake, they suddenly discover that they really love labor and that they are anxious to protect labor from its old friends.

I got quite a laugh, for example — and I am sure that you did — when I read this plank in the Republican platform adopted at their National Convention in Chicago last July:

"The Republican Party accepts the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage and Hour Act, the Social Security Act and all other Federal statutes designed to promote and protect the welfare of American

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working men and women, and we promise a fair and just administration of these laws."

You know, many of the Republican leaders and Congressmen and candidates, who shouted enthusiastic approval of that plank in that Convention Hall would not even recognize these progressive laws if they met them in broad daylight. Indeed, they have personally spent years of effort and energy — and much money — in fighting every one of those laws in the Congress, and in the press, and in the courts, ever since this Administration began to advocate them and enact them into legislation. That is a fair example of their insincerity and of their inconsistency.

The whole purpose of Republican oratory these days seems to be to switch labels. The object is to persuade the American people that the Democratic Party was responsible for the 1929 crash and the depression, and that the Republican Party was responsible for all social progress under the New Deal.

Now, imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery — but I am afraid that in this case it is the most obvious common or garden variety of fraud.

Of course, it is perfectly true that there are enlightened, liberal elements in the Republican Party, and they have fought hard and honorably to bring the Party up to date and to get it in step with the forward march of American progress. But these liberal elements were not able to drive the Old Guard Republicans from their entrenched positions.

Can the Old Guard pass itself off as the New Deal?

I think not.

We have all seen many marvelous stunts in the circus but no performing elephant could turn a hand-spring without falling flat on his back.

I need not recount to you the centuries of history which have been crowded into these four years since I saw you last.

There were some — in the Congress and out — who raised their voices against our preparations for defense — before and after 1939 — objected to them, raised their voices against them as hysterical war mongering, who cried out against our help to the

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Allies as provocative and dangerous. We remember the voices. They would like to have us forget them now. But in 1940 and 1941 — my, it seems a long time ago — they were loud voices. Happily they were a minority and — fortunately for ourselves, and for the world — they could not stop America.

There are some politicians who kept their heads buried deep in the sand while the storms of Europe and Asia were headed our way, who said that the lend-lease bill "would bring an end to free government in the United States," and who said, "only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy, or Japan contemplates war on us." These very men are now asking the American people to intrust to them the conduct of our foreign policy and our military policy.

What the Republican leaders are now saying in effect is this: "Oh, just forget what we used to say, we have changed our minds now — we have been reading the public opinion polls about these things and now we know what the American people want." And they say: "Don't leave the task of making the peace to those old men who first urged it and who have already laid the foundations for it, and who have had to fight all of us inch by inch during the last five years to do it. Why, just turn it all over to us. We'll do it so skillfully — that we won't lose a single isolationist vote or a single isolationist campaign contribution."

I think there is one thing that you know: I am too old for that. I cannot talk out of both sides of my mouth at the same time.

The Government welcomes all sincere supporters of the cause of effective world collaboration in the making of a lasting peace. Millions of Republicans all over the Nation are with us — and have been with us — in our unshakable determination to build the solid structure of peace. And they too will resent this campaign talk by those who first woke up to the facts of international life a few short months ago when they began to study the polls of public opinion.

Those who today have the military responsibility for waging this war in all parts of the globe are not helped by the statements of men who, without responsibility and without the knowledge

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of the facts, lecture the Chiefs of Staff of the United States as to the best means of dividing our armed forces and our military resources between the Atlantic and Pacific, between the Army and the Navy, and among the commanding generals of the different theaters of war. And I may say that those commanding generals are making good in a big way.

When I addressed you four years ago, I said, "I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face and do it patriotically and effectively and unselfishly."

Today we know that America has not been disappointed. In his Order of the Day when the Allied armies first landed in Normandy two months ago, General Eisenhower said: "Our home fronts have given us overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war."

The country knows that there is a breed of cats, luckily not too numerous, called labor-baiters. I know that there are labor-baiters among the opposition who, instead of calling attention to the achievements of labor in this war, prefer to pick on the occasional strikes that have occurred — strikes that have been condemned by every responsible national labor leader. I ought to say, parenthetically, all but one. And that one labor leader, incidentally, is certainly not conspicuous among my supporters.

Labor-baiters forget that at our peak American labor and management have turned out airplanes at the rate of 109,000 a year; tanks — 57,000 a year; combat vessels — 573 a year; landing vessels, to get the troops ashore — 31,000 a year; cargo ships — 19 million tons a year — and Henry Kaiser is here tonight, I am glad to say; and small arms ammunition — oh, I can't understand it, I don't believe you can either — 23 billion rounds a year.

But a strike is news, and generally appears in shrieking headlines — and, of course, they say labor is always to blame. The fact is that since Pearl Harbor only one-tenth of one percent of man-hours have been lost by strikes. Can you beat that?

But, you know, even those candidates who burst out in election-year affection for social legislation and for labor in general,

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still think that you ought to be good boys and stay out of politics. And above all, they hate to see any working man or woman contribute a dollar bill to any wicked political party. Of course, it is all right for large financiers and industrialists and monopolists to contribute tens of thousands of dollars — but their solicitude for that dollar which the men and women in the ranks of labor contribute is always very touching.

They are, of course, perfectly willing to let you vote — unless you happen to be a soldier or a sailor overseas, or a merchant seaman carrying the munitions of war. In that case they have made it pretty hard for you to vote at all — for there are some political candidates who think that they may have a chance of election, if only the total vote is small enough.

And while I am on the subject of voting, let me urge every American citizen — man and woman — to use your sacred privilege of voting, no matter which candidate you expect to support. Our millions of soldiers and sailors and merchant seamen have been handicapped or prevented from voting by those politicians and candidates who think that they stand to lose by such votes. You here at home have the freedom of the ballot. Irrespective of party, you should register and vote this November. I think that is a matter of plain good citizenship.

Words come easily, but they do not change the record. You are, most of you, old enough to remember what things were like for labor in 1932.

You remember the closed banks and the breadlines and the starvation wages; the foreclosures of homes and farms, and the bankruptcies of business; the "Hoovervilles," and the young men and women of the Nation facing a hopeless, jobless future; the closed factories and mines and mills; the ruined and abandoned farms; the stalled railroads and the empty docks; the blank despair of a whole Nation — and the utter impotence of the Federal Government.

You remember the long, hard road, with its gains and its setbacks, which we have traveled together ever since those days.

Now there are some politicians who do not remember that far

back, and there are some who remember but find it convenient to forget. No, the record is not to be washed away that easily.

The opposition in this year has already imported into this campaign a very interesting thing, because it is foreign. They have imported the propaganda technique invented by the dictators abroad. Remember, a number of years ago, there was a book, *Mein Kampf*, written by Hitler himself. The technique was all set out in Hitler's book — and it was copied by the aggressors of Italy and Japan. According to that technique, you should never use a small falsehood; always a big one, for its very fantastic nature would make it more credible — if only you keep repeating it over and over and over again.

Well, let us take some simple illustrations that come to mind. For example, although I rubbed my eyes when I read it, we have been told that it was not a Republican depression, but a Democratic depression from which this Nation was saved in 1933 — that this Administration — this one — today — is responsible for all the suffering and misery that the history books and the American people have always thought had been brought about during the twelve ill-fated years when the Republican party was in power.

Now, there is an old and somewhat lugubrious adage which says: "Never speak of rope in the house of a man who has been hanged." In the same way, if I were a Republican leader speaking to a mixed audience, the last word in the whole dictionary that I think I would use is that word "depression."

You know, they pop up all the time. For another example, I learned — much to my amazement — that the policy of this Administration was to keep men in the Army when the war was over, because there might be no jobs for them in civil life.

Well, the very day that this fantastic charge was first made, a formal plan for the method of speedy discharge from the Army had already been announced by the War Department — a plan based on the wishes of the soldiers themselves.

This callous and brazen falsehood about demobilization did, of course, a very simple thing; it was an effort to stimulate fear

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among American mothers and wives and sweethearts. And, incidentally, it was hardly calculated to bolster the morale of our soldiers and sailors and airmen who are fighting our battles all over the world.

But perhaps the most ridiculous of these campaign falsifications is the one that this Administration failed to prepare for the war that was coming. I doubt whether even Goebbels would have tried that one. For even he would never have dared hope that the voters of America had already forgotten that many of the Republican leaders in the Congress and outside the Congress tried to thwart and block nearly every attempt that this Administration made to warn our people and to arm our Nation. Some of them called our 50,000 airplane program fantastic. Many of those very same leaders who fought every defense measure that we proposed are still in control of the Republican party — look at their names — were in control of its National Convention in Chicago, and would be in control of the machinery of the Congress and of the Republican party, in the event of a Republican victory this fall.

These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks on me, or my wife, or on my sons. No, not content with that, they now include my little dog, Fala. Well, of course, I don't resent attacks, and my family doesn't resent attacks, but Fala *does* resent them. You know, Fala is Scotch, and being a Scottie, as soon as he learned that the Republican fiction writers in Congress and out had concocted a story that I had left him behind on the Aleutian Islands and had sent a destroyer back to find him — at a cost to the taxpayers of two or three, or eight or twenty million dollars — his Scotch soul was furious. He has not been the same dog since. I am accustomed to hearing malicious falsehoods about myself — such as that old, worm-eaten chestnut that I have represented myself as indispensable. But I think I have a right to resent, to object to libelous statements about my dog.

Well, I think we all recognize the old technique. The people of this country know the past too well to be deceived into forgetting. Too much is at stake to forget. There are tasks ahead of

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us which we must now complete with the same will and the same skill and intelligence and devotion that have already led us so far along the road to victory.

There is the task of finishing victoriously this most terrible of all wars as speedily as possible and with the least cost in lives.

There is the task of setting up international machinery to assure that the peace, once established, will not again be broken.

And there is the task that we face here at home — the task of reconverting our economy from the purposes of war to the purposes of peace.

These peace-building tasks were faced once before, nearly a generation ago. They were botched by a Republican administration. That must not happen this time. We will not let it happen this time.

Fortunately, we do not begin from scratch. Much has been done. Much more is under way. The fruits of victory this time will not be apples sold on street corners.

Many months ago, this Administration set up the necessary machinery for an orderly peacetime demobilization. The Congress has passed much more legislation continuing the agencies needed for demobilization — with additional powers to carry out their functions.

I know that the American people — business and labor and agriculture — have the same will to do for peace what they have done for war. And I know that they can sustain a national income that will assure full production and full employment under our democratic system of private enterprise, with Government encouragement and aid whenever and wherever that is necessary.

The keynote of all that we propose to do in reconversion can be found in the one word *jobs*.

We shall lease or dispose of our Government-owned plants and facilities and our surplus war property and land, on the basis of how they can best be operated by private enterprise to give jobs to the greatest number.

We shall follow a wage policy that will sustain the purchasing power of labor — for that means more production and more jobs.

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You and I know that the present policies on wages and prices were conceived to serve the needs of the great masses of the people. They stopped inflation. They kept prices on a relatively stable level. Through the demobilization period, policies will be carried out with the same objective in mind — to serve the needs of the great masses of the people.

This is not the time in which men can be forgotten as they were in the Republican catastrophe that we inherited. The returning soldiers, the workers by their machines, the farmers in the field, the miners, the men and women in offices and shops, do not intend to be forgotten.

No, they know that they are not surplus. Because they know that they are America.

We must set targets and objectives for the future which will seem impossible — like the airplanes — to those who live in and are weighted down by the dead past.

We are even now organizing the logistics of the peace, just as Marshall and King and Arnold, MacArthur, Eisenhower, and Nimitz are organizing the logistics of this war.

I think that the victory of the American people and their allies in this war will be far more than a victory against Fascism and reaction and the dead hand of despotism of the past. The victory of the American people and their allies in this war will be a victory for democracy. It will constitute such an affirmation of the strength and power and vitality of government by the people as history has never before witnessed.

And so, my friends, we have had affirmation of the vitality of democratic government behind us, that demonstration of its resilience and its capacity for decision and for action — we have that knowledge of our own strength and power — we move forward with God's help to the greatest epoch of free achievement by free men that the world has ever known.

NOTE: Because of the publication of an unfortunate photograph taken while the President was delivering his acceptance speech at San

Diego (see Item 53 and note, this volume) and because of the poor quality of his speech at Bremerton, Washington (see Item 58 and note,

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this volume), a new crop of rumors about Roosevelt's health began circulating in the late summer of 1944. Young Thomas E. Dewey was campaigning very actively and enthusiastically, and seemed to be gaining ground, for his charges were going unanswered. The President felt that some of the Republican candidate's misstatements went beyond even the very elastic bounds of political oratory.

The President soon began to realize, as he did in 1940, that he could not settle back and win a national election by aloof silence. The American people, as they proved again in the 1948 election, expect their candidates to discuss the issues in specific terms; they dislike silence or vague generalities on the part of a candidate. The President also had to prove that he could withstand the rigors of a political campaign, in order to quiet once again the malicious rumors about his health which were being printed and whispered.

On August 29 the President told his press conference that he would speak on September 23 at the Teamsters' Union dinner (see Item 65, this volume). "It won't be very political," said the President facetiously, and the correspondents sensed that the old master planned to campaign in the true Roosevelt tradition.

Before leaving for the second Quebec Conference (see Item 70 and note, this volume), the President asked me to work up some material for his Teamsters' Union

speech. While the President was busy in Quebec, however, he found a few minutes to dictate what turned out to be the very heart of the speech. Some Republican Congressman had started to circulate the completely false story that on the President's return home from his Alaskan trip, his dog Fala had been left on one of the Aleutian islands, and that a destroyer had had to go back and pick up Fala at the American taxpayers' expense. Although there was not the slightest shred of truth in the story as concocted, the anti-Roosevelt press played it up as usual as though it were the gospel truth. The President then dictated the now famous paragraph about the Fala episode, which will always be remembered as part of the Teamsters' Union speech.

The effect of the Teamsters' Union speech was smashing. In contrast to the poor impression the President had made in his Bremer-ton speech only six weeks before (see Item 58 and note this volume) the Teamsters' Union address left no doubt in the minds of the President's friends, and his enemies, that he had lost none of his skill as a campaigner and political speaker. Roosevelt, in this speech, was at his vigorous best — taunting his opponents for their reactionary record, ridiculing their misstatements, and inspiring his followers by speaking of his great objectives for the benefit of the common peoples of the world, for the present and future.

77 ¶ Joint Statement of the President and Prime Minister Churchill on Conditions in Italy.

September 26, 1944

THE Italian people, freed of their Fascist and Nazi overlordship, have in these last twelve months demonstrated their will to be free, to fight on the side of the democracies, and to take a place among the United Nations devoted to principles of peace and justice.

We believe we should give encouragement to those Italians who are standing for a political rebirth in Italy, and are completing the destruction of the evil Fascist system. We wish to afford the Italians a greater opportunity to aid in the defeat of our common enemies.

The American and the British people are of course horrified by the recent mob action in Rome, but feel that a greater responsibility placed on the Italian people and on their own Government will most readily prevent a recurrence of such acts.

An increasing measure of control will be gradually handed over to the Italian Administration, subject of course to that Administration's proving that it can maintain law and order and the regular administration of justice. To mark this change the Allied Control Commission will be renamed "The Allied Commission."

The British High Commissioner in Italy will assume the additional title of Ambassador. The United States representative in Rome already holds that rank. The Italian Government will be invited to appoint direct representatives to Washington and London.

First and immediate considerations in Italy are the relief of hunger and sickness and fear. To this end we instructed our representatives at the U.N.R.R.A. Conference to declare for the sending of medical aids and other essential supplies to Italy. We are happy to know that this view commended itself to other members of the U.N.R.R.A. Council.

78. *Letter to F.E.A. on Postwar Treatment of Germany*

At the same time, first steps should be taken toward the reconstruction of an Italian economy — an economy laid low under the years of the misrule of Mussolini, and ravished by the German policy of vengeful destruction.

These steps should be taken primarily as military aims to put the full resources of Italy and the Italian people into the struggle to defeat Germany and Japan. For military reasons we should assist the Italians in the restoration of such power systems, their railways, motor transport, roads, and other communications as enter into the war situation, and for a short time send engineers, technicians, and industrial experts into Italy to help them in their own rehabilitation.

The application to Italy of the Trading with the Enemy Act should be modified so as to enable business contacts between Italy and the outside world to be resumed for the benefit of the Italian people.

We all wish to speed the day when the last vestiges of Fascism in Italy will have been wiped out, and when the last German will have left Italian soil, and when there will be no need of any Allied troops to remain — the day when free elections can be held throughout Italy, and when Italy can earn her proper place in the great family of free Nations.

NOTE: See Item 84, this volume, aid advanced to Italy, and plans for future relief aid.
for presidential statement of October 4, 1944, on the nature of relief

78 ¶ The President, in a Letter to the Foreign Economic Administration, Defines Certain Policies to Be Followed After Defeat of Germany. September 29, 1944

IN ACCORDANCE with our discussions, the following are the major policies which should be put into effect by the Foreign Economic Administration within the scope of its present functions and

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responsibilities when the military resistance of Nazi Germany is overcome:

1. *Export control.* With a view to encouraging private trade without interfering with the successful prosecution of the war against Japan, the F.E.A. should relax controls over exports to the fullest extent compatible with continuing war objectives, particularly that of defeating Japan as quickly and effectively as possible.

International trade on as full and free a basis as possible is necessary not only as a sound economic foundation for the future peace, but it is also necessary in order that we may have fuller production and employment at home. Private industry and private trade can, I am sure, produce a high level of international trade, and the Government should assist to the extent necessary to achieve this objective by returning international commerce to private lanes as rapidly as possible.

2. *Strategic and critical raw materials.* In view of the curtailment which is to be made in our war production after the German phase of the war, the Foreign Economic Administration should consult with the appropriate supply agencies with a view to making an appropriate cut in its foreign procurement program for strategic and critical materials needed in the prosecution of the war.

The adjustment to this reduced program should be made in such a way as to prevent undue and unnecessary financial losses to American taxpayers, to best preserve our foreign relations, and to strengthen the foundation for a high level of international trade in the future.

3. *Preclusive buying.* The Foreign Economic Administration has been buying abroad materials needed by the Axis to produce munitions and other war materials in order to prevent our enemies from getting them. I understand that the peak of this program is already passed as a result of the victories which have been won by the United Nations. The Foreign Economic Administration should continue to take all necessary steps to prevent Japan from getting strategic and critical materials for the Japanese

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war program, but it should limit its preclusive purchasing program to achieving that end, observing, of course, any existing commitments.

4. *Economic warfare.* The Foreign Economic Administration's studies of the enemy's war potential and other phases of economic warfare should be reduced and focused on the war against Japan. This work should be carried on as it has in the past, in close integration with our armed forces.

5. *Lend-lease.* Lend-lease supplies should continue to be furnished in whatever amounts are necessary for the most effective prosecution of the war. We have waged war on a combined basis with our allies with a success which is being amply demonstrated every day on the battlefields of Europe and the Far East. Until the complete defeat of both Japan and Germany, the flow of lend-lease aid should be continued in the amounts necessary to enable the combined strength of all the United Nations to defeat our common enemies as quickly as possible and with the least loss of life. The amount and nature of the aid necessary after the defeat of Germany is closely tied up with the strategic plans for the Pacific war, and the programs for reconstruction and for reconversion of industry to civilian needs which we and our allies work out on a basis of mutual understanding. The Foreign Economic Administration should aid in carrying out this policy to the fullest extent.

6. *Surplus property.* As you have done in the past, you should continue to take every reasonable measure to see to it that no unnecessary surpluses develop out of procurement by the Foreign Economic Administration for lend-lease, U.N.R.R.A., or other purposes. In connection with procurement or production for lend-lease or relief and rehabilitation purposes, you should continue to investigate and take up supplies of other Government agencies which are or may be surplus.

7. *Control of the war-making power of Germany.* You have been making studies from the economic standpoint of what should be done after the surrender of Germany to control its power and capacity to make war in the future. This work must

79. *Statement by the President on Argentina*

be accelerated, and under the guidance of the Department of State you should furnish assistance in work and when requested to do so in personnel by making available specialists to work with the military authorities, the Foreign Service, and such other American agencies and officials as participate with the United Nations in seeing to it that Germany does not become a menace again to succeeding generations.

8. *Reconstruction and future foreign trade.* It is in the national interest of the United States, as well as the joint interest of the United States and the other peace-loving Nations, that the destruction and devastation of war be repaired and that the foundations for a secure peace be laid. I understand that you are also preparing to submit for my consideration major proposals along these lines. In varying degrees every workman, every farmer, and every industry in the United States has a stake in the production and flow of manufactured goods, agricultural products, and other supplies to all the other countries of the world. To produce the largest amount of useful goods and services at home, we should export and import as much as possible.

Any marked improvement in the economic well-being of the United States will not only improve the economic well-being of the other peace-loving peoples of the world, but will also aid materially in the building of a durable peace.

With this objective in mind, you should continue to take such action as is necessary or desirable in accordance with the powers delegated to the Foreign Economic Administration and in conformity with the foreign policy of the United States as defined by the Secretary of State.

79 ¶ Statement by the President on Argentina.

September 29, 1944

I HAVE been following closely and with increasing concern the development of the Argentine situation in recent months. This situation presents the extraordinary paradox of the growth of

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Nazi-Fascist influence and the increasing application of Nazi-Fascist methods in a country of this hemisphere, at the very time that those forces of oppression and aggression are drawing ever closer to the hour of final defeat and judgment in Europe and elsewhere in the world. The paradox is accentuated by the fact, of which we are all quite aware, that the vast majority of the people of Argentina have remained steadfast in their faith in their own free, democratic traditions and in their support of the Nations and peoples who have been making such great sacrifices in the fight against the Nazis and Fascists. This was made clear beyond all doubt by the great spontaneous demonstration of public feeling in Argentina after word was received of the liberation of Paris.

The policy of the Government of the United States toward Argentina as that policy has been developed in consultation with the other American Republics, has been clearly set forth by Secretary Hull. There is no need for me to restate it now.

The Argentine Government has repudiated solemn inter-American obligations on the basis of which the Nations of this hemisphere developed a system of defense to meet the challenge of Axis aggression.

Unless we now demonstrate a capacity to develop a tradition of respect for such obligations among civilized Nations, there can be little hope for a system of international security, theoretically created to maintain principles for which our peoples are today sacrificing to the limit of their resources, both human and material.

In this connection I subscribe wholeheartedly to the words of Prime Minister Churchill in the House of Commons on August second when he declared that:

"This is not like some small wars in the past where all could be forgotten and forgiven. Nations must be judged by the part they play. Not only belligerents but neutrals will find that their position in the world cannot remain entirely unaffected by the part that they have chosen to play in the crisis of the war."

80. Surplus Property Disposal Act

I have considered it important to make this statement of the position of the Government of the United States at this time because it has come to my attention that the Nazi radio beamed to Latin America, the pro-Nazi press in Argentina, as well as a few irresponsible individuals and groups in this and certain other Republics, seek to undermine the position of the American Republics and our associates among the United Nations by fabricating and circulating the vicious rumor that our counsels are divided on the course of our policy toward Argentina.

80 ¶ The President's Statement on Signing the Surplus Property Act of 1944. October 3, 1944

ON FEBRUARY 19, 1944, I signed an Executive Order No. 9425 setting up the Surplus War Property Administration to direct and expedite the orderly disposition of surplus war property so far as possible under existing law, pending action by the Congress.

H. R. 5125, the Surplus Property Disposal Act of 1944, which is before me for signature, places the general disposition of surplus war property under a Board of three and provides in considerable detail the methods to be pursued by the Board.

It is with considerable reluctance that I have decided to sign this bill. While I am in full accord with the declared objectives of the bill which are to aid reconversion from a war to a peace economy and to facilitate the orderly disposal of surplus property, I have considerable doubt whether many provisions of the bill will not make extremely difficult the accomplishment of its objectives. There is danger that the confused methods of disposition and the elaborate restrictions imposed by the bill will in many instances delay rather than expedite reconversion and reemployment. Our surplus property should speedily be placed into channels of disposition which should provide the most jobs and the greatest good for the greatest number.

But we must be in a position to get on with the organization

80. Surplus Property Disposal Act

of our plans for the disposition of surplus war property. I have, therefore, concluded that it would be best to let the bill become law in the hope that after the Surplus Property Board provided for in the bill has had some experience in operating under it, the Congress will give careful consideration to needed changes which may be suggested by the Board.

NOTE: Since 1942 the Congress had been considering legislation to deal with disposal of surplus war property. Meanwhile, pending Congressional action, the President, pursuant to the recommendations in the Baruch-Hancock "Report on War and Post-War Adjustment Policies" (see Item 113 and note, 1943 volume), established the Surplus War Property Administration by Executive Order No. 9425 on February 21, 1944 (see Item 13 and note, this volume, for an account of the work of the S.W.P.A.). The Baruch-Hancock Report also emphasized the need for enacting a legislative basis for surplus property disposal. This was accomplished by the Congress in the Surplus Property Act of 1944 (58 Stat. 765).

The Act was a compromise which resulted from many Congressional proposals on the subject. As indicated above, the President approved the Act with some misgivings. The operation of the Act bore out the President's fears.

The Surplus Property Act established a Board of three members to replace the single Administrator. This Board was empowered to formulate disposal policies and to exercise over-all control over disposal

activities. Some twenty objectives were detailed in the Act to guide the policies of the new Board. These objectives overlapped, and in some cases were even contradictory. Even more serious was the rigid system of priorities and preferences set forth in the Act, and the confused administrative responsibility established therein.

The specific priorities and preferences established by the Act were designed to give first priority to Federal agencies; second priority to State and local Governments and their instrumentalities; afford tax-supported and non-profit medical, educational, charitable institutions preferential treatment; prevent discrimination against small business; assure farmers and farmers' cooperatives an equal opportunity to purchase; give preferences to veterans.

The Act divided responsibility for the distribution of surplus property to small business between the Surplus Property Board and the Smaller War Plants Corporation. The Board was charged with preventing discrimination against small business, and with giving preferences to carry out this objective; while the Smaller War Plants Corporation was given power to

81. *Statement on Reconversion*

purchase surplus property for small business and to strengthen the competitive position of small business. The disposal of other types of property was dispersed among many different administrative agencies by the Act.

William L. Clayton, who had been Surplus War Property Administrator (see Item 13 and note, this volume), resigned shortly after the passage of the Act, since he considered the Act to be administratively unworkable. The new Surplus Property Board, under the chairmanship of ex-Senator Guy M. Gillette, took office in January, 1945.

The bulk of receipts and disposals under the Surplus Property Board was handled by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation; and of the total of 3.5 billion dollars worth of property declared to be surplus, 3.4 billion dollars went to R.F.C. for disposal. The R.F.C. also led in the rate of disposals, accounting for 380 million dollars of the total of 398 million dollars disposed

of during the lifetime of the Surplus Property Board.

On September 18, 1945, President Truman approved a measure which replaced the three-man Surplus Property Board by a single Administrator (59 Stat. 533). The Surplus Property Administration continued until early 1946 when it was replaced successively by the War Assets Corporation and finally the War Assets Administration.

Despite the administrative tangles involved in the disposal of surplus war property, disposal was achieved more quickly in the years after the end of the second World War than had been anticipated, and with less of a burden on the domestic economy than had been feared. By the end of February, 1948, the War Assets Administration and the agencies which preceded it had 28.1 billion dollars worth of property declared to it, and had disposed of 21.9 billion dollars worth, including 1.1 billion dollars of leased property.

81 ¶ The President Issues a Statement on Reconversion. October 3, 1944

I HAVE signed S. 2051, a bill "to amend the Social Security Act, as amended, to provide a national program for war mobilization and reconversion, and for other purposes."

I have signed the bill because it is important, as this bill provides, that the Office of War Mobilization should be promptly expanded and given clear statutory powers to direct and super-

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wise the tremendous task of reconversion in all of its numerous and related phases.

Last October at my suggestion Justice Byrnes set up a unit in the Office of War Mobilization to deal with war and postwar adjustment problems. The work of this unit was placed in charge of Mr. Bernard Baruch. In February of this year, Mr. Baruch and his associate Mr. Hancock made a report recommending that the coordinating powers of the Office of War Mobilization be extended to cover activities relating to reconversion and that separate units be established in that Office to deal with the problems of Contract Settlement, War Surplus Property Disposition, and Retraining and Reemployment.

Shortly thereafter by Executive Orders, I set up separate units in the Office of War Mobilization to deal with these problems so far as was practicable under existing law until legislation clarifying the powers of these units and defining the basic policies to be pursued by them could be enacted by the Congress.

Last June the Congress passed legislation establishing the Office of Contract Settlement with adequate powers to supervise and expedite the settlement of war contracts.

Just before its recent adjournment the Congress passed H. R. 5125, setting up a Surplus Property Disposal Board and defining its powers, and S. 2051, the bill now before me, which expands the Office of War Mobilization into an Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion and places within it the Office of Contract Settlement, the Surplus War Property Administration, and the Retraining and Reemployment Administration.

So far as the bill goes, it is quite satisfactory. It applies the lessons which we have learned during the war as to the need of continuing coordination of related activities to the problems of reconversion to peace. It does not and cannot, of course, eliminate the problems and difficulties of reconversion, but it goes far to expedite and facilitate their solution.

But I feel it my duty to draw attention to the fact that the bill does not adequately deal with the human side of reconversion. When I signed the G. I. Bill on June 22 last, I expressed the

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hope that "the Congress will also take prompt action, when it reconvenes, on necessary legislation which is now pending to facilitate the development of unified programs for the demobilization of civilian war workers, for their reemployment in peacetime pursuits, and for provision, in cooperation with the States, of appropriate unemployment benefits during the transition from war to peace." The bill is not adequate to obtain these ends.

Provisions, which were in the bill as it passed the Senate, to provide transportation for war workers from the place of their employment to their bona fide residence or to the location of new employment arranged by the workers were omitted in conference. So also were the provisions, in the bill as it passed the Senate, ensuring appropriate unemployment compensation to Federal workers.

Moreover the bill fails to prescribe minimum standards to govern the amount and duration of unemployment benefits which should be paid by the States to all workers unavoidably out of a job during the period of transition from war to peace.

We have rightly committed ourselves to a fair and generous treatment of our G. I. men and women. We have rightly committed ourselves to a prompt and generous policy of contract settlement to aid industry to return to peacetime work. We have rightly committed ourselves to support farm prices at a fair level during the period of reconversion. We should be no less fair in our treatment of our war workers.

I am glad to know that the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee has announced that his Committee will give consideration to further amendments of the Social Security Act after recess and I hope that the deficiencies which I have pointed out in the bill before me will be promptly rectified.

NOTE: By Executive Order No. 9488, issued October 3, 1944, the functions and staff of the Office of War Mobilization were transferred to the new Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, which had been established by the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of 1944 (58 Stat. 785). For an account of the establishment and activities

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of the Office of War Mobilization, see Item 56 and note, 1943 volume.

It is a tribute to the foresight and confidence of American democracy that planning for reconversion and postwar adjustment of the economy began long before victory over Germany and Japan had been achieved. In 1943, Director Byrnes of the Office of War Mobilization had established an "Advisory Unit for War and Post-War Adjustment Policies" within his office, headed by Bernard M. Baruch and John M. Hancock, and by 1944 action had already been taken on many of their recommendations (see Item 56 and note, 1943 volume). The Congress early in 1944 began to give intensive attention to planning for demobilization and reconversion.

The Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program ("Truman Committee"), the Senate and House Committees on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning, and the Senate Committee on Military Affairs conducted investigations in this field throughout the early months of 1944. These Congressional committees were guided to a great extent by the Baruch-Hancock "Report on War and Post-War Adjustment Policies" which had been prepared for the O.W.M.

The War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of 1944, to the extent that it applied to the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, was based largely on a report of the House Special Committee on

Post-War Economic Policy and Planning. The Act provided that the new agency, like its predecessor, should have coordinating rather than operating functions. It charged the O.W.M.R. not only with continuing war mobilization functions but also with the function of determining the need for relaxation or removal of emergency war controls; formulating reconversion plans and issuing the necessary orders to the agencies to effectuate them; and establishing policies in respect to contract termination.

The Retraining and Reemployment Administration (see Item 16 and note, this volume) and the Surplus Property Board (see Item 13 and note, this volume) initially continued their activities subject to the general supervision of the O.W.M.R. For all practical purposes, however, these subsidiary units operated independently, and O.W.M.R. confined its activities to broad policy coordination.

The Act establishing the O.W.M.R. did not include the War Mobilization Committee which had been active in the early days of the Office of War Mobilization, but which had met less frequently in the later period of the O.W.M.'s existence. In the place of the War Mobilization Committee, the Act established an Advisory Board composed of representative non-governmental personnel. The Board held frequent meetings to aid the O.W.M.R. on a consultative basis. Originally under the chairmanship

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of ex-Governor O. Max Gardner of North Carolina, it consisted of twelve members, three each of whom were drawn from business, three from labor, three from agriculture, and three from the general public. These members were appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

While beginning reconversion planning, the O.W.M.R. continued to fill its role of speeding war production to meet military needs. The German counteroffensive which began on December 16, 1944, quickly dissolved this country's overoptimism about the early termination of the war and caused O.W.M.R. to reemphasize war production and deemphasize reconversion. Director Byrnes brought Major General Lucius D. Clay into O.W.M.R. in December, 1944, to assist in the drive for speeding war matériel to the battlefield. In the spring of 1945, after American troops crossed to the east of the Rhine and achieved a series of noteworthy victories on land and sea, the emphasis was again shifted. The O.W.M.R. thereafter intensified its efforts to prepare for the necessary postwar readjustments.

During early 1945, the O.W.M.R. continued to break up manpower bottlenecks. Measures were instituted to divert workers to more essential jobs, to reduce labor turnover, to terminate war contracts in tight labor areas, and to work out with the Selective Service System particular regulations for the defer-

ment of agricultural workers and the induction of workers who had left deferred jobs without cause.

As the end of the war approached, the O.W.M.R. pressed for cutting back production, reducing naval and merchant ship construction, stimulating specific postwar plans formulated by civilian war agencies, and coordinating the export of civilian supplies. The O.W.M.R. had the central role in reconversion planning. It carefully timed the progress of reconversion, the lifting of civilian restrictions and wartime controls, and the general redirection of our economy toward peacetime purposes.

The O.W.M.R. was a coordinating force in many different fields — including economic stabilization, manpower, agriculture, foreign economic operations, transportation, shipping, housing, war production, reconversion, surplus property, contract termination, taxation, small business affairs, veterans' affairs, and many other fields. In a number of respects it exercised the powers of the President in these areas. The O.W.M.R. was not immediately concerned with military strategy, international diplomacy, or international organization. The O.W.M.R. was active not only with established agencies, but took the initiative in developing administrative policy in those fields where no agency yet existed. A notable example of this type of activity was the work of O.W.M.R. in the area of postwar atomic energy control.

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During its operation, the O.W.M.R. was actually an extension of the Presidency into nearly every policy and programming field, with the exception of military and diplomatic matters.

By Executive Order No. 9809 on

December 12, 1946, President Truman transferred the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion to a new "Office of Temporary Controls," for liquidation purposes. Effective June 1, 1947, the Office was abolished.

82 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Seventy-first Press Conference (Excerpt). October 3, 1944

(Aid to China.)

Q. Mr. President, Prime Minister Churchill said in a somewhat recent speech to Commons, that he praised America's lavish aid to China, and yesterday a Chinese military spokesman in Chungking said that it was not true, that our aid to China, to use his words, was "pitifully inadequate." Anything you can say about that?

THE PRESIDENT: I suppose it all depends on how you define, *large, medium, or small*. I can give you some figures — I see no particular reason why I shouldn't — I never have given them out before. As you know, we can't get goods, munitions, anything else, into China by ship since their coast is under the occupation of the Japanese. And, therefore, there have been, ever since we have been in the war, two methods of getting materials into China. One was the overland route, as they call it, which starts from way back near the Caspian Sea, the top end nearer India, and then across the desert — a terrific trip — through the top part of Tibet and then down to the region of Chungking.

What you have to do is look it up on the map — we have been getting a number of goods of different kinds through that route. You have to provide the trucks. You have actually to carry the gasoline from one stop to another. That route has taken a certain tonnage into China, but it is a terribly

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difficult proposition, and a very long trip from the point of time, and from the point of wear and tear on the truck. It is a feasible route, but well, it's the route of Kublai Khan — some of the old conquerors, and so forth, nearly all desert and awfully difficult.

We have all used what we could — still using it — going to keep on doing it.

The other route was, roughly, the route of what we call the Burma Road, that general direction from Northeast India, over the end of the Himalaya Mountains. And just about the time we came into the war the Burma route, as it was used for vehicles with wheels at that time, was practically destroyed by the Japanese, up on the sides of the mountains, and they pulled the route down.

And then about that time, when the Burma route became impassable, after the Japanese got in there through Burma, we started the air route over the mountains; and the tonnage over that route was very, very small in the beginning. We have built it up constantly.

Just to give you an idea of how we have built it up, there were times only a year and a half ago, when we were taking a very few thousand tons over it a month. You have to have transport planes that will go to a great height over the tops of the Himalaya Mountains. And a year and a half ago, we were taking only two or three thousand tons a month over it.

Way back about that time, in conference with the Chinese, we felt that by really heroic efforts we could increase the planes that we could get over there. At that time, in going over with munitions and goods, the planes were subject to attack by Japanese fighter planes as they went over. However, we kept at it, and about a year ago we actually got up to an increase, which we looked forward to for some time, of ten thousand tons a month over that route, which is a very excellent performance, because we were able to take gasoline for Chennault's forces there — the American air command — and we could take medicine. Of course, preferably, we took

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over things that had as small a bulk as possible, principally gasoline and a few munitions — bombs, and things like that, and medical supplies.

Well, we weren't satisfied with it, and we kept on going; and the story of how that air route over the mountains has grown in the past year is going to be written some day, and it will be an epic.

All I can tell you now — I can't give you — I could, but I won't give you exact figures — we are taking over twenty thousand tons a month over the hills from upper Burma right into southeastern China. So we are very well satisfied with this performance, because it is an amazing performance. . . .

Q. The Chinese military spokesman said we had so few planes that if the figures were revealed our strength would be inconsiderable.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the easiest thing to do on that would be to dig out, of course I couldn't give it to you, the destruction which Chennault's forces have caused to the Japanese in the number of ships that they have sunk, even on the coast of China and up the rivers, and the Japanese detachments and concentrations which they have broken up. So, considering the size of the force, considering that it has to be supplied from over the mountains, there again, that is one of the epics that is going to be written up — the destruction that they have wrought.

Q. Sir, could you tell us roughly what part of this twenty thousand tons a month of materials goes into Chinese hands?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I will put it this way. Of course, a large part of the tonnage going over is gasoline for the Chennault forces and the B-29's that are operating out of China, but if you take out that one item of gasoline, I would say that the overwhelming majority of all the others that go over is for the Chinese forces. The gasoline is shipped primarily for Chennault's forces and the B-29's.

Q. Mr. President, what is the reason for the sudden complaints

83. *Statement on Death of Al Smith*

by the Chinese on the inadequacies of the aid we have given them?

THE PRESIDENT: They would like to have more. (*Laughter*) . . .

83 ¶ Statement by the President on the Death of Al Smith. October 4, 1944

THE Nation mourns the death of The Happy Warrior. Al Smith had qualities of heart and mind and soul which not only endeared him to those who came under the spell of his dynamic presence in personal association but also made him the idol of the multitude.

To the populace he was a hero. Frank, friendly and warm-hearted, honest as the noonday sun, he had the courage of his convictions, even when his espousal of unpopular causes invited the enmity of powerful adversaries.

During his tenure as Governor of the great State of New York, he attracted national attention by his skill as an administrator. It was a natural sequence that he should become the candidate of his party for the highest office in the land. In a bitter campaign, in which his opponent won, Al Smith made no compromise with honor, honesty, or integrity. In his passing the country loses a true patriot.

84 ¶ Statement on Relief Aid to Italy. October 4, 1944

IN ACCORDANCE with the policies with respect to Italy which were outlined jointly by the Prime Minister and me in a statement issued to the press on September 26, measures are now being taken to provide Italy with supplies necessary to prevent civilian hunger, sickness, and fear during the forthcoming winter. Steps are also being taken to restore the damaged transportation and electrical generating facilities of Italy to the extent

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necessary to enable the Italian people to throw their full resources into the fight against Germany and Japan.

A delegation of supply officers has been called from Italy to Washington to review the needs and requirements of the Italian civilian population. In addition to the substantial quantities of food and clothing which are now being shipped, and have for some time been shipped into Italy, 150,000 tons of wheat and flour are now scheduled for shipment. Steps are being taken to increase the bread ration in those areas in Italy where food supplies are below the standard necessary to maintain full health and efficiency. The distribution of food and essential supplies within the country has been seriously impeded by the damage done to the transportation system and the wholesale commandeering of trucks by the enemy. To meet this emergency need it is planned to send 1,700 additional trucks to Italy.

In addition, preparations are under way to supply substantial quantities of generating equipment including temporary power facilities to furnish electricity to essential industries and public utilities in central Italy which have been brought to a standstill by the almost complete destruction by the Germans of power plants.

The aid which the Allies have already given to Italy has been substantial. Since the invasion of Sicily to the end of this year, 2,300,000 long tons of civilian supplies will have been shipped to Italy. Of this total, 1,107,000 tons were food and the balance consisted of coal, fertilizer, seeds, medical and sanitary supplies, and clothing. As an integral part of military operations the Army has done a great deal to repair roads and bridges and railroads and to repair water and power systems and motor transport.

Through these and other measures of assistance which are now in preparation, the Italian people will be enabled to increase their already significant contribution toward the defeat of the enemy. By doing these things, this country is serving the military aims and objectives of the United Nations which require the greatest possible contribution from the manpower and the

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resources of every Nation engaged in the final overthrow of Germany and Japan.

NOTE: See Item 77, this volume, Prime Minister Churchill, to which for the joint statement of September 26, 1944, of the President and the President referred in the foregoing release.

85 ¶ The President Calls for Higher Salaries to School Teachers and Supports Federal Aid to Education — Remarks to the Conference on Rural Education. October 4, 1944

I **FEEL** like a fish out of water. I haven't thought of education in this country for three years. I have thought about education in some other countries, changing the type of education in certain other countries. And yet, all the while, I am told that American education has supported the war effort wholeheartedly, but that was rather a manual problem than an intellectual one. And I have seen a lot of young people — boys and girls — coming into the service of their Government during the war, and some of them have been educated, and some of them have not. And that is what I want to talk to you a little bit about today.

There are a lot of things which we have learned in this war. Among the most important are those that we have learned because of the war, because of the things that have happened, for instance, through our Selective Service System about the health and education of the youth of our Nation.

We have found that among those examined for selective service 4½ percent can be classed as illiterate; and that 40 percent of all registrants for selective service have not gone beyond an elementary school education.

That is why this Conference on Rural Education assumes such great importance in our planning for the future, because we are going to have peace, some day. While we plan for the wel-

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fare of our returning veterans first — and I think rightly — and for the continued prosperity of our war workers, which means, first and last, the majority of the human beings in this country, we must also lay plans for the peacetime establishment of our educational system on a better basis than in those days of long ago that we used to call peacetime days.

Those should be the goals of this Conference on Rural Education.

For rural teaching, country teaching, the teaching given in the small schools at the farm crossroads and in the little villages and towns has played a greater part in American history than any other kind of education. From what I have said, you will see that I am a country boy too.

The American form of government was conceived and created by men most of whom had been taught in country schools.

Country schools prepared Americans as a whole for the task of mastering this continent.

Country schools trained a great proportion of the boys who fought the early American wars.

The country schools trained millions of those who are fighting this greatest of American wars today. And they will play their part — a tremendous part — in the creation of the American future to which the citizens of this country are committed in their hearts and souls. Much more unanimously, I might add, than the newspapers of these weeks in this war would lead us to believe.

It is for all of us Americans to see that the building of that future does not lag because the country schools are without the means to carry on their essential work even more than they have in the past.

The full attendance at this Conference, and the agenda which it has before it, indicate the special attention that must be given to the problems of the education of that half of our children and youth who live on the farms and in the villages. So far as school opportunities are concerned, these children have always been, and still are, the least privileged in the Nation. We are

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justifiably proud of the splendid, modern schools in our cities and towns. We cannot be proud of this fact: that many of our rural schools, particularly during these years of war, have been sadly neglected.

Within one school year after Pearl Harbor, several thousand rural schools had been closed because teachers could not be found for them. One of the leading farm papers recently reported that in one agricultural State of the Midwest, nearly a third of the teachers in one-room schools are now persons holding only emergency licenses to teach, and nearly 800 schools face this coming school year without a teacher. That fact ought to be brought home to the American people.

The basic reason for this situation is simple, I think. We all know what it is. It is not patriotism alone that has taken teachers out of the classrooms. Most of them simply cannot afford to teach in rural schools.

And I always remember, a great many years ago, when I was down in Georgia, the first year I was there, sitting on the porch, and a young man came up twiddling his cap, and he said, "Mr. Roosevelt, may I speak to you?"

And I said, "Yes. Come up."

And he said, "Mr. Roosevelt, we are having commencement in our school — [mentioning a little village a few miles away] and I would like to have you come over and present the diplomas next Wednesday."

And I said, "I would be very glad to do it. What are you? Are you the — the president of the graduating class?"

And he said, "No, sir. I am — I am the principal of the school."

And I said, "How old are you?"

He said, "I am nineteen, sir."

I said, "Have you been to college?"

"Oh yes, sir. I have had one year at the University of Georgia. I am taking this year out for enough money to go back for a second year at the University."

And I said, "How much are you getting as principal?"

"Oh," he said, "I am getting four hundred dollars a year."

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And that boy had 250 pupils under him.

The present average salary in this country is less than \$1,000 a year, and I think that some salaries go as low — in my State, for instance — as \$300. But I know schools where it is less than that. That is just too small by any decent standard in any part of the country. Only the self-sacrificing devotion of teachers who put their duty to their schools before their consideration for themselves permits the children of many American school districts to get the education to which all Americans are entitled.

Frankly, the chief problem of rural education is something that we don't simplify enough. It is the problem of dollars and cents. You and I know that. We also know that in very many cases the problem cannot be solved by just increasing the local taxes because the taxable values are just not there.

I have pointed out before that the gap between the educational standards in the richer communities and those in the poorer communities is far greater today than it was a hundred years ago. I think I have said this six years ago. And we have got to turn the course of that trend.

We must find the means of closing the gap — by raising the standards in the poorer communities. And that ought to be stressed morning, noon, and night.

I believe that the Federal Government should render financial aid where it is needed, but only where it is needed. I don't mean Federal aid in the town of Hyde Park in Dutchess County. We have got taxable values, and we can handle our own schools. I live there part of the time. But we do need Federal aid down in Georgia, where I live also a part of the time. Down there they haven't got the taxable values. Only where it is needed in communities where farming does not pay much, where land values have depreciated through erosion or through flood or drought, where industries have moved away, where transport facilities are inadequate, or where electricity is unavailable for power and light.

Such Federal Government financial aid should, of course, never involve Government interference with State and local ad-

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ministration and control. It must purely and simply provide the guarantee that this country is big enough, and as a whole rich enough and great enough, to give to all of its children the right to a free education.

Closely related to this whole problem is the question of the health of our young people. And we who are interested in education can bring the problem, I think, much more closely and with perhaps a greater sympathy, to all the homes of the country, if we can tie in health with education.

Here again we cannot boast of what we have done to solve the problem of health. We cannot boast of our part in this war without a feeling of guilt — for about 40 percent of all the men who were examined under the selective service had to be rejected for military service for physical or mental reasons. And we ought to hang our heads in shame at that statement.

We cannot be satisfied with the state of this Nation if a large percentage of our children are not being given the opportunity to achieve good health as well as good education.

We can put it this way, if we want — if you care about education: what's the use of giving them an education without their having good health to use it when they grow up?

I believe that our educators — those who are close to the children of the land — ought to consider these two problems together. I believe that from conferences such as this one, we may produce constructive plans looking toward substantial improvement in the American standard of living in education as a part of our standard of living, as well as breakfast, school lunch, and supper. And that means better production, better clothes, better food, better housing, more recreation, more enjoyment of life. These things do not come about from wishful thinking — they come from hard work, from realistic thinking by those who are sincerely devoted to the solution of these problems.

We do not pretend that we can reach our goals overnight but if we seek them day in and day out, we may in our own lives take our rural educational system out of what was called, once upon a time, by a certain gentleman, the horse and buggy age.

86. *Radio Address from the White House*

Your Conference this year has met at a time when the forces of evil have their backs to the wall — at a time when all the civilized world is more than ever determined that such wars cannot, will not, happen again.

Nothing can provide a stronger bulwark in the years to come than an educated and enlightened and tolerant citizenry, equipped with the armed force necessary to stop aggression and warfare in this world.

So, to you of this Conference, and to all similar groups devoted to the cause of a better America, in the big places and the small places, the Nation will look for advice and guidance as, in democratic fashion, it works out the designs of the future.

86 ¶ “The Right to Vote Must Be Open to Our Citizens Irrespective of Race, Color, or Creed — Without Tax or Artificial Restriction of Any Kind” — Radio Address from the White House. October 5, 1944

My fellow Americans:

I AM SPEAKING to you tonight from the White House. I am speaking particularly on behalf of those Americans who, regardless of party — I hope you will remember that — very much hope that there will be recorded a large registration and a large vote this fall. I know, and many of you do, from personal experience how effective precinct workers of all parties throughout the Nation can be in assuring a large vote.

We are holding a national election despite all the prophecies of some politicians and a few newspapers who have stated, time and again in the past, that it was my horrid and sinister purpose to abolish all elections and to deprive the American people of the right to vote.

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These same people, caring more for material riches than human rights, try to build up bogies of dictatorship in this Republic, although they know that free elections will always protect our Nation against any such possibility.

Nobody will ever deprive the American people of the right to vote except the American people themselves — and the only way they could do that is by not voting at all.

The continuing health and vigor of our democratic system depends on the public spirit and devotion of its citizens which find expression in the ballot box.

Every man and every woman in this Nation — regardless of party — who have the right to register and to vote, and the opportunity to register and to vote, have also the sacred obligation to register and to vote. For the free and secret ballot is the real keystone of our American Constitutional system.

The American Government has survived and prospered for more than a century and a half, and it is now at the highest peak of its vitality. This is primarily because when the American people want a change of Government — even when they merely want “new faces” — they can raise the old electioneering battle-cry of “throw the rascals out.”

It is true that there are many undemocratic defects in voting laws in the various States, almost forty-eight different kinds of defects, and some of these produce injustices which prevent a full and free expression of public opinion.

The right to vote must be open to our citizens irrespective of race, color, or creed — without tax or artificial restriction of any kind. The sooner we get to that basis of political equality, the better it will be for the country as a whole.

Candidates in every part of the United States are now engaged in running for office.

All of us who are doing it are actuated by a normal desire to win. But, speaking personally, I should be very sorry to be elected President of the United States on a small turnout of voters. And by the same token, if I were to be defeated, I should be much happier to be defeated in a large outpouring of voters.

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Then there could not be any question of doubt in anybody's mind as to which way the masses of the American people wanted this election to go.

The full and free exercise of our sacred right and duty to vote is more important in the long run than the personal hopes or ambitions of any candidate for any office in the land.

The administration which must cope with the difficult problems of winning the war, and of peace and reconstruction, should be chosen by a clear majority of all the people and not a part of the people.

In the election of 1920 — one of the most fateful elections in our history as it proved — only 49 percent of the potential voters actually voted.

Thus more than one-half of American voters failed to do their basic duty as citizens.

We can be gratified in recent years that the percentage of potential voters in national elections who actually voted has been steadily going up, but it is a slow process.

In 1940, it was 62½ percent.

And that still is not nearly good enough.

This year, for many millions of our young men in the armed forces and the merchant marine and similar services, it will be difficult in many cases — and impossible in some cases — to register and vote.

I think the people will be able to fix the responsibility for this state of affairs, for they know that during this past year there were politicians and others who quite openly worked to restrict the use of the ballot in this election, hoping selfishly for a small vote.

It is, therefore, all the more important that we here at home must not be slackers on registration day or on election day.

I wish to make a special appeal to the women of the Nation to exercise their right to vote. Women have taken an active part in this war in many ways — in uniform, in plants and ship yards, in offices and stores and hospitals, on farms and on railroads and

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buses. They have become more than ever a very integral part of our national effort.

I know how difficult it is, especially for the many millions of women now employed, to get away to register and vote. Many of them have to manage their households as well as their jobs, and a grateful Nation remembers that.

But all women, whether employed directly in war jobs or not — women of all parties, and those not enrolled in any party — this year have a double obligation to express by their votes what I know to be their keen interest in the affairs of Government — their obligation to themselves as citizens, and their obligation to their fighting husbands, and sons, and brothers and sweet-hearts.

It may sound to you repetitious on my part, but it is my plain duty to reiterate to you that this war for the preservation of our civilization is not won yet.

In the war, our forces and those of our allies are steadily, relentlessly carrying the attack to the enemy.

The Allied Armies under General Eisenhower have waged during the past four months one of the most brilliant campaigns in military history — a campaign that has carried us from the beaches of Normandy and of southern France into the frontiers of Germany itself.

In the Pacific, our naval task forces and our Army forces have advanced to attack the Japanese, more than five thousand miles west of Pearl Harbor.

But German and Japanese resistance remains as determined and as fanatical as ever.

The guns of Hitler's Gestapo are silencing those German officers who have sense enough to know that every day that the fighting continues means that much more ruin and destruction for their beaten country. We shall have to fight our way across the Rhine — we may have to fight every inch of the way to Berlin.

But we Americans and our British and Russian and French and Polish allies — in fact, all the massed forces of the United Nations — we will not stop short of our final goal.

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Nor will all of our goals have been achieved when the shooting stops. We must be able to present to our returning heroes an America which is stronger and more prosperous, and more deeply devoted to the ways of democracy, than ever before.

"The land of opportunity" — that's what our forefathers called this country. By God's grace, it must always be the land of opportunity for the individual citizen — ever broader opportunity.

We have fought our way out of economic crisis — we are fighting our way through the bitterest of all wars — and our fighting men and women — our plain, everyday citizens — have a right to enjoy the fruits of victory.

Of course, all of us who have sons on active service overseas want to have our boys come home at the earliest possible moment consistent with our national safety. And they will come home and be returned to civilian life at the earliest possible moment consistent with our national safety.

The record is clear on this matter and dates back many months.

Bills to provide a national program for demobilization and postwar adjustment — and I take an example — were introduced by Senator George and Senator Murray last February — nearly a year ago.

This legislation, since May 20, 1944, has contained the following provision, and I quote: "The War and Navy Departments shall not retain persons in the armed forces for the purpose of preventing unemployment or awaiting opportunities for employment."

And that provision was approved by the War Department and by this Administration months ago.

On June 12, the Director of War Mobilization, Justice Byrnes, made a public statement in behalf of this bill. He said: "Our fighting men are entitled to first consideration in any plan of demobilization. Their orderly release at the earliest possible moment consistent with the effective prosecution of the war, has ever been the primary consideration of both the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

And on September 6, the War Department issued its plan for

86. *Radio Address from the White House*

speedy demobilization, based on the wishes of the soldiers themselves.

Well, the George Bill has been passed by the Congress. It has been signed by me. It is now the law.

That law is there, for all Americans to read — and you do not need legal training to understand it.

It seems a pity, a deep pity, that reckless words, based on unauthoritative sources, should be used by anyone to mislead and to weaken the morale of our men on the fighting fronts and the members of their families here at home.

When our enemies are finally defeated, we all want to see an end at the earliest practicable moment to wartime restrictions and wartime controls.

Strict provisions for the ending of these inconveniences have been written into our wartime laws. It seems to me it is largely a question of knowing the truth. Those who fear that wartime measures, like price and rent control and rationing, for example, might be continued indefinitely into peacetime, ought in common decency to examine these laws. They will find that they are all temporary — to expire either at an early fixed date, or at the end of the war, or six months after the war, or even sooner if the Congress or the President so determines.

The American people do not need, and no national administration would dare to ask them, to tolerate for a minute any indefinite continuance in peacetime of the controls essential in wartime.

The power of the will of the American people expressed through the free ballot that I have been talking about is the surest protection against the weakening of our democracy by “regimentation” or by any alien doctrines.

And likewise it is a source of regret to all decent Americans that some political propagandists are now dragging red herrings across the trail of this national election.

For example, labor-baiters, bigots, and some politicians use the term “Communism” loosely, and apply it to every progressive

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social measure and to the views of every foreign-born citizen with whom they disagree.

They forget that we in the United States are all descended from immigrants, all except the Indians; and there is no better proof of that fact than the heroic names on our casualty lists.

I have just been looking at a statement by a member of the Congress, Representative Anderson, Chairman of the House Committee on Campaign Expenditures, about a document recently sent free, through the mails, by one Senator and twelve Representatives — all of them Republicans. They evidently thought highly of this document, for they had more than three million copies printed free by the Government Printing Office — requiring more than eighteen tons of scarce paper — and sent them through the mails all over the country at the taxpayers' expense.

Now — let us look at this document to see what made it so important to thirteen Republican leaders at this stage of the war when many millions of our men are fighting for freedom.

Well — this document says that the "Red spectre of Communism is stalking our country from East to West, from North to South" — the charge being that the Roosevelt Administration is part of a gigantic plot to sell our democracy out to the Communists.

This form of fear propaganda is not new among rabble rousers and fomenters of class hatred — who seek to destroy democracy itself. It was used by Mussolini's black shirts and by Hitler's brown shirts. It has been used before in this country by the silver shirts and others on the lunatic fringe. But the sound and democratic instincts of the American people rebel against its use, particularly by their own Congressmen — and at the taxpayers' expense.

I have never sought, and I do not welcome the support of any person or group committed to Communism, or Fascism, or any other foreign ideology which would undermine the American system of government, or the American system of free competitive enterprise and private property.

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That does not in the least interfere with the firm and friendly relationship which this Nation has in this war, and will, I hope, continue to have with the people of the Soviet Union. The kind of economy that suits the Russian people, I take it is their own affair. The American people are glad and proud to be allied with the gallant people of Russia, not only in winning this war but in laying the foundations for the world peace which I hope will follow this war — and in keeping that peace.

We have seen our civilization in deadly peril. Successfully we have met the challenge, due to the steadfastness of our allies, to the aid we were able to give to our allies, and to the unprecedented outpouring of American manpower, American productivity, and American ingenuity — and to the magnificent courage and enterprise of our fighting men and our military leadership.

What is now being won in battle must not be lost by lack of vision, or lack of knowledge, or by lack of faith, or by division among ourselves and our allies.

We must, and I hope we will, continue to be united with our allies in a powerful world organization which is ready and able to keep the peace — if necessary by force.

To provide that assurance of international security is the policy, the effort, and the obligation of this Administration.

We owe it to our posterity, we owe it to our heritage of freedom, we owe it to our God, to devote the rest of our lives and all of our capabilities to the building of a solid, durable structure of world peace.

NOTE: On the day following the foregoing address, the White House released the following statement to the press:

“The following paragraph appears in the President’s speech of last night as released to the press and as set forth in his reading copy:

‘I have just been looking at a statement by Representative Anderson,

Chairman of the House Committee on Campaign Expenditures, about a document recently sent free, through the mails, by one Senator and twelve Representatives — all of them Republicans. They evidently thought highly of this document, for they had more than three million copies printed by the Government Printing Office — requiring more than eighteen tons of scarce and expensive paper — and sent them through

87. *President Hails Liberation of Greece*

the mails all over the country at the taxpayers' expense.'

"The President in reading the speech read the second sentence inadvertently as follows, interpolating in error the word 'free':

. . . 'They evidently thought highly of this document, for they had more than three million copies printed free by the Government Printing Office — requiring more than eighteen tons of scarce paper — and sent them through

the mails all over the country at the taxpayers' expense.'

"This was an inadvertence, because the actual paper and printing were paid for by someone, but the mailing of more than 3,000,000 documents was free, under the franks of the 13 Republican members of the Congress. The cost of mailing far exceeded the cost of printing."

87 ¶ The President Hails the Liberation of Greece. October 6, 1944

I AM DEEPLY moved at the news that the liberation of Greece has begun. In a truer sense, its enslavement has never been a fact. For nearly four years an indomitable Greek Nation has suffered the terrifying effects of aggression on an unprecedented scale. When many men — even stout-hearted men of good will — had almost lost hope, the Greek people challenged the invincibility of the mechanized Nazi monster, pitting against inhuman engines of war and cold-blooded calculating strategy little more than the fierce spirit of freedom.

Four years is a long time to starve and die, to see children massacred, to watch villages burn to rubble and ashes. But it is not a long enough time to extinguish the clear flame of the Hellenic heritage which throughout centuries has taught the dignity of man. It is more than fitting, it is inevitable, that as hopeless darkness is engulfing the ideals of Nazi barbarism the clear Greek air will once more be breathed by free men without fear of oppression, and that the Acropolis, for twenty-five centuries a symbol of man's accomplishment in an environment of human liberty, will again be a beacon of faith for the future.

88 ¶ Statement by the President on the Death of Wendell Willkie. October 8, 1944

THE Nation will long remember Wendell Willkie as a forthright American. Earnest, honest, whole-souled, he also had tremendous courage. This courage — which was his dominating trait — prompted him more than once to stand alone and to challenge the wisdom of counsels taken by powerful interests within his own party. In this hour of grave crisis the country loses a great citizen through his untimely passing.

89 ¶ Statement on the Completion of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations. October 9, 1944

I WISH to take this opportunity to refer to the work of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations between the delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China on the plans for an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

The conversations were completed Saturday, October 7, 1944, and proposals were submitted to the four Governments for their consideration. These proposals have been made public to permit full discussion by the people of this country prior to the convening of a wider conference on this all-important subject.

Although I have not yet been able to make a thorough study of these proposals, my first impression is one of extreme satisfaction, and even surprise, that so much could have been accomplished on so difficult a subject in so short a time. This achievement was largely due to the long and thorough preparations which were made by the Governments represented, and in our case, were the result of the untiring devotion and care which the Secretary of State has personally given to this work for more than two and a half years — indeed for many years.

89. Dumbarton Oaks Conversations

The projected international organization has for its primary purpose the maintenance of international peace and security and the creation of the conditions that make for peace.

We now know the need for such an organization of the peace-loving peoples and the spirit of unity which will be required to maintain it. Aggressors like Hitler and the Japanese war lords organize for years for the day when they can launch their evil strength against weaker Nations devoted to their peaceful pursuits. This time we have been determined first to defeat the enemy, assure that he shall never again be in position to plunge the world into war and then to so organize the peace-loving Nations that they may through unity of desire, unity of will, and unity of strength be in position to assure that no other would-be aggressor or conqueror shall even get started. That is why from the very beginning of the war, and paralleling our military plans, we have begun to lay the foundations for the general organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

It represents, therefore, a major objective for which this war is being fought, and as such, it inspires the highest hopes of the millions of fathers and mothers whose sons and daughters are engaged in the terrible struggle and suffering of war.

The projected general organization may be regarded as the keystone of the arch and will include within its framework a number of specialized economic and social agencies now existing or to be established.

The task of planning the great design of security and peace has been well begun. It now remains for the Nations to complete the structure in a spirit of constructive purpose and mutual confidence.

NOTE: See Item 60 and note, this volume, for the text of the President's informal, extemporaneous remarks of August 23, 1944, on receiv-

ing the delegates to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, and for an account of the functioning and accomplishments of the Conference.

90 ¶ Columbus Day Address Before the Chiefs of the Diplomatic Missions from the Other American Republics. October 12, 1944

TODAY is the birthday of the new world. The peoples of the American Republics are joining in paying tribute to the courage and vision of Christopher Columbus, whose name we honor and whose adventurous spirit we perpetuate.

The survival of that spirit is more important than ever, at this time when we are fighting a world war, and when we are building the solid, durable foundations for future world peace.

The little fleet with which Columbus first crossed the ocean took ten weeks for the voyage. And the crews of those three ships totaled approximately ninety men.

Today — every day — many times that number of men and many tons of cargo are carried across the ocean by air — they go across in a few hours. And by sea transport, an entire division of some fifteen thousand men can be sent across the Atlantic in one ship in one week.

When we remember the rapid development of aviation since the last war, we can look ahead to the coming years and know that all the airways across all the seas are going to be constant lines of communication and commerce.

Thus the margin between the Old World and the New World — as we have been used to calling the hemispheres — becomes constantly narrower. This means that if we do not now take effective measures to prevent another world war and if there were to be a third world war, the lands of the Western Hemisphere would be as vulnerable to attack from Europe and Asia as were the Island of Crete and the Philippine Islands five years ago.

It is a significant fact that today in Italy — the homeland of Columbus — forces from many parts of the hemisphere and from many distant parts of the civilized world are fighting for freedom against the German and the Japanese threat of mediaeval tyranny.

Serving in the Allied armies in Italy are men from forty-

90. *Columbus Day Address*

eight United States, from the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and the Republic of France. But, we must remember — this is the first anniversary in which we can say it — there are also strong, well-trained, well-equipped forces from Brazil; there are units from Puerto Rico; there are Greeks, and there are Poles who have distinguished themselves in bitter fighting at Cassino and Ancona and Rimini; there are gallant men from Canada, and Ireland, and New Zealand, and South Africa, and India; there are combat teams composed of Americans of Japanese ancestry who came from Hawaii — all providing an effective answer to the false Nazi claims of “Nordic superiority.”

And there are also Italians themselves fighting bravely for the liberation of their country. They are fighting in the Allied armies, and they are fighting in the underground forces behind the German lines.

If the spirit of Columbus hovers over his native land today, we can be sure that he rejoices in the varied nature of the Allied forces. For he was one of the truly great internationalists of his day.

During the past century, millions of Italians have come to the Western Hemisphere seeking freedom and opportunity. In Italy there is hardly a town or a village that does not contain families who have blood ties with the New World. This is one of the many reasons why the forces of liberation have been welcomed so cordially by the Italian people after twenty-two years of Fascism.

The Fascists and the Nazis sought to deceive and to divide the American Republics. They tried not only through propaganda from across the seas, but also through agents and spies and fifth columnists, operating all over the Western Hemisphere. But we know that they failed. The American Republics were not deceived by their protestations of peace and friendship; and they were not intimidated by their threats.

The people of the United States will never forget how the other American Republics, acting in accord with their pledges of solidarity, rallied to our common defense when the continent

was violated by Axis treachery in an attack on this country. At that time Axis armies were still unchecked, and even the stark threat of an invasion from Dakar hung over their heads.

We have maintained the solidarity of the Governments of all the American Republics — except one. And the people of all the Republics, I think without exception, will have the opportunity to share in the achievement of the common victory.

The bonds that unite the American Republics into a community of good neighbors must remain strong. We have not labored long and faithfully to build in this New World a system of international security and cooperation — merely to let it be dissipated in any period of postwar indifference. Within the framework of this new world organization that we have heard so much of lately — this world organization of the United Nations, which the Governments and people of the American Republics are helping to establish, the inter-American system can and must play a strong and vital role.

Secretary Hull has told me of the conversations he has had with representatives of our sister Republics concerning the formation of a world security organization. We have received important and valuable expressions of opinions and views from many of these Governments. And I know that Secretary Hull, and Under Secretary Stettinius who led the United States delegation at Dumbarton Oaks, are looking forward to further exchanges of views with our Good Neighbors before the meeting of the general conference to establish the world organization. We must press forward to bring into existence this organization to maintain peace and security. There is no time to lose. And this time I think it is going to work.

It is our objective to establish the solid foundations of the peace organization without further delay, and without even waiting for the end of hostilities. There must, of course, be time for discussion by all the peace-loving Nations — large and small. We know that substantial progress has already been made, and it must be continued as rapidly as possible.

Like the Constitution of the United States, and of many other

91. Acceptance of Four Freedoms Award

Republics, the Charter of the United Nations must not be static and inflexible, but must be adaptable to the changing conditions of progress — social and economic and political — all over the world.

So, in approaching the great problems of the future — the future which we shall share in common with all the free peoples of this earth — we shall do well to remember that we are the inheritors of the tradition of Christopher Columbus, the Navigator who ventured across uncharted seas.

I remember that when Columbus was about to set forth in the summer of 1492, he put in the beginning of his log-book the following words: "Above all, it is very important that I forget sleep, and that I labor much at navigation, because it is necessary."

We shall require — all of us — the same determination, the same devotion, as we steer our course through the great age of exploration, the age of discovery that lies before us.

91 ¶ The President's Address on Accepting the Four Freedoms Award, Presented by the Italian-American Labor Council. October 12, 1944

FOR over twenty years we in America have watched with anxious eyes the steps taken by the Fascist gangsters to enslave the Italian people. The Italian people were thrown into an alliance which they detested. They were ordered, against their will, to fight on the side of their traditional enemies against their traditional friends.

Mussolini, the would-be Caesar, underestimated the will of his people. Large numbers of them were brave enough to rally to our ranks. And as part of the Allied armies, and behind the German lines, they have carried on our common fight for liberty.

The American Army — including thousands of Americans of Italian descent — entered Italy not as conquerors, but as libera-

91. Acceptance of Four Freedoms Award

tors. Their objective is military, not political. When that military objective is accomplished — and much of it has not yet been accomplished — the Italian people will be free to work out their own destiny, under a government of their own choosing.

The act of the Attorney General — removing the status of enemy alien from Italians — has been justified by their corresponding effort to help us wage war.

Of course, the people of Italy have suffered terribly and it will not be humanly possible this winter to take wholly adequate measures to relieve all suffering until Germany has been finally and decisively defeated. But the United Nations are determined that every possible measure be taken to aid the Italian people directly, and to give them an opportunity to help themselves.

The civilian administration has been fully discussed by me with the British Prime Minister. The British Government is agreed that as the problem is great — so also is our responsibility to help.

For example, the mails have been opened for letters to the liberated provinces. Facilities are now available for small remittances of funds from this country to individuals in Italy for their individual support. Shipments of food and clothing have been delivered, and much more is on the way. Normal life is being gradually introduced. We are taking every step possible to permit the early sending of individual packages by Americans to their loved ones and relatives in Italy. Our objective is to restore all avenues of trade and commerce and industry, and the free exercise of religion, at the earliest possible moment.

I am deeply grateful, therefore, for this award. It represents your appreciation both of the problems and the efforts of the American Government.

The Charter from which this award takes its name — the Four Freedoms — is a firm bond between the great peace-loving Nations of the world, among which we count Italy. To the people of Italy we have pledged our help — and we will keep the faith!

92 ¶ The President Addresses a Letter to the Chairman of the War Production Board Urging Modernization of Farm Machinery.

October 13, 1944

I AM SURE that in your plans for the reconversion of industry to civilian production you will want to give strong recognition to the needs of many American farmers for increased supplies of farm machinery. I know that there has been a substantial increase in the production of most types of farm machinery during the past year which has made it possible for the War Food Administration to eliminate most of the rationing of farm machinery. It is necessary, however, that we further assist the farmer along these lines during the critical production period which yet lies ahead.

During the war we have called upon American agriculture to produce food in unprecedented quantities. To these calls the American farmer has responded with patriotic fervor.

Agricultural production has reached new high levels through the hard work of our farm people. In achieving the production of more than one-third more food than in the prewar period, our farmers have had to overcome the handicap of shortages of labor and of farm machinery. Our farm working population has been diverted to war jobs in industry and to the armed forces to the extent of more than 4,000,000 workers. Farm machinery has been scarce because of the fact that the materials and facilities which would otherwise have gone into the production of farm machinery have been needed for military trucks, tanks, planes, landing craft, guns, and other urgent war purposes.

Our unprecedented war production of food has, therefore, been accomplished by harder work and longer hours on the part of our farm people, by more intensive use of farm machinery, and by the seasonal use of many workers untrained in agriculture. The Nation will always be grateful to the American farmer for this achievement.

93. *Opening of National War Fund Drive*

In this period of high production and intensive use of agricultural machinery, many farmers have not been able to fill their normal replacement programs for their farm machinery. They now find themselves in the position of conducting their farming operations with farm machinery and equipment much of which is obsolete or depreciated beyond the point where it can be used with maximum efficiency.

Wartime experience has demonstrated that a fully employed America will consume food in quantities substantially in excess of the prewar period. Our plans call for maintaining full employment at home. The consumption of food at home, and hence the production of food for consumption at home, must remain at high levels to satisfy the needs and demands of a fully employed America.

In the immediate future we will be exporting substantial quantities of food, some of it to aid directly in achieving military victory, some of it through the United States contribution to U.N.R.R.A. so that the liberated peoples can soon help themselves, and much of it through commercial channels. With the restoration of foreign trade throughout the world, and the removal of many trade barriers, it is to be expected that this country will remain a substantial exporter of agricultural products.

American agriculture must be prepared for these demands upon its productive capacity. To this end it should be given all possible assistance in modernizing and maintaining its farm machinery.

93 ¶ Radio Address Opening the National War Fund Drive. October 17, 1944

My friends:

ONCE again I come to you on behalf of your community war fund, united with the National War Fund in a common federated appeal for us and for our allies.

93. *Opening of National War Fund Drive*

This year, more than ever, we need the friendly aid and assistance of all these great humanitarian agencies for our fighting forces, for the long-suffering peoples of the United Nations, and for those in need among our neighbors here at home. These united services can bring us one step further in our fight for decency, humanity, and good will towards men.

Through a single gift to this united appeal we are able to extend the hand of friendship to millions of people at home and around the world — to perform millions of acts of kindness.

Through this one gift we show the warmth of our affection for our men and women in uniform by providing them with the home comforts and the conveniences of the U.S.O. — and, to those whose service has been fulfilled, a friendly hand in getting adjusted to civilian life all over again. Through U.S.O. Camp Shows, one of the great institutions of this war, we bring the spirit-refreshing tonic of good American entertainment to every camp, every military hospital, and every fighting front.

Through this same gift we also support United Seamen's Service, providing rest and relaxation for our merchant seamen — the men who are bringing the convoys through.

And we help to keep up the spirits of the homesick and heart-sick prisoners of war — with the music, and the books, the sports and games provided by War Prisoners Aid.

It is through this gift that we send a token of our own personal friendship to the tragic victims of brute slavery and to those who have so long borne the burden of fighting this war — the hungry, the sick, and the homeless peoples of China, Russia, Britain, Belgium, France, Greece, Norway, Poland, The Netherlands, the Philippines, and other friends and neighbors in the community of Nations. This personal gift made by you, this token of sympathy and appreciation, is much more than the mere monetary assistance.

The great warmhearted good will that you have expressed through these funds has helped immeasurably to revive the spirit of faith and hope in many lands across the seas — and in many homes back here — where there has been bitterness and hatred after years of war and oppression.

93. *Opening of National War Fund Drive*

Wherever our boys in the services go, they are welcomed not only as liberators but as good friends. Wherever they go, their presence spells "America," and that is a word now more beloved, I think, by more millions of people throughout the world than ever before in all our history.

And finally — through this united gift we contribute to the important wartime job at home of taking good care of our children and our young people — giving a helping hand to our neighbor down the street — maintaining standards of welfare worthy of the great efforts of our fighting forces.

This gift of friendship — this participation in our community war appeal — is one war job we are not compelled to do, but it is one that we all willingly wish to do. This is typical of democracy at its best.

In these days, as we begin to see the approach of victory, it may seem more of a burden to us to measure up to our war jobs and responsibilities. Our gift to our community war fund is one way to show that there is no letdown in the spirit and the unity of this country. This gift — this expression of our own free will — speaks from the heart of the Nation.

Because of this, I know that this appeal will be met gladly and generously. I know that it will reaffirm our concern for our own and for our allies.

We cannot let them down now! I know that we will keep faith with them, as they are keeping it with us, until their job is done. I know that we will all have a great sense of pride on that glad day of their return — which we are trying to make as speedy as possible — when they shake us by the hand and say, "Thanks for helping, friend. In many ways, it meant a lot to us out there!"

And so, I ask your support in a big way — a way that will count.

NOTE: This was the second annual consolidated appeal for funds for domestic and foreign relief, and the contributions were distributed among a large number of relief agencies which participated in the drive.

94. *President Hails American Troops in Philippines*

(For an account of the origin and accomplishments of the National War Fund Drives, see Item 108 and note, 1943 volume. For an account of the work of the President's War

Relief Control Board and its predecessor, the President's Committee for War Relief Agencies, see Item 16 and note, 1941 volume, and Item 77 and note, 1942 volume.)

94 ¶ Statement and Messages Hailing the Landing of American Troops in the Philippines. October 20, 1944

The President's Statement:

THIS morning American troops landed on the island of Leyte in the Philippines. The invasion forces, under the command of General Douglas MacArthur, are supported by the greatest concentration of naval and air power ever massed in the Pacific Ocean.

We have landed in the Philippines to redeem the pledge we made over two years ago when the last American troops surrendered on Corregidor after five months and twenty-eight days of bitter resistance against overwhelming enemy strength.

We promised to return; we *have* returned.

In my last message to General Wainwright, sent on the fifth of May, 1942, just before he was captured, I told him that the gallant struggle of his comrades had inspired every soldier, sailor, and marine and all the workers in our shipyards and munitions plants. I said that he and his devoted followers had become the living symbol of our war aims and the guarantee of our victory.

That was true in 1942. It is still true in 1944.

We have never forgotten the courage of our men at Bataan and Corregidor. Their example inspired every American in the stern days of Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Salerno, and Normandy. And in every campaign — on battlefield or homefront — we remember those men, and their memory spurs us to greater effort.

Nowhere has the desire to avenge their comrades been stronger

94. President Hails American Troops in Philippines

than among the forces of the Southwest Pacific. Leyte is another rung in the long ladder General MacArthur's men have been climbing for two years.

Starting on the underside of New Guinea in the autumn of 1942 when Australia herself was in danger, pushing over the Owen Stanley Mountains, burning and blasting the Japanese out of Buna and Gona, digging them out of Wewak, starving them at Hollandia — the advance has been a slow, tough struggle by our jungle fighters.

Now they have reached Leyte.

In the six years before war broke out, the Philippine Government, acting in harmonious accord with the United States, made great strides towards complete establishment of her sovereignty. The United States promised to help build a new Nation in the Pacific, a Nation whose ideals, like our own, were liberty and equality and the democratic way of life — a Nation which in a very short time would join the friendly family of Nations on equal terms.

We were keeping that promise. When war came and our work was wrecked, we pledged to the people of the Philippines that their freedom would be redeemed and that their independence would be established and protected. We are fulfilling that pledge now. When we have finished the job of driving the Japs from the Islands, the Philippines will be a free and independent Republic.

There never was a doubt that the people of the Philippines were worthy of their independence. There will never be a doubt.

The Filipinos have defended their homeland with fortitude and gallantry. We confidently expect to see them liberate it with courage and audacity.

Under the leadership of President Manuel Quezon whose death came on the eve of his country's liberation, and now under the leadership of their President Sergio Osmeña, the Filipinos have carried on, and are carrying on, with gallantry — even in the midst of the enemy.

We are glad to be back in the Philippines but we do not intend to stop there.

94. *President Hails American Troops in Philippines*

Leyte is only a way station on the road to Japan. It is 700 miles from Formosa. It is 850 miles from China. We are astride the lifeline of the war lords' empire; we are severing that life line. Our bombers, our ships, and our submarines are cutting off the ill-gotten conquests from the homeland. From our new base we shall quicken the assault. Our attacks of the last week have been destructive and decisive, but now we shall strike even more devastating blows at Japan.

We have learned our lesson about Japan. We trusted her, and treated her with the decency due a civilized neighbor. We were foully betrayed. The price of the lesson was high.

Now we are going to teach Japan her lesson.

We have the will and the power to teach her the cost of treachery and deceit, and the cost of stealing from her neighbors. With our steadfast allies, we shall teach this lesson so that Japan will never forget it.

We shall free the enslaved peoples. We shall restore stolen lands and looted wealth to their rightful owners. We shall strangle the Black Dragon of Japanese militarism forever.

The President's congratulations to General MacArthur:

The whole American Nation today exults at the news that the gallant men under your command have landed on Philippine soil. I know well what this means to you. I know what it cost you to obey my order that you leave Corregidor in February, 1942, and proceed to Australia. Since then you have planned and worked and fought with whole-souled devotion for the day when you would return with powerful forces to the Philippine Islands. That day has come. You have the Nation's gratitude and the Nation's prayers for success as you and your men fight your way back to Bataan.

The President's Message to Admiral Nimitz and Admiral Halsey:

The country has followed with pride the magnificent sweep of your Fleet into enemy waters. In addition to the gallant

94. *President Hails American Troops in Philippines*

fighting of your flyers, we appreciate the endurance and superb seamanship of your forces. Your fine cooperation with General MacArthur furnishes another example of teamwork and the effective and intelligent use of all weapons.

Message from the President to President Osmeña:

Please deliver the following message to the Philippine people from me:

"The suffering, humiliation, and mental torture that you have endured since the barbarous, unprovoked, and treacherous attack upon the Philippines nearly three long years ago have aroused in the hearts of the American people a righteous anger, a stern determination to punish the guilty, and a fixed resolve to restore peace and order and decency to an outraged world.

"Until we were attacked at Pearl Harbor we had done our utmost to live as friendly self-respecting neighbors of the Japanese in the Pacific.

"For half a century, in spite of signs of a decadent and militaristic Japanese leadership, we studiously avoided any acts that might provoke distrust or alarm. Our decency was mistaken for weakness.

"Our plans for the dignity and freedom of the people of the Philippines have been ruthlessly — but only temporarily — brushed aside by Japanese acts of exploitation and enslavement. When the Japanese invaders have been driven out, the Philippines will take their place as a free and independent member of the family of Nations.

"On this occasion of the return of General MacArthur to Philippine soil with our airmen, our soldiers, and our sailors, we renew our pledge. We and our Philippine brothers in arms — with the help of Almighty God — will drive out the invader; we will destroy his power to wage war again, and we will restore a world of dignity and freedom — a world of confidence and honesty and peace."

NOTE: On October 22, the President received the following message from President Osmeña of the Philippines:

"By means of leaflets and radio I immediately broadcast your message to the Philippine people who, by their ceaseless resistance to the Japanese during the darkest days following the fall

of Bataan, have shown that their trust in the United States never weakened. This message of yours, Mr. President, will increase their gratitude to the people of America and will give their morale additional bolstering.

"The Philippine people will take up again their onward march towards independence under your guidance and with your inspiration. The name of

95. *Businessmen's Rally for Senator Wagner*

America will be blessed by a grateful peoples for the advent of a new age of freedom and security which has begun for the races of the Pacific area. The forces of tyranny and barbarism in the Far East have been broken along with their evil plans for slavery, exploitation and domination as a result of the assertion of power of the United States as witnessed in your solemn reaffirmation of the American principles of equality, freedom and justice and in this first blow against the enemy."

On October 23, President Osmeña cabled as follows from the island of Leyte, to President Roosevelt:

"Speaking for the people of the Philippines, permit me to greet you in this, the first message I have dispatched since landing today with General MacArthur, and, through you, to thank the people of the United States for the immense war effort which has enabled us to return. I feel certain that this military operation, which has begun so well, will prove once again, as did the Battle of Bataan, that our two

countries are linked together by imperishable ties of understanding and friendship. I have spoken to my people, calling on them to give their complete and determined support to the armed forces of the United States and to rise to the cause of democracy and liberty. I thank you, on behalf of the Philippine people, for your continued regard for their welfare and freedom, as conveyed in your goodwill message, which I was privileged to give to them. You have also their deep gratitude for your policy in giving to our government in Washington the recognition to which it was entitled according to the laws of the United States and under our Constitution. It was thus possible for us to maintain the exercise of sovereignty common to the independent Nations. We are also deeply grateful for all the courtesies extended to our late President Quezon, to myself and to other members of the Philippine Government in Washington. With its constitutional integrity unaffected by Japanese occupation, the full legal authority of the Commonwealth Government is thus now ready for exercise in areas freed from the enemy where military control is no longer required."

95 ¶ Informal, Extemporaneous Remarks at Businessmen's Rally for Senator Wagner. Ebbets Field, Brooklyn, New York.

October 21, 1944

I WANTED to come here for two reasons. You know I come from the State of New York, and I have made a series of inspection tours here. I come from the State of New York and I practiced law in New York City, but I have never been to Ebbets Field before. I have rooted for the Dodgers. And I hope to come back here some day and see them play.

96. *Address at Foreign Policy Association*

But the chief reason I came here today is to pay a little tribute to my old friend Bob Wagner. We were together in the legislature — I would hate to say how long ago — thirty-some years ago, in the Senate of the State of New York, and we have been close friends ever since, I think largely because we had the same ideals of being of service to our fellow men.

If anybody knew and could visualize all the way through the help that Bob Wagner has been to mankind, there wouldn't be any question about asking him to go back to the Senate for six years more, to carry on the splendid service that he has rendered.

And so I just came here to say that word in his behalf. He deserves well of mankind.

Thanks ever so much.

96 ¶ “Peace, Like War, Can Succeed Only Where There Is a Will to Enforce It, and Where There Is Available Power to Enforce It” — Radio Address at Dinner of Foreign Policy Association. New York, N. Y. October 21, 1944

TONIGHT I am speaking as a guest of the Foreign Policy Association — a distinguished organization composed of Americans of every shade of political opinion.

I am going to talk about American foreign policy.

I am going to talk without rancor, without snap judgment.

And I am going to talk without losing my head or losing my temper.

When the first World War was ended — it seems like a long time ago — I believed — I believe now — that enduring peace in the world has not a chance unless this Nation — our America — is willing to cooperate in winning it and maintaining it. I thought back in those days of 1918 and 1919 — and I know now — that we have to back our American words with American deeds.

96. *Address at Foreign Policy Association*

A quarter of a century ago we helped to save our freedom, but we failed to organize the kind of world in which future generations could live — with freedom. Opportunity knocks again. There is no guarantee that opportunity will knock a third time.

Today, Hitler and the Nazis continue the fight — desperately, inch by inch, and may continue to do so all the way to Berlin.

And we have another important engagement in Tokyo. No matter how hard, how long the road we must travel, our forces will fight their way there under the leadership of MacArthur and Nimitz.

All of our thinking about foreign policy in this war must be conditioned by the fact that millions of our American boys are today fighting, many thousands of miles from home, for the first objective: defense of our country; and the second objective, the perpetuation of our American ideals. And there are still many hard and bitter battles to be fought.

The leaders of this Nation have always held time out of mind that concern for our national security does not end at our borders. President Monroe and every American President following him were prepared to use force, if necessary, to assure the independence of other American Nations threatened by aggressors from across the seas.

That principle, we have learned from childhood has not changed, though the world has. Wars are no longer fought from horseback, or from the decks of sailing ships.

It was with recognition of that fact away back in 1933 that we took, as the basis of our foreign relations, the Good Neighbor policy — the principle of the neighbor who, resolutely respecting himself, equally respects the rights of others.

We and the other American Republics have made the Good Neighbor policy real in this hemisphere. And I want to say to-night that it is my conviction that this policy can be, and should be, made universal throughout the world.

At inter-American conferences, beginning at Montevideo in 1933, and continuing down to date, we have made it clear to this

hemisphere at least, and I think to most of the world, that the United States of America practices what it preaches.

Our action in 1934, for example, with respect to Philippine independence was another step in making good the same philosophy that animated the Good Neighbor policy of the year before.

And, as I said two years ago, "I like to think that the history of the Philippine Islands in the last forty-four years provides in a very real sense a pattern for the future of other small Nations and peoples of the world. It is a pattern of what men of good will look forward to in the future."

And I cite as an illustration in the field of foreign policy something that I am proud of. That was the recognition in 1933 of Soviet Russia.

And may I add a personal word. In 1933, a certain lady — who sits at this table in front of me — came back from a trip on which she had attended the opening of a schoolhouse. And she had gone to the history and geography class with children eight, nine or ten, and she told me that she had seen there a map of the world with a great big white space upon it — no name — no information. And the teacher told her that it was blank, with no name, because the school board wouldn't let her say anything about that big blank space. Oh, there were only a hundred and eighty to two hundred million people in that space which was called Soviet Russia. And there were a lot of children, and they were told that the teacher was forbidden by the school board even to put the name of that blank space on the map.

For sixteen years before then, the American people and the Russian people had no practical means of communicating with each other. We reestablished those means. And today we are fighting with the Russians against common foes — and we *know* that the Russian contribution to victory has been, and will continue to be, gigantic.

However — and we have to take a lot of things — certain politicians, now very prominent in the Republican Party — have condemned our recognition.

I am impelled to wonder how Russia would have survived

against the German attack if these same people had had their way.

After the last war — in the political campaign of 1920 — the isolationist Old Guard professed to be enthusiastic about international cooperation. And I remember very well, because I was running on the issue at that time.

While campaigning for votes in that year of 1920, Senator Harding said that he favored with all his heart an Association of Nations “so organized and so participated in as to make the actual attainment of peace a reasonable possibility.”

However — and this is history, too — after President Harding’s election, the Association of Nations was never heard of again.

However, we have got to look at people — this is a human world of ours. One of the leading isolationists who killed international cooperation in 1920 was an old friend of mine, and I think he supported me two or three times — Senator Hiram Johnson. Now, in the event of Republican victory in the Senate this year — 1944 — that same Senator Johnson — who is still a friend of mine — would be Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. And I hope that the American voters will bear that in mind.

And it’s a fact — a plain fact — all you have to do is to go back through the files of the newspapers — during the years that followed 1920, the foreign policy of the Republican Administrations was dominated by the heavy hand of isolationism.

Much of the strength of our Navy was scuttled; and some of the Navy’s resources were handed over to friends in private industry — as in the unforgettable case of Teapot Dome.

Tariff walls went higher and higher — blocking international trade.

There was snarling at our former allies, and at the same time encouragement was given to American finance to invest two and one-half billion dollars in Germany, our former enemy.

All petitions that this Nation join the World Court were rejected or ignored.

We know that after this Administration took office, Secretary

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Hull and I asked that high tariffs be replaced by a series of reciprocal trade agreements under a statute of the Congress. The Republicans in the Congress opposed those agreements — and tried to stop the extension of the law every three years. I am just talking about their votes.

In 1935 I asked the Congress to join the World Court. The Democrats in the Senate at that time voted for it forty-three to twenty — two thirds. The Republicans voted against it fourteen to nine. And the result was that we were prevented from obtaining the necessary two-thirds majority. I did my best.

In 1937, I asked that aggressor Nations be quarantined. For this I was branded by isolationists in and out of public office as an “alarmist” and a “war-monger.”

From that time on, as you well know, I made clear by repeated messages to the Congress of the United States, and by repeated statements to the American people, the danger threatening from abroad — and the need of rearming to meet it.

For example, in July, 1939, I tried to obtain a repeal of the Arms Embargo provisions in the Neutrality Law that tied our hands against selling arms to the European democracies in defense against Hitler and Mussolini.

Now I remember very well, I have got my notes on it, somewhere in my memoirs, the late Senator Borah told a group, which I called — of all parties — together in the White House, that his own private information from abroad was better than that of the State Department of the United States — and that there would be no war in Europe.

And it was made plain to Mr. Hull and me that because of the isolationist vote in the Congress of the United States, we could not possibly hope to obtain the desired revision of the Neutrality Law.

This fact was also made plain to Adolf Hitler. A few weeks later, after Borah said that to me Hitler brutally attacked Poland — and the second World War began.

In 1941, this Administration proposed and the Congress passed, in spite of isolationist opposition, the Lend-Lease Law —

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the practical and dramatic notice to the world that we intended to help those Nations resisting aggression.

These days — and now I am speaking of October, 1944 — I hear voices in the air attacking me for my “failure” to prepare this Nation for this war, and to warn the American people of the approaching tragedy.

These same voices were not so very audible five years ago — or even four years ago — giving warning of the grave peril which we then faced.

There have been, and there still are, in the Republican Party, distinguished men and women of vision and courage, both in and out of public office, who have vigorously supported our aid to our allies and all the measures that we took to build up our national defense. And many of these Republicans have rendered magnificent service to our country in this war as members of my Administration. And I am happy that one of these distinguished Americans is sitting here at this table tonight, our great Secretary of War — Henry Stimson.

Let us always remember that this very war might have been averted if Henry Stimson’s views had prevailed when, in 1931, the Japanese ruthlessly attacked and raped Manchuria.

Let us analyze it a little more. The majority of the Republican members of the Congress voted — I am just giving you a few figures, not many — against the Selective Service Law in 1940; they voted against repeal of the Arms Embargo in 1939; they voted against the Lend-Lease Law in 1941; and they voted in August, 1941, against extension of the Selective Service — which meant voting against keeping our Army together — four months before Pearl Harbor.

I am quoting history to you. I am going by the record. And I am giving you the whole story and not merely a phrase here and half a phrase there. In my reading copy there’s another half sentence. You’ve got the point and I’m not going to use it.

[*ED. NOTE:* The half sentence which the President omitted in delivering the speech read: “picked out of context in such a way that they distort the facts.”]

96. *Address at Foreign Policy Association*

You know, I happen to believe — I'm sort of old-fashioned, I guess I'm old — that, even in a political campaign, we ought to obey that ancient injunction — Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

Now, the question of the men who will formulate and carry out the foreign policy of this country is in issue in this country — *very much* in issue. It is in issue not in terms of partisan application, but in terms of sober, solemn facts — the facts that are on the record.

If the Republicans were to win control of the Congress in this election — and it is only two weeks from next Tuesday, and I occupy the curious position of being President of the United States, and at the same time a candidate for the Presidency — if the Republicans were to win control of the Congress, inveterate isolationists would occupy positions of commanding influence and power.

I have already spoken of the ranking Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Hiram Johnson.

One of the most influential members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee — a man who would also be the chairman of the powerful Senate Committee on Appropriations — is Senator Gerald P. Nye.

Well, I am not going back to the old story of the last Presidential campaign: Martin and Barton and Fish — one of them has gone! But, in the House of Representatives, the man who is the present leader of the Republicans there, another friend of mine, and who undoubtedly would be Speaker, is Joseph W. Martin. He voted — I am just giving you examples — he voted against the Repeal of the Arms Embargo, he voted against the Lend-Lease Bill, against the extension of the Selective Service Law, against the arming of merchant ships, and against the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, and their extensions.

The Chairman of the powerful Committee on Rules is the other one and would be none other than Hamilton Fish.

These are like a lot of others in the Congress of the United

States — and every one of them is now actively campaigning for the national Republican ticket this year.

Can anyone really suppose that these isolationists have changed their minds about world affairs? That's a real question. Politicians who embraced the policy of isolationism, and who never raised their voices against it in our days of peril — I don't think they are reliable custodians of the future of America.

Let's be fair. There have been Democrats in the isolationist camp, but they have been relatively few and far between, and so far they have not attained great positions of leadership.

And I am proud of the fact that this Administration does not have the support of the isolationist press. You know, for about a half-century I have been accustomed to naming names. I mean specifically, to take the glaring examples, the McCormick-Patterson-Gannett-and-Hearst press.

The American people have gone through great national debates in the recent critical years. They were soul-searching debates. They reached from every city to every village and to every home.

We have debated our principles, and our determination to aid those fighting for freedom.

Obviously, we could have come to terms with Hitler, and we could have accepted a minor role in his totalitarian world. We rejected that!

We could have compromised with Japan, and bargained for a place in the Japanese-dominated Asia, by selling out the heart's blood of the Chinese people. And we rejected that!

As I look back, I am more and more certain that the decision *not* to bargain with the tyrants rose from the hearts and souls and sinews of the American people. They faced reality; they appraised reality; they knew what freedom meant.

The power which this Nation has attained — the political, the economic, the military, and above all the moral power — has brought to us the responsibility, and with it the opportunity, for leadership in the community of Nations. It is our own best interest, and in the name of peace and humanity, this Nation cannot, must not, and will not shirk that responsibility.

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Now, there are some who hope to see a structure of peace completely set up immediately, with all the apartments assigned to everybody's satisfaction, with the telephones in, and the plumbing complete — the heating system, and the electric ice boxes all functioning perfectly, all furnished with linen and silver — and with the rent prepaid.

The United Nations have not yet produced such a comfortable dwelling place. But we have achieved a very practical expression of a common purpose on the part of four great Nations, who are now united to wage this war, that they will embark together after the war on a greater and more difficult enterprise, an enterprise of waging peace. We will embark on it with all the peace-loving Nations of the world — large and small.

And our objective, as I stated ten days ago, is to complete the organization of the United Nations without delay, before hostilities actually cease.

Peace, like war, can succeed only where there is a will to enforce it, and where there is available power to enforce it.

The Council of the United Nations must have the power to act quickly and decisively to keep the peace by force, if necessary. A policeman would not be a very effective policeman if, when he saw a felon break into a house, he had to go to the Town Hall and call a town meeting to issue a warrant before the felon could be arrested.

So to my simple mind it is clear that, if the world organization is to have any reality at all, our American representative must be endowed in advance by the people themselves, by constitutional means through their representatives in the Congress, with authority to act.

If we do not catch the international felon when we have our hands on him, if we let him get away with his loot because the Town Council has not passed an ordinance authorizing his arrest, then we are *not* doing our share to prevent another world war. I think, and I have had some experience, that the people of this Nation want their Government to work, they want their Government to act, and not merely to talk, whenever and wherever there is a threat to world peace.

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Now, it's obvious that we cannot attain our great objectives by ourselves. Never again, after cooperating with other Nations in a world war to save our way of life, can we wash our hands of maintaining the peace for which we fought.

The Dumbarton Oaks Conference did not spring up overnight. It was called by Secretary Hull and me after years of thought, discussion, preparation, and consultation with our allies. Our State Department did a grand job in preparing for the Conference and leading it to a successful termination. It was just another chapter in the long process of cooperation with other peace-loving Nations — beginning with the Atlantic Charter Conference — that's a long time ago — and continuing through Conferences at Casablanca, Moscow, Cairo, Teheran and Quebec and Washington.

It is my profound conviction that the American people as a whole have a very real understanding of these things.

The American people know that Cordell Hull and I are thoroughly conversant with the Constitution of the United States — and know that we cannot commit this Nation to any secret treaties or any secret guarantees that are in violation of that Constitution.

After my return from Teheran, I stated officially that no secret commitments had been made. The issue then is between my veracity and the continuing assertions of those who have no responsibility in the foreign field — or, perhaps I should say, a field foreign to them.

The peace structure which we are building must depend on foundations that go deep into the soil of men's faith and men's hearts — otherwise it is worthless. Only the unflagging will of men can preserve it.

No President of the United States can make the American contribution to preserve the peace without the constant, alert, and conscious collaboration of the American people.

Only the determination of the people to use the machinery gives worth to the machinery.

We believe that the American people have already made up

96. Address at Foreign Policy Association

their minds on this great issue; and this Administration has been able to press forward confidently with its plans.

We are seeking to avert and avoid war.

The very fact that we are now at work on the organization of the peace proves that the great Nations are committed to trust in each other. Put this proposition any way you want, it is bound to come out the same way; we either work with the other great Nations, or we might some day have to fight them. And I am against that.

The kind of world order which we the peace-loving Nations must achieve, must depend essentially on friendly human relations, on acquaintance, on tolerance, on unassailable sincerity and good will and good faith. We have achieved that relationship to a very remarkable degree in our dealings with our allies in this war — as I think the events of the war have proved.

It is a new thing in human history for allies to work together, as we have done — so closely, so harmoniously, so effectively in the fighting of a war, and at the same time in the building of a peace.

If we fail to maintain that relationship in the peace — if we fail to expand it and strengthen it — then there will be no lasting peace.

As for Germany, that tragic Nation which has sown the wind and is now reaping the whirlwind — we and our allies are entirely agreed that we shall not bargain with the Nazi conspirators, or leave them a shred of control — open or secret — of the instruments of government.

We shall not leave them a single element of military power — or of potential military power.

But, and I should be false to the very foundations of my religious and political convictions if I should ever relinquish the hope — or even the faith — that in all peoples, without exception, there live some instinct for truth, some attraction toward justice, some passion for peace — buried as they may be in the German case under a brutal régime.

We bring no charge against the German race, as such, for we cannot believe that God has eternally condemned any race of

humanity. We know in our own land, in these United States of America, how many good men and women of German ancestry have proved loyal, freedom-loving, and peace-loving citizens.

But there is going to be a stern punishment for all those in Germany directly responsible for this agony of mankind.

The German people are not going to be enslaved. Because the United Nations do not traffic in human slavery. But it will be necessary for them to earn their way back into the fellowship of peace-loving and law-abiding Nations. And, in their climb up that steep road, we shall certainly see to it that they are not encumbered by having to carry guns. We hope they will be relieved of that burden forever.

The task ahead of us will not be easy. Indeed it will be as difficult and complex as any task that has ever faced any American administration.

I will not say to you now, or ever, that we of the Democratic Party know all the answers. I am certain, for myself, that *I* do not know how all the unforeseeable difficulties can be met. What I can say to you is this — that I have unlimited faith that the task can be done. And that faith is based on knowledge gained in the arduous, practical, and continuing experience of these past eventful years.

I speak to the present generation of Americans with a reverent participation in its sorrows and in its hopes. No generation has undergone a greater test, or has met that test with greater heroism and I think greater wisdom, and no generation has had a more exalted mission.

For this generation must act not only for itself, but as a trustee for all those who fell in the last war — a part of their mission unfulfilled.

It must act also for all those who have paid the supreme price in this war — lest their mission, too, be betrayed.

And finally it must act for the generations to come — that must be granted a heritage of peace.

I do not exaggerate that mission. We are not fighting for, and we shall not attain a Utopia. Indeed, in our own land, the work to be done is never finished. We have yet to realize the full and

97. *Campaign Remarks at Wilmington, Del.*

equal enjoyment of our freedom. So, in embarking on the building of a world fellowship, we have set ourselves a long and arduous task, which will challenge our patience, our intelligence, our imagination, as well as our faith.

That task, my friends, calls for the judgment of a seasoned and a mature people. This, I think, the American people have become. We shall not again be thwarted in our will to live as a mature Nation, confronting limitless horizons. We shall bear our full responsibility, exercise our full influence, and bring our full help and encouragement to all who aspire to peace and freedom.

We now are, and we shall continue to be, strong brothers in the family of mankind — the family of the children of God.

97 ¶ “I Think You All Know the Difference Between a Chestnut Horse and a Horse Chestnut” — Campaign Remarks at Wilmington, Delaware. October 27, 1944

THIS is like a homecoming. As a matter of fact, I think I am a little superstitious. Eight years ago, I came here, on the way to Philadelphia, and I said a few words; and four years ago I came here and said a few words. The results go by threes.

Somebody tells me that we are holding a national election, but remember that we are holding a national election while the Nation is at war — and this is the first time that an election has been held under these conditions since 1864 — eighty years ago.

And that recalls to my mind a remark made by Abraham Lincoln — and I think I quoted him here the last time, or the time before — when Lincoln was campaigning against Stephen A. Douglas — a remark that I think is particularly timely and applicable in this campaign.

Lincoln said, about something that Douglas had said, “In every way possible he tried to prove that a horse chestnut is a chestnut horse.”

It seems to me that that applies very neatly to some of the Re-

97. *Campaign Remarks at Wilmington, Del.*

publican political oratory that has lately been agitating the air waves.

I do not believe that this oratory is really disturbing the progress of events here in Wilmington, or in the State of Delaware. You have shown the way before, what to believe and what not to believe.

I think you all know the difference between a chestnut horse and a horse chestnut.

You know a great deal about the size and the quality of the effort that has gone into the performance of our great job of production.

The products of Wilmington have made quite a lot of noise around the world.

I myself — being, I might say, “amphibious-minded” — am particularly interested in the landing ships that you have built right here along the Delaware River.

Remember that those landing ships — built in your back yards, so to speak — and all the various types of landing craft, have played a tremendous part in the winning of this war.

In the Pacific and eastern seas, and the European seas, we have had to send our troops thousands of miles, across both oceans, to land on beaches held by the enemy. We had to have entirely new kinds of vessels to do the final and the toughest job of all — Sicily, Salerno, and Normandy, the Marshalls, the Gilberts, the Marianas, and now, thank God, the Philippines — all of those historic operations have been made possible by the brilliant work of our Navy and our Army in developing new methods of amphibious attack.

And the workers — the ship builders — the industrial engineers — the chemists — and the plain citizens of this State of Delaware have contributed mightily to the victories that we have won.

And when I mention the word “workers,” I want to make it clear that I include all kinds of work. For example, there are the white-collar workers, who do jobs that are unspectacular but are of vital importance in our war effort and our whole American life.

In this national election, held in wartime, I hope that every

98. *Campaign Address at Philadelphia*

citizen of Wilmington and of Delaware — every man and woman who is qualified to vote — will step up to the polls on election day and cast his or her ballot — in this State two ballots. I don't want to advise you to vote early and often, because I might go to jail.

But a big vote in this State, in this city, and every State in the Union this year will speak powerfully for the cause of democracy all over the world.

NOTE: On October 27, the President also delivered brief, extemporaneous remarks at the City Hall, Camden, New Jersey, which are not printed in this volume.

98 ¶ “May This Country Never Forget That Its Power in This War Has Come from the Efforts of Its Citizens, Living in Freedom and Equality” — Campaign Address at Shibe Park, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. October 27, 1944

My friends:

I AM GLAD to come back to Philadelphia. Today is the anniversary of the birth of a great fighting American — Theodore Roosevelt.

This day — his birthday — is celebrated every year as Navy Day — and I think that Theodore Roosevelt would be happy and proud to know that our American fleet today is greater than all the navies of the world put together.

And when I say all the navies, I am including what was — until three days ago — the Japanese fleet.

Since Navy Day a year ago, our armed forces — Army, Navy, and Air forces — have participated in no fewer than twenty-seven different D-Days — twenty-seven different landings in force on enemy-held soil.

98. *Campaign Address at Philadelphia*

Every one of those landings has been an incredibly complicated, and hazardous undertaking, as you realize, requiring months of most careful planning, flawless coordination, and literally split-second timing in execution. The larger operations have required hundreds of warships, thousands of smaller craft, thousands of airplanes, and hundreds of thousands of men.

And every one of these twenty-seven D-Days has been a triumphant success.

I think it is a remarkable achievement that within less than five months we have been able to carry out major offensive operations in both Europe and the Philippines — thirteen thousand miles apart from each other.

And speaking of the glorious operations in the Philippines — I wonder — whatever became of the suggestion made a few weeks ago, that I had failed for political reasons to send enough forces or supplies to General MacArthur?

Now of course, I realize that in this political campaign it is considered by some to be very impolite to mention the fact that there is a war on.

But, the war is still on and eleven million American fighting men know it — and so do their families. And in that war I bear a responsibility that I can never shirk and never, for one instant, forget.

For the Constitution of the United States says — and I hope you will pardon me if I quote it correctly — “The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States.”

And I am not supposed to mention that, either.

But somehow or other, it seems to me that this is a matter of considerable importance to the people of the United States.

You know, it was due to no accident and no oversight that the framers of our Constitution — in this City — put the command of our armed forces under civilian authority.

And as a result it is the duty of the Commander in Chief to appoint the Secretaries of War and Navy and the Chiefs of Staff — and I feel called upon to offer no apologies for my selection of

98. Campaign Address at Philadelphia

Henry Stimson, the late Frank Knox, and Jim Forrestal, or of Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King, and General Arnold.

Furthermore, the Commander in Chief has final responsibility for determining how our resources shall be distributed as between our land forces, our sea forces, and our air forces, and as among the different theaters of operation, and also what portion of these great resources of ours shall be turned over to our allies.

Our teamwork with our allies in this war has involved innumerable intricate problems that could be settled only around the conference table by those who had final authority.

The other day, I am told, a prominent Republican orator stated that: "There are not five civilians in the entire national Government who have the confidence and respect of the American people."

In fact, he went on to describe your present Administration as "the most spectacular collection of incompetent people who ever held public office."

Well, you know, that is pretty serious, because the only conclusion to be drawn from that is that we are losing this war. If so, that will be news to most of us — and it will certainly be news to the Nazis and the Japs.

Now, I like a thing called the record, and the record will show that from almost the first minute of this Administration — twelve years ago, nearly — I started to rebuild the United States Navy which had been whittled down during previous Administrations. What the Navy suffered from conspicuously during three Republican administrations was a drastic false economy, which not only scrapped ships but even prevented adequate target practice, adequate maneuvers, enough oil, or adequate supplies. Indeed, it reached the point that on some vessels the crews — who at least were patriotic — chipped in out of their own pockets to buy their own brass polish to keep the bright work shining.

The record will show that when we were attacked in December, 1941, we had already made tremendous progress toward building the greatest war machine the world has ever known.

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Take, for example, just the other day, the ships of Admiral Halsey's powerful Third Fleet that helped to give the Japanese Navy the worst licking in its history.

Every battleship in his Fleet was authorized between 1933 and 1938. Construction had begun on all of those battleships by September, 1940 — well over a year before Pearl Harbor.

All but two of the great force of cruisers in Admiral Halsey's Fleet were authorized between 1933 and 1940; and construction on all but one of them had begun before Pearl Harbor.

All of the aircraft carriers in that Fleet had been authorized by the present Administration before Pearl Harbor, and half of them were actually under construction before Pearl Harbor.

There is the answer — just a little part of it — once and for all — to a Republican candidate who said that this Administration had made, "absolutely no military preparation for the events that it now claims it foresaw."

Why, less than three months before Hitler launched his murderous assault against Poland, the Republicans in the House of Representatives voted 144-8 in favor of cutting the appropriations for the Army Air Corps.

I often think how Hitler and Hirohito must have laughed in those days.

But they are not laughing now.

And in the spring of 1940, before we were attacked, I called for the production of fifty thousand airplanes — and that same Republican candidate spoke scornfully of such a proposition, calling it a "publicity stunt," and saying it would take four years to reach such a goal.

But, we have since then produced more than two hundred and forty thousand airplanes. Fifty thousand, and laughed at! But today we have attained a production rate of more than nine thousand per month — more than a hundred thousand a year.

And we have trained eight hundred and fifty thousand American boys to be the pilots, the navigators, the bombardiers, aerial gunners, and other members of their crews.

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I admit that the figures seem fantastic — but the results were not impossible to those who had real faith in America.

I won't go on very long with these figures, but they ought to be known. In 1940, we had a regular Army of approximately two hundred and fifty thousand, and a reserve, including the National Guard, of three hundred and fifty thousand.

Today, there's a bit of a difference. We have eight million in our Army, including a hundred and twenty-six thousand women. And here's a piece of news: More than half of our Army is overseas.

Now the Navy. In 1940 we had three hundred and sixty-nine combat ships. We had one hundred and eighty-nine thousand men.

Today, we have more than fifteen hundred combat vessels, supported by an armada of fifty thousand other ships, including landing craft. As you know, a lot of those landing craft have been built not very far away from here, on the Delaware River. And we have more than three and a half million men in our Navy, and over one hundred thousand women.

Never before in history — at least, in our history — have the soldiers and sailors of any Nation gone into battle so thoroughly trained, so thoroughly equipped, so well fed, so thoroughly supported as the American soldiers and sailors fighting today in Europe, Asia, and the Pacific.

In his report to the Secretary of War, in 1943, General Marshall wrote, "In matters of personnel, military intelligence, training, supply and preparation of war plans, sound principles and policies had been established in the preparation for just such an emergency as arose."

After we were attacked by the Japanese, and Hitler and Mussolini had declared war on us, some people in this country urged that we go on the defensive — that we pull in our fleet to guard this continent — that we send no forces overseas.

That policy was rejected. In my first war message to the Congress, less than a month after Pearl Harbor, I said this:

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"We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. As our power and our resources are fully mobilized, we shall carry the attack against the enemy — we shall hit him and hit him again wherever and whenever we can reach him. We must keep him far from our shores, for we intend to bring this battle to him on his own home grounds."

And that, my friends, is the policy that we have successfully followed.

In our over-all strategy, we planned our war effort in three phases:

The first phase could be called "plugging the line" — that meant stopping the Germans, and stopping the Japs from expanding their conquests to such key points as Australia and the British Isles — for England then was still very vulnerable to invasion.

Within a month after Pearl Harbor, American expeditionary forces were moving across the Pacific many thousands of miles to Australia, and across the Atlantic more thousands of miles to northern Ireland and England. Our air forces went to the Southwest Pacific, to India, to China, the Middle East, and Great Britain.

In this first phase we furnished arms to the British that helped them to stop the Germans in Egypt — and arms to the Russians that helped them to stop the Germans at Stalingrad.

And our own growing forces stopped the Japanese in the Coral Sea and at Midway.

The second phase was the shattering of the enemy's outer defenses — establishing bases from which to launch our major attacks.

That phase began with the operations in New Guinea, in the Solomons, and in North Africa. It continued through all the operations — the Marshalls, the Gilberts, the Marianas, the Carolines, the Aleutians, and now the Philippines. And it went on in Europe with the landings in Sicily and Italy and finally in France itself.

The war in Europe has now reached the final, decisive phase, the attack on Germany itself.

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It is true, we will have much longer and much farther to go in the war against Japan. But every day that goes by speeds it up.

All of these operations had to be planned far in advance. You can't imagine how tired I sometimes get when I am told that something that looks simple is going to take three months — six months to do. Well, that is part of the job of a Commander in Chief. Sometimes I have to be disappointed, sometimes I have to go along with the estimates of the professionals. That does not mean merely drawing arrows on maps — planning. It has meant planning in terms of precisely how many men will be needed, and how many ships — warships, cargo ships, landing craft — how many bombers, how many fighter planes — how much equipment — food — what types of equipment down to the last cartridge. And, it has meant getting all of them to the right place at the right time.

It has meant establishing for our Army and Navy supply lines extending over fifty-six thousand miles — more than twice the circumference of this earth. It has meant establishing the lines of the Air Transport Command — a hundred and fifty thousand miles of air-supply systems running on the clock.

It has meant moving supplies along these lines at the rate of almost three million long tons a month — requiring five hundred and seventy-six cargo ships to leave our ports with supplies every month. It has meant moving more than fourteen million barrels of gasoline and oil a month, requiring a hundred and fifty-six tanker sailings a month. And all those ships and all those tankers were built in American shipyards.

So, to sum it up, I think we can say that the production necessary to equip and maintain our vast force of fighting men on global battlefronts is without parallel.

I need not repeat the figures. The facts speak for themselves. They speak with the thunder of tens of thousands of guns on battlefields all over the world. They speak with the roar of more than a million tons of bombs dropped by our air forces.

The whole story of our vast effort in this war has been the story of incredible achievement — the story of the job that has

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been done by an Administration which, I am told, is "old, and tired and quarrelsome."

And while we have been doing that job, we have constantly investigated and publicized our whole management of the war effort. I call particular attention to the thorough and painstaking and completely non-partisan work of that committee of the Senate that was organized and presided over by Harry Truman.

I am very certain that the Truman Committee has done a job that will live in history as an example of honest, efficient government at work.

But there is one thing I want to say, and it cannot be told in figures.

I want to express the conviction that the greatest of our past American heroes — the heroes of Bunker Hill and Gettysburg — and San Juan Hill and Manila Bay and the Argonne — would consider themselves honored to be associated with our fighting men of today.

Those boys hated, and these boys hate, war.

The average American citizen is not a soldier by choice.

But our boys have proved that they can take on the best of our militaristic enemies, the best that they can put forward — they can take them on and beat them. And we must never forget that our allies, by resisting the aggressors to the last ditch, gave us time to train our men and prepare their equipment before they went into battle.

The quality of our American fighting men is not all a matter of training or equipment, or organization. It is essentially a matter of spirit. That spirit is expressive of their faith in America.

The most important fact in our national life today is the essential fact of eleven million young Americans in our armed forces — more than half of them overseas.

When you multiply that eleven million by their families and their friends, you have the whole American people personally involved in this war — a war that was forced upon us, a war which we did our utmost to avoid, a war that came upon us as inevitably as an earthquake.

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I think particularly of the mothers and wives and sisters and sweethearts of the men in service. There are great numbers of these gallant women who do not have the satisfaction or the distraction of jobs in war plants. But they have the quiet, essential job of keeping the homes going, caring for the children or the old folks.

Mrs. Roosevelt and I hear very often from a great many of these women who live in loneliness and anxiety while their men are far away.

I can speak as one who knows something of the feelings of a parent with sons who are in the battle line overseas. I know that, regardless of the outcome of this election, our sons must and will go on fighting for whatever length of time is necessary for victory.

And when this great job in winning the war is done, the men of our armed forces will be demobilized, they will be returned to their homes just as rapidly as possible. The War Department and the Navy Department are pledged to that. I am pledged to that. The very law of the land, enacted by the Congress, is pledged to that. And there are no strings attached to the pledge.

While this agony of the war lasts, the families of our fighting men can be certain that their boys are being given and always will be given the best equipment, the best arms, the best food, the best medical care that the resources of the Nation and the genius of the Nation can provide. And I am not engaging in undue boasting when I say that that is the best in the world.

Take health, as an example. The health of our Army and Navy and Marines and Coast Guard is now better than it was in peacetime. Although our forces have been fighting in all kinds of climates, exposed to all the diseases, the death rate from disease has shrunk to one twentieth of one percent—in other words, less than one seventh of the death rate from disease for men in the same age group in civilian life. That is something to think over and repeat to your neighbor. And the mortality rate among the people who have been wounded is less than three percent, as compared with over eight percent in the last world war.

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I have chosen Navy Day, today, to talk about the eleven million Americans in uniform, who with all their strength are engaged in giving us a chance to achieve peace through victory in war.

These men could not have been armed, and they could not be equipped as they are, had it not been for the miracle of our production here back home.

The production that has flowed from this country to all the battlefronts of the world has been due to the efforts of American business, and American labor, and American farmers — working together as a patriotic team.

And the businessmen of America have had a vital part in this war. They have displayed the highest type of patriotism by their devotion, their industry, their ingenuity, and their cooperation with their Government.

I am proud of the fact that in this Administration today there are a great many Republican businessmen who have placed patriotism above party.

But, unfortunately, there are some Republican politicians — in and out of the Congress — who are introducing a very ugly implication into this campaign — an implication of profound concern to all Americans, regardless of party, who believe that this war must be followed by a just and lasting peace.

These politicians are stating that the Republicans in the Congress would cooperate with a Republican President in establishing a world organization for peace while at the same time they are clearly intimating that they would *not* cooperate toward the same end in the event of a Democratic victory.

That, coming in the closing days of the campaign, it seems to me, is a deliberate and indefensible effort to place political advantage not only above devotion to country but also above our very deep desire to avoid the death and destruction that would be caused by future wars.

I do not think that the American people will take kindly to this policy of "Vote my way or I won't play."

May this country never forget that its power in this war has

99. *Campaign Remarks at Fort Wayne, Ind.*

come from the efforts of its citizens, living in freedom and equality.

May this country hold in piety and steadfast faith those who have battled and died to give it new opportunities for service and growth.

May it reserve its contempt for those who see in it only an instrument for their own selfish interests.

May it marshal its righteous wrath against those who would divide it by racial struggles.

May it lavish its scorn upon the faint-hearted.

Finally, may this country always give its support to those who have engaged with us in the war against oppression and who will continue with us in the struggle for a vital, creative peace.

God Bless the United States of America.

99 ¶ Campaign Remarks at Fort Wayne,
Indiana. October 28, 1944

My friends of Fort Wayne:

I HAVE to say on this occasion "my friends of Indiana," because it is the only chance that I'll have to say just a few words in this State. This is a very big country, and of the forty-eight of the brethren, Indiana is only one; but I am glad to have a chance to come here, if only for these few minutes.

I have been here before several times, and I know that you citizens in this city have done and are doing so much to help us win the war.

I have heard some rather irritated comment by Republican campaign orators about taking a campaign trip.

They don't like it.

They seem to believe that I promised them — way back when I was nominated at the convention presided over by your Senator — they seemed to believe that I was not going to campaign under any circumstances, and therefore that they could say anything they wanted to about my policies and my Administration.

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However, they conveniently overlook what I actually said in my speech of acceptance last July, and I think the Senator will bear me out. I am going to quote from that speech very briefly — and I am sure you will pardon me if I quote it correctly — because, you know, a long time ago, when I was Governor of New York, I formed the habit of quoting correctly. I said I wasn't going to conduct the usual campaign. I said, however: "I shall, however, feel free to report to the people the facts about matters of concern to them and especially to correct any misrepresentations."

So that is why I am going out to Chicago for another similar speech tonight. I believe the American people know what those misrepresentations have been. They know what they are, and they know just who made them. I think the American people know that in my speeches in this campaign I have pointed out and corrected many of these misrepresentations.

I have a conviction that the people of Indiana, the majority of the voters of Indiana, know that I am the same Franklin Roosevelt who started in campaigning twelve years ago. And between now and election day I expect to point out and correct some more misrepresentations — because if you are a betting person, the odds are that there will be a great many more misrepresentations.

You good people in Fort Wayne have had first-hand knowledge of the great production job which has been done in this State, and in this great railroad center.

For example, you know how efficiently, how quickly railroads all over the United States have delivered the goods.

It has been a tremendous job for these railroads, geared to the needs of a peacetime America, to be converted almost overnight to the demands of fighting this war. The way our railroads have transported munitions and men to all parts of the United States and to our sea coast, to be sent to our fighting fronts all over the world, has earned and deserved the admiration and gratitude of the entire American people.

And do not forget that American railroad men are doing a fine railroad job in this war with all our armies and our navy

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all over the world. A lot of them got their training right here. I think these railroad men deserve to know what the American people think of them as doing their bit in this war, just as much as if they were in the uniform of the Army or the Navy instead of the uniform of the railroad.

And it so happens that I discovered, about an hour ago, that on my train there is a brakeman named Morrison. He used to live in Fort Wayne. He is the kind of person who is doing his job in this war. He is somewhere here on the platform with me. That is a pure coincidence — but he is a type. And this year it so happens that he is running for the legislature in Indiana.

Well, I see by the papers that Indiana is a “doubtful State.” And there are a lot of other “doubtful States,” according to the poll people. That means that the people who run the public opinion polls cannot agree with each other as to which way the State is going on election day.

Of course, I may have my hunch — which happens to be the same hunch as the Governor of your State has — and on several occasions our hunches have coincided and have proved to be true.

But there is one thing that is not doubtful about this State and that is the ability of its people to produce. That goes for Indiana’s industries and Indiana’s farms. You have all been greatly helpful in conducting — with other States — the greatest war that this world has ever seen in all the centuries.

And I hope that regardless of which party you support on election day, you will produce a record crop of votes.

I would hate to be reelected by a little bit of a vote. That wouldn’t spell democracy. If I am reelected, I want it to be a big vote. And if I should be defeated, I don’t want to be defeated by a small vote. I would always have the feeling that if everybody had come out and voted, I would be in again.

And so I just want to tell you that I am awfully glad to have a chance to make this stop.

I wish that I could campaign in the usual sense — but you know, as I said last night, in some circles it’s not the thing to do.

100. Campaign Address at Chicago

I am in the middle of a war. And so are you. We are all in it. We are going to win it, if we keep on with the same splendid co-operation that we have had in the past. It is quite a job, but I am perfectly able to take it, and you are too, until we win.

And so let me tell you that I am glad to see you, and I hope to come back once more in the next four years — as President of the United States. And as I said before, you will find me just the same, and I'll wear the same sized hat.

100 ¶ “We Are Not Going to Turn the Clock Back” — Campaign Address at Soldiers' Field, Chicago, Illinois. October 28, 1944

THE American people are now engaged in the greatest war of all history — and we are also engaged in a political campaign.

We are fighting this war and we are holding this election — both for the same essential reason: because we have faith in democracy.

And there is no force and there is no combination of forces powerful enough to shake that faith.

As you know, I have had some experience in war — and I have also had a certain amount of previous experience in political campaigning.

But I must confess to you that this is the strangest campaign I have ever seen.

I have listened to the various Republican orators who are urging the people to throw the present Administration out and put them in. And what do they say?

Well, they say in effect, just this:

“Those incompetent blunderers and bunglers in Washington have passed a lot of excellent laws about social security and labor and farm relief and soil conservation — and many others — and we promise that if elected we will not change any of them.”

And they go on to say, “Those same quarrelsome, tired old

men — they have built the greatest military machine the world has ever known, which is fighting its way to victory; and," they say, "if you elect us, we promise not to change any of that, either."

"Therefore," say these Republican orators, "it is time for a change."

They also say in effect, "Those inefficient and worn-out crackpots have really begun to lay the foundations of a lasting world peace. If you elect us, we will not change any of that, either." "But," they whisper, "we'll do it in such a way that we won't lose the support even of Gerald Nye or Gerald Smith — and this is very important — we won't lose the support of any isolationist campaign contributor. Why, we will be able to satisfy even the *Chicago Tribune*."

Tonight I want to talk simply to you about the future of America — about this land of ours, this land of unlimited opportunity. I shall give the Republican campaign orators some more opportunities to say — "me too."

Today, everything we do is devoted to the most important job before us — winning the war and bringing our men and women home as quickly as possible.

We have astonished the whole world and confounded our enemies with our stupendous war production, with the overwhelming courage and skill of our fighting men — with the bridge of ships carrying our munitions and men through the seven seas — with our gigantic fleet which has pounded the enemy all over the Pacific and has just driven through for another touchdown.

Yes, the American people are prepared to meet the problems of peace in the same bold way that they have met the problems of war.

For the American people are resolved that when our men and women return home from this war, they shall come back to the best possible place on the face of the earth — they shall come back to a place where all persons, regardless of race, and color, or creed or place of birth, can live in peace and honor and human dignity — free to speak, free to pray as they wish — free from want — and free from fear.

100. Campaign Address at Chicago

Last January, in my message to the Congress on the State of the Union, I outlined an Economic Bill of Rights on which "a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all."

And I repeat it now:

"The right of a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the Nation;

"The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

"The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

"The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

"The right of every family to a decent home;

"The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

"The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment;

"The right to a good education."

Now, what do those rights mean? They "spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being."

Some people — I need not name them — have sneered at these ideals as well as at the ideals of the Atlantic Charter, the ideals of the Four Freedoms. They have said that they were the dreams of starry-eyed New Dealers — that it is silly to talk of them because we cannot attain these ideals tomorrow or the next day.

The American people have greater faith than that. I know that they agree with these objectives — that they demand them — that they are determined to get them — and that they are *going* to get them.

The American people have a good habit — the habit of going right ahead and accomplishing the impossible.

We know that, and other people know it. Today, there are those that know it best of all: the Nazis and the Japs.

Now, this Economic Bill of Rights is the recognition of the

simple fact that, in America, the future of the worker, the future of the farmer lies in the well-being of private enterprise; and that the future of private enterprise lies in the well-being of the worker and the farmer. It goes both ways.

And the well-being of the Nation as a whole is synonymous with the well-being of each and every one of its citizens.

Now I have the possibly old-fashioned theory that when you have problems to solve, when you have objectives to achieve, you cannot get very far by just talking about them.

We have got to go out and do something!

To assure the full realization of the right to a useful and remunerative employment, an adequate program must, and if I have anything to do about it will, provide America with close to sixty million productive jobs.

I foresee an expansion of our peacetime productive capacity that will require new facilities, new plants, new equipment — capable of hiring millions of men.

I propose that the Government do its part in helping private enterprise to finance expansion of our private industrial plant through normal investment channels.

For example, business, large and small, must be encouraged by the Government to expand its plants, to replace its obsolete or worn-out equipment with new equipment. And to that end, the rate of depreciation on these new plants and facilities for tax purposes should be accelerated. That means more jobs for the worker, increased profits for the businessman, and a lower cost to the consumer.

In 1933, when my Administration took office, vast numbers of our industrial workers were unemployed, our plants and our businesses were idle, our monetary and banking system was in ruins — our economic resources were running to waste.

But by 1940 — before Pearl Harbor — we had increased our employment by ten million workers. We had converted a corporate loss of five and one-half billion dollars in 1932, to a corporate profit (after taxes) of nearly five billion dollars in 1940.

Obviously, to increase jobs after this war, we shall have to in-

crease demand for our industrial and agricultural production not only here at home, but abroad also.

I am sure that every man and woman in this vast gathering here tonight will agree with me in my conviction that never again must we in the United States attempt to isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

I am convinced that, with Congressional approval, the foreign trade of the United States can be trebled after the war — providing millions of more jobs.

Such cooperative measures provide the soundest economic foundation for a lasting peace. And, after this war, we do not intend to settle for anything less than a lasting peace.

When we think of the America of tomorrow, we think of many things.

One of them is the American home — in our cities, in our villages, on our farms. Millions of our people have never had homes worthy of American standards — well built homes, with electricity and plumbing, air and sunlight.

The demand for homes and our capacity to build them call for a program of well over a million homes a year for at least ten years. Private industry can build and finance the vast majority of these homes. Government can and will assist and encourage private industry to do this, as it has for many years. For those very low income groups that cannot possibly afford decent homes, the Federal Government should continue to assist local housing authorities in meeting that need.

In the future America that we are talking about, we think of new highways, new parkways. We think of thousands of new airports to service the new commercial and private air travel which is bound to come after the war. We think of new planes, large and small, new cheap automobiles with low maintenance and operation costs. We think of new hospitals and new health clinics. We think of a new merchant marine for our expanded world trade.

My friends, think of these vast possibilities for industrial ex-

pansion — and you will foresee opportunities for more millions of jobs.

And with all that, our Economic Bill of Rights — like the sacred Bill of Rights of our Constitution itself — must be applied to all our citizens, irrespective of race, or creed or color.

Three years ago, back in 1941, I appointed a Fair Employment Practice Committee to prevent discrimination in war industry and Government employment. The work of that Committee and the results obtained more than justify its creation.

I believe that the Congress of the United States should by law make the Committee permanent.

America must remain the land of high wages and efficient production. Every full-time job in America must provide enough for a decent living. And that goes for jobs in mines, offices, factories, stores, and canneries — everywhere where men and women are employed.

During the war we have been compelled to limit wage and salary increases for one great objective — to prevent runaway inflation. You all know how successfully we have held the line by the way your cost of living has been kept down for the necessities of life.

However, at the end of the war there will be more goods available, and it is only common sense to see to it that the working man is paid enough, and that the farmers earn enough, to buy these goods and keep our factories running. It is a simple fact, likewise, that a greatly increased production of food and fiber on the farms can be consumed by the people who work in industry only if those people who work in industry have enough money to buy food and clothing. If industrial wages go down, I can assure you that farm prices will go down too. After the war, we shall of course remove the control of wages and leave their determination to free collective bargaining between trade unions and employers.

And we of the cities, in this war, must remember that the American farmer has been called upon to do far and away the biggest food production job in all our history.

The American farmer has met that challenge triumphantly.

Despite all manner of wartime difficulties — shortage of farm labor and of new farm machinery — the American farmer has achieved a total of food production which is one of the great wonders of the world.

The American farmer is a great producer; and he must have the means also to be a great consumer. For more farm income means more jobs everywhere in the Nation.

Let us look back for a moment to 1932, a year of unhappy memories. All of us remember the spreading tide of farm foreclosures; we remember four-cent hogs, twenty-cent wheat, five-cent cotton.

I am going to give you, very simply, some figures of recovery — and I am sure you will pardon me if I quote them correctly. For as I remarked at Fort Wayne this afternoon, it is my habit to quote figures correctly, even when I was Governor of the State of New York, many years ago.

In those days of 1932, the American farmers' net income was only two and a quarter billion dollars.

In 1940 — a year before we were attacked — farm income in the United States was more than doubled. It was up to five and a half billion dollars.

And this year — in 1944 — it will be approximately thirteen and one-half billion dollars.

I take it that the American farmer does not want to go back to a Government owned by the moguls of 1929 — and let us bear it constantly in mind that those same moguls still control the destinies of the Republican Party.

We must continue this Administration's policy of conserving the enormous gifts with which an abundant Providence has blessed our country — our soil, our forests, and our water.

For example, the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority is closely related to our national farm policy — our farm program, and we look forward toward similar developments which I have recommended in other places — the valley of the Missouri, the

valley of the Arkansas, and the Columbia River Basin out on the far coast.

And incidentally — and as an aside — I cannot resist the temptation to point to the gigantic contribution to our war effort made by the power generated at T.V.A. and Bonneville and Grand Coulee.

But, do you remember when the building of these great public works was ridiculed as New Deal “boondoggling”? And we are planning — almost ready to put into effect — developments at Grand Coulee, which will provide irrigation for many tens of thousands of acres, providing fertile land for settlement — I hope — by many of our returning soldiers and sailors.

More “boondoggling”!!

This Administration has put into the law of the land the farmers’ long dream of parity prices.

We propose, too, that the Government will cooperate when the weather will not — by a genuine crop insurance program.

This Administration has adopted — and will continue — the policy of giving to as many farmers as possible the chance of owning their own farms.

That means something to those veterans who left their farms to fight for their country.

And after this war has ended, then will come the time when the returning servicemen can grow their own apples on their own farms instead of having to sell apples on the street corners.

I believe in free enterprise — and always have.

I believe in the profit system — and always have.

I believe that private enterprise can give full employment to our people.

If anyone feels that my faith in our ability to provide sixty million peacetime jobs is fantastic, let him remember that some people said the same thing about my demand in 1940 for fifty thousand airplanes.

I believe in exceptional rewards for innovation, skill, and risk-taking by business.

We shall lift production and price control as soon as they are

no longer needed — encouraging private business to produce more of the things to which we are accustomed and also thousands of new things, in ever-increasing volume, under conditions of free and open competition.

This Administration has been mindful from its earliest days, and will continue to be mindful, of the problems of small business as well as large.

Small business played a magnificent part in producing thousands of items needed for our armed forces. When the war broke out it was mobilized into war production. Money was loaned to them for machinery. Over one million contracts and subcontracts have been distributed among sixty thousand of the smaller plants of our Nation.

We shall make sure that small business is given every facility to buy Government-owned plants, equipment, and inventories. The special credit and capital requirements of small business are going to be met.

And small business will continue to be protected from selfish, cold-blooded monopolies and cartels. Beware of that profound enemy of the free enterprise system who pays lip-service to free competition — but also labels every anti-trust prosecution as a “persecution.” You know, it depends a good deal on whose baby has the measles.

This war has demonstrated that when the American businessman and the American worker and the American farmer work together, they form an unbeatable team.

We know that — you and I — our allies know that — and so do our enemies.

That winning team must keep together after the war, and it will win many more historic victories of peace for our country, for the cause of security, and for decent standards of living here and throughout the world.

We owe it to our fighting men, we owe it to their families — we owe it to all of our people who have given so much in this war — we owe it to our children — to keep that winning team together.

101. *Extemporaneous Remarks at Clarksburg, W. Va.*

The future of America, like its past, must be made by deeds — not words.

America has always been a land of action — a land of adventurous pioneering — a land of growing and building.

America must always be such a land.

The creed of our democracy is that liberty is acquired, liberty is kept by men and women who are strong, self-reliant, and possessed of such wisdom as God gives to mankind — men and women who are just, men and women who are understanding, and generous to others — men and women who are capable of disciplining themselves.

For they are the rulers, and they must rule themselves.

I believe in our democratic faith. I believe in the future of our country which has given eternal strength and vitality to that faith.

Here in Chicago you know a lot about that vitality.

And as I say good night to you, I say it in a spirit of faith — a spirit of hope — a spirit of confidence.

We are not going to turn the clock back!

We are going forward, my friends — forward with the fighting millions of our fellow countrymen. We are going forward together.

NOTE: See Item 4 and note, this the Union message embodying the volume, for the President's State of Economic Bill of Rights.

101 ¶ *Informal, Extemporaneous Remarks at Clarksburg, West Virginia. October 29, 1944*

My friends:

THIS being Sunday, the Governor, cooperating with me in keeping politics out of it, says that he is not even going to introduce me.

I have been here before, and it is a great comfort to come on a Sunday in a campaign year, because on Sundays my life is made

much more comfortable by not having to think about politics. Unfortunately, I do have to think about the war, because every day, including Sundays, dispatches come to me, on the train even, to tell me of the progress of our boys in Europe and in the Pacific and in the Philippines. I cannot get rid of that.

Coming up through the State today, I have been looking out of the window, and I think there is a subject that is a good subject for Sunday, because I remember the line in the poem, "Only God can make a tree." And one of the things that people have to realize all over the United States, and I think especially in West Virginia — I don't see the trees I ought to see. That is something that we in this country have fallen down on. We have been using up natural resources that we ought to have replaced. I know we can't replace coal — it will be a long time before all the coal is gone — but trees constitute something that we can replace.

We have to think not just of an annual crop, not just something that we can eat the next year. We have to think of a longer crop, something that takes years to grow, but which in the long run is going to do more good for our children and for our grandchildren than if we leave the hills bare.

I remember a story, and it is taken out of Germany. There was a town there — I don't know what has happened in the last twenty years — but this is back when I used to be in grade school in Germany — and I used to bicycle. And we came to a town, and outside of it there was a great forest. And the interesting thing to me, as a boy even, was that the people in that town didn't have to pay taxes. They were supported by their own forest.

Way back in the time of Louis something of France — the French king was approaching this town with a large army. And the prince of the time asked the townspeople to come out to defend their principality, and he promised them that if they would keep the invader out of the town, out of the principality, he would give them the forest.

The burghers turned out. They repulsed the French king. And very soon the prince made good. He gave the forest to the town. And for over two hundred years that town in Germany

had to pay no taxes. Everybody made money, because they had no taxes. In other words, it was a forest on an annual-yield basis. They cut down perhaps seventy percent of what they could get out of that year's mature crop. And every year they planted new trees. And every year the proceeds from that forest paid the equivalent of taxes.

Now that is true more and more in this country. There are more and more municipalities that are reforesting their watersheds, putting trees on the top of their hills, preventing the erosion of soil. They are not on a self-sustaining basis because it has only been started within the last ten or fifteen years. And yet while only God can make a tree, we have to do a little bit to help ourselves.

I think that all of us sort of look at our lives in terms of ourselves, and yet your children, your grandchildren, your great-grandchildren, your great-great-grandchildren — some of them will be living right around here, right around where the population is today. Perhaps the old house — perhaps a better, new house. And more and more we are going to think about those grandchildren and great-grandchildren. It doesn't amount to very much, this cost of planting trees, and yet the hillsides of West Virginia of our grandparents' day were much more wonderful than they are now. It's largely a deforested State. And I believe that from the point of view of the beauties of nature, from the point of view of all that trees can be, and from the point of view of your own grandchildren's pocketbooks, the small number of cents, the small number of dollars that go into reforestation are going to come back a thousandfold.

Up where I live, in the country on the Hudson River, my family had — when I was a boy — five or six hundred acres. It wasn't valuable land. And my own father, in the old days, would go in every year and cut the family needs in the way of timber.

When I was a small boy, I realized that there was waste going on; and when I went to the State Senate as a young man, somebody appointed me to the Conservation Committee. Some parts of upstate New York were being eroded, a lot of topsoil was run-

ning away, we were getting more floods than we had ever had in the old days.

And just as an experiment, I started planting a few acres each year on run-down land. I tried to pasture some skinny cows on it. And at the same time, I went into the old woods and cleaned out no-account trees, trees that were undergrown or would never amount to anything, crooked trees, rotten trees.

Well, the answer was this. When the last war came on, the old woods had some perfectly splendid trees, because I had cleaned them out, cleaned out the poor stuff.

And during that war, I made four thousand dollars, just by cutting out the mature trees. And I kept on every year. And in the winter time, when the men weren't doing much, they cleaned them out. And the trees grew.

And a quarter of a century later, there came this war. I think I cooperated with the Almighty, because I think trees were made to grow. Oh yes, they are useful as mine timbers. I know that. But there are a lot of places in this State where there isn't any mine timber being cut out.

And in this war, back home, I cut last year — and this is not very Christian — over four thousand dollars' worth net of oak trees, to make into submarine chasers and landing craft and other implements of war. And I am doing it again this year.

And I hope that this use of wood is growing, for all kinds of modern inventions, plastics, and so forth. I hope that when I am able to cut some more trees, twenty or twenty-five years from now — it may not be I, it may be one of the boys — we will be able to use them at a profit, not for building mine chasers or landing craft, but for turning them into some humane use.

And I believe that in this country — not in this State only, but in a great many more — we in the next few years, when peace comes, will be able to devote more thought to making our country more useful — every acre of it.

I remember eight years ago, out in the West, we knew that there were great floods and a dry belt in there. We knew, also, that trees bring water and avoid floods. And so we started one of

those "crackpot" things, for which I have been criticised, a thing called the shelter belt, to keep the high winds away, to hold the moisture in the soil. And the result is that a great success has been made of that shelter belt. Not much ran downhill and the farmers are getting more crops and better crops out there on the prairies in the lea of these rows of trees.

Forestry pays from the practical point of view. I have proved that. And so I hope to live long enough to see West Virginia with more trees in it. I hope to live to see the day when this generation will be thinking not just of themselves but also of the children and the grandchildren.

I had a happy day this morning in looking out at this wonderful scenery, but I couldn't take my eyes off those bare hilltops. I couldn't take my thoughts off the fact that this generation, and especially the previous generation, have been thinking of themselves and not of the future.

Some day I hope to come back, and I hope to see a great forestry program for the whole of the State. Nearly all of it needs it. I hope to come back and be able to say, "I stopped, once upon a time, in Clarksburg, on a Sunday morning, and just avoided politics and talked to the people in Clarksburg, and they must have heard me all over the State, because they started planting trees."

And so I think my Sunday sermon is just about over. It has been good to see you, and I really do hope that I will come back here, one of these days soon.

Thanks.

102 ¶ “The World Is Rising From the Agony of the Past. The World Is Turning with Hope to the Future” — Campaign Radio Address from the White House. November 2, 1944

I HAD hoped that during the early part of this week I could have gone in person to some of the nearer midwestern cities, such as Cleveland and Detroit, and I had hoped that I could visit some of my old friends in upstate New York.

However, on my return to Washington from Chicago, I find that I am not free to spare the time right now. Therefore, I am speaking to you from the White House.

I am disappointed about this — but, as I told the American people a long time ago, I follow the principle of first things first; and this war comes first. That is why I have to be right here in Washington.

We have all been overjoyed by the news from the far Pacific, eight thousand miles away. Never before in all of history has it been possible successfully to conduct such massive operations with such long lines of supply and communications.

In the Pacific Theater, even while we are fighting a major war in Europe, our advance towards Japan is many months ahead of our own optimistic schedule.

But we must remember that any military operation conducted at such a distance is a hazardous undertaking. In any long advance, progress may be interrupted by checks or setbacks. However, ultimately our advance will stop only in Tokyo itself.

Our success has been the result of planning and organization and building; it has been the result of the hardest work and the hardest fighting of which our people are capable.

On the other side of the world, in Europe, the Allied forces under General Eisenhower are pounding the Germans with relentless force.

We do not expect to have a winter lull in Europe. We expect

to keep striking — to keep the enemy on the move — to hit him again and again — to give him no rest — and to drive through to the final objective — Berlin itself.

In Italy, against the handicap of rugged mountain obstacles, and against bitter German resistance — the Allied armies are steadily moving forward, wearing down the German fighting strength in a slow, hard slugging match.

In winning this war there is just one sure way to guarantee the minimum of casualties — by seeing to it that, in every action, we have overwhelming material superiority.

We have already sent to Europe — just one of our many fronts — a force greater than the entire American Expeditionary Force of 1918. American troops are now fighting along a battle line of three hundred miles in northern France and Germany, and about a hundred miles long in Italy.

Within ten weeks after the first landings in France last June, the Allies had landed on the Normandy beaches nearly two million men, more than two million tons of supplies, and nearly half a million vehicles.

Think of all that vast mass of material for one operation — think of the war factories and the ships and the planes, the railroads and labor required to produce and deliver the right supplies to the right place at the right time.

Then think of the tasks that lie ahead of us — all the long, tough miles to Berlin — all the major landings yet to be made in the Pacific — and you will have a conception of the magnitude of the job that remains to be done. It is still a job requiring the all-out production efforts of all of our people back here at home.

Delays in the performance of our job at home mean prolonging the war. They will mean an increase in the total price we must pay in the lives of our men.

All of our able commanders in the field know this. And so do our soldiers and sailors. And we at home must remember it and never forget it.

All Americans at home are concerned in this — the fulfillment of an obligation to our fighting men.

102. *Campaign Address from the White House*

And the women of America are also most profoundly concerned.

Today, women are playing a far more direct, more personal part in the war than ever before.

First, and I think rightly first, are those women in uniform who have gone into the WAACs and the WAVES, the Marines and the Coast Guard, the nursing services of the Army and Navy, the Red Cross — serving in all kinds of places, in and out of the United States — all of them performing functions which definitely relieve men for combat work.

Then there are the millions of women who have gone into war industries. They are greatly responsible for the fact that the munitions and supplies to our men at the front have gone through to them on time.

And, finally, the women who uncomplainingly have done the job of keeping the homes going — the homes with service flags in the windows — service flags with blue stars or gold stars.

And we do not forget those women who have volunteered with the men in the difficult and important work of the ration boards all over the Nation — doing the job of apportioning the necessities of life equitably among their neighbors — rich and poor.

Everyone who has made a sacrifice in this war — and that includes pretty close to one hundred and thirty-five million Americans — is determined that this must not happen again — that the disastrous mistakes of the past shall not be repeated — that this Nation shall be committed to playing a leading part in a world organization which shall be strong and effective and enduring.

We have been told during this political campaign that unless the American people elect the Republican Presidential choice, the Congress will not cooperate in the peace. That is a threat to build a party spite-fence between us and the peace.

I do not know who empowers these men to speak for the Congress in uttering such a threat.

Certainly the United States Senate and the House of Repre-

sentatives showed no reluctance to agree with the foreign policy of this Administration when, almost unanimously last year, they passed the Connally and Fulbright Resolutions which pledged this Nation to cooperate in a world organization for peace.

These are high and serious matters to those who know how greatly our victory in this war and our ability to establish a lasting peace depend on maintaining unshaken that understanding which must be the core of the success of the United Nations.

It is heartening for me to have known and to have talked with the statesmen not of the big Nations only, but the statesmen of the smaller Nations — men like Benes of Czechoslovakia, Mikolajczyk of Poland, Nygaardswold of Norway — and leaders of democratic thought from Yugoslavia and Greece and Denmark and Belgium and The Netherlands — and, of course, the great leaders of our neighbor countries in this hemisphere.

I have spent many fruitful hours talking with men from the more remote Nations — such as Turkey, Persia, Arabia, Palestine, Abyssinia, Liberia, Siam, and others — for all of them are part and parcel of the great family of Nations. It is only through an understanding acquired by years of consultation, that one can get a viewpoint of their problems and their innate yearnings for freedom.

And all of them have this in common — that they yearn for peace and stability, and they look to the United States of America with hope and with faith.

The world is rising from the agony of the past. The world is turning with hope to the future. It would be a sorry and a cynical thing to betray this hope for the sake of mere political advantage, and a tragic thing to shatter it because of the failure of vision.

There have been some other aspects of this campaign which have been distasteful to all of us.

This campaign has been marred by even more than the usual crop of whisperings and rumorings. Some of these get into print, in certain types of newspapers; others are traded about, secretly, in one black market after another. I do not propose to answer in kind.

The voting record proves that the American people pay little attention to whispering campaigns. They have paid little attention to all the malignant rumors of enemy origin that have flooded this country before and during this war — and I am sure that they will treat the present whispering with the same contempt.

As we approach election day, more wicked charges may be made — and probably will — with the hope that someone or somebody will gain momentary advantage.

Hysterical, last-minute accusations or sensational revelations, are trumped up in an attempt to panic the people on election day.

But the American people are not panicked easily. Pearl Harbor proved that.

This election will not be decided on a basis of malignant murmurings — or shouts. It will be settled on the basis of the record.

We all know the record of our military achievements in this war.

And we all know the record of the tremendous production achievements of our American farmers, our American businessmen, and our American labor.

And we all know the record of our teamwork with our allies. Immediately after Pearl Harbor we formed with the other United Nations the greatest military coalition in all of world history. And we have gone steadily on from that to establish the basis for a strong and durable organization for world peace.

The America which built the greatest war machine in all history, and which kept it supplied, is an America which can look to the future with confidence and faith.

I propose the continuance of the teamwork that we have demonstrated in this war.

By carrying out the plans we have made we can avoid a post-war depression — we can provide employment for our veterans and our war workers — we can achieve an orderly reconversion.

Above all, we can avoid another false boom like that which burst in 1929, and a dismal collapse like that of 1930 to 1933.

With continuance of our teamwork, I look forward, under

103. *Time Off for Workers on Election Day*

the leadership of this Government, to an era of expansion and production and employment — to new industries, to increased security.

I look forward to millions of new homes, fit for decent living; to new, low-priced automobiles; new highways; new airplanes and airports; to television; and other miraculous new inventions and discoveries, made during this war, which will be adapted to the peacetime uses of a peace-loving people.

The record that we have established in this war is one of which every American has a right to be proud — today and for all time.

We do not want the later record to say that the great job was done in vain.

We do not want our boys to come back to an America which is headed for another war in another generation.

Our postwar job will be to work, to build — for a better America than we have ever known.

If in the next few years we can start that job right, then you and I can know that we have kept faith with our boys — we have helped them to win a total victory.

103 ¶ The President Urges Employers to Allow Workers Time Off on Election Day.

November 3, 1944

I URGE that all employers allow such time off to their workers as is necessary to give them an adequate opportunity to vote on election day.

It is important that the mandate of the election should be as representative of the whole people as possible, irrespective of whom they vote for.

I am informed that certain companies having contracts with the Government have raised with the procurement agencies the question whether, under such contracts, pay to their workers

will be allowed as reimbursable cost if time off is granted on election day.

The agencies have ruled that such payments are legitimate expenditures under cost-plus contracts; that they may be considered for the purpose of making any computation or adjustment required by the provisions of fixed-price contracts; and that they may also be appropriately allowed as such expenditures in renegotiation of lump-sum contracts.

Under these circumstances all firms having contracts with the Government are especially urged to allow their workers — who have done so much to help win this war — to have full opportunity to express their choice in this election whatever that choice may be.

And I ask that any employee, who is not allowed enough time to vote, inform me of the circumstances, together with the name of his company and any other pertinent facts.

There has been much interest in the subject of soldier voting. I am sure that there is an equal interest in facilitating the vote of civilian workers, regardless of their choice. This point of view seems to be essentially American.

104 ¶ “I Can’t Talk About My Opponent the
Way I Would Like to Sometimes” — Cam-
paign Remarks at Bridgeport, Connecticut.
November 4, 1944

THIS is not a formal campaign speech. It’s just a visit from one neighbor to a lot of other neighbors, because, you know, from my place up on the Hudson River when I look east I can see into Connecticut, and it doesn’t take me very much more than an hour to get down to Bridgeport from my house.

So let me just tell you as a neighbor that I am glad to be back.

This being war, though I am told not to mention that subject,

I always remember back in 1917 or 1918 coming to Bridgeport when I was in the Navy Department, and seeing the building of ships, the manufacturing of munitions, guns, and bullets. And I remember very well the reputation that Bridgeport had in those days in the first war. And it has got the same reputation for a magnificent industrial effort and help to our troops in this war.

I hope that, while we are alive, Bridgeport will never be called on again to make munitions in a world war. And it is interesting, at this time, for the first time since the days of Lincoln, that we are conducting a war and carrying on a presidential election at the same time.

Some of us are trying to get excited about politics. Some of us become even rather agitated. You ought to know. Yes, there are a few politicians, even — men and women — who work themselves into such an emotional state that they say things I hope they will be sorry for before they die.

There isn't very much that I can say, except to talk about the record. You know that. A lot of people don't like me to talk about the record. They don't like to be reminded that people have been taken care of by the Congress through the passage of all kinds of social legislation. When I talk about those things again, some people say, "Oh, why do they have to bring that subject up?"

I think we have made a pretty good record in running this war, and they don't like that talked about either. They like to talk about some kind of a wild, weird future. Well, believe me, you see it and then you don't see it. One candidate says one thing and in another place, simultaneously, another candidate says another thing. I get tremendously amused by some of this — not all of it — because I wish in a way I were back in 1910, when I was running for the State Senate in the State of New York, and I had a particularly disagreeable opponent, and he called me names. Well, I wasn't anything in those days — I wasn't President — and I answered him in kind. And the names that I called him were worse than the names that he called me. So we had a very joyous campaign.

105. *Campaign Remarks at Hartford, Conn.*

In this campaign, of course, all things taken together, I can't talk about my opponent the way I would like to sometimes, because I try to think that I am a Christian. I try to think that some day I will go to Heaven, and I don't believe there is anything to be gained in saying dreadful things about other people in any campaign.

After next Tuesday there are going to be a lot of sorry people in the United States.

I want to say, looking into the future, that I hope some of my good friends who happen to be running for office — your candidate for Governor — your candidate for the Senate — both of them old friends of mine — will be elected; and I hope, too, that very soon after the first of January, Mrs. Roosevelt and I will have a call — in the White House — from the charming lady, Miss Connors [candidate for Congress against Clare Boothe Luce], on my right.

So it's good to see you all, and I'll be back some day, very soon I hope, as President.

Thanks.

105 ¶ “The Democratic Party in This War Has Been the Party of Sound Money” — Campaign Remarks at Hartford, Connecticut.

November 4, 1944

I AM GLAD to come back here. It's rather a happy surprise. Four years ago I was told terrible things were being circulated all over the country. People all over the United States were being told that if I got reelected, all of the Hartford insurance companies would go broke. So, coming in here, I expected to see vast, empty buildings not being used and employing no people. The insurance business was going to go flat. And yet they are still present. And, of course, the joke is that the insurance companies, not only

of Hartford but of other places, are better off than they ever have been before. They are pretty good insurance companies, you know. They subscribe to the war loans. They have been patriotic. They just have only one unfortunate habit which they acquire every four years — in fact, the last few months of every four years. They say, "If this man Roosevelt gets elected President, we will have to go out of business!" So it is good to see them still going — good to see that Hartford is not a city of empty homes.

But, you know, that was like a lot of other campaigns. Back in — what was it? — 1932, they said that grass was going to grow in the streets. But it didn't! And Mr. Hoover wasn't reelected President.

And then in 1936, some of the people all over the country — you know the kind I mean — tried to instill fear in the minds of the American people by saying that the social security funds of the United States were no good — they weren't safe. They even went to the extent of having some of their large financial backers put this type of scare material in the pay envelopes of millions of employees. And the interesting thing was that the employees didn't fall for it. They thought they knew better than the president of the company. And they took another chance with me.

Now, they will apparently never learn that this kind of campaign does not produce the results they look for. In fact, it usually produces the opposite result. It is going to do that again this year.

And they are making the fantastic claim this year that your Government is now engaged in some deep-dyed plot to take over the insurance business.

Well, it so happens that I have had some experience in the insurance business myself, and I know that the workers and managers in that business cannot be easily fooled by that type of propaganda.

Why, the insurance policies of the United States and your savings are safer than they ever were in the whole history of the United States — and so is the insurance business.

That was not true in 1933 when I took office. I don't have to

recall to you the closing banks and the shaky insurance companies of those days. In fact, I think it is safe to say that a great many of the insurance companies in 1933, if they had tried to liquidate their assets for the benefit of policyholders, would have found themselves in the "red." They would not have had enough money. And the reason is obvious—because before 1933—a year before and the year before that—the value of the farms and mortgages and other properties on their books had depreciated so much that by March of 1933, they couldn't have been liquidated at anything like the figures at which they were carrying their assets on their own books. That's a pretty serious charge. But the record is there. Under the last Republican administration the insurance companies were "bust."

You know what happened in 1933. You know how quickly the action of this Administration resulted in increased earnings and savings and property values. And that is what this "bungling, incompetent" Administration has done for the people of the United States.

There is one thing that I have meant to say for the last two months, and haven't had a chance. It's a word about a group of our citizens that have been pretty hard hit by the war. They have not been able to earn the high level of wages that have been paid in shipyards and war factories—and yet, with amazing patience and fortitude they have continued in their essential jobs—carrying on as best they can. And those are the white-collar workers of America.

I think, however, that in addition to being thoroughly patriotic, staying at their work, they realize that this Administration has done a pretty good job in keeping down the cost of living—in protecting the purchasing power of their dollars in terms of rent and other necessities of life. Compared with the skyrocketing cost of living in the last war—twice as much of a rise as in this war—our record in this war, on the whole, has been very good. And I want you—as they used to say—to give a hand to the white-collar workers of the United States.

Because during the war, for the first time in history, we have

106. *Campaign Remarks at Springfield, Mass.*

avoided wartime inflation. Inflation means nothing more than a rise in the cost of things, and the white-collar workers' wages haven't gone up anything like what the wages have gone up in other professions or trades.

The lesson of the last war was clear to us — nearly all of us — in the Administration, but to many Republicans it was not plain at all.

Time and again the Republicans in the Congress voted overwhelmingly against price control, and in favor of letting prices go skyrocketing.

So I make an assertion. The Democratic Party in this war has been the party of sound money. The Republican Party has been the party of unsound money.

If the Republicans had had their way, all of us — farmers, white-collar workers, factory workers, housewives — we would all have had our dollars cut by inflation and a higher cost of living.

I hope to come back here very often either as a private citizen, or as President of the United States. But I am very confident today that when I come back during the next four years it will be as President of the United States.

And in saying goodbye to you, after this very pleasing visit, I assure you that when I do come back, I will still be able to wear the same size hat.

106 ¶ “This Time We Are Not Going to Scuttle Our Strength” — Campaign Remarks at Springfield, Massachusetts. November 4, 1944

I HAD hoped to be able to motor up here from Hartford, but I thought to myself that the gasoline would be of more use in a tank in Germany than in my car.

Somebody tells me that there is a political campaign on.

I think we all agree that it is probably one of the important political campaigns in our history.

106. *Campaign Remarks at Springfield, Mass.*

But — here in Springfield — I cannot refrain from suggesting that there is also a war on — a war which, I very deeply believe, will decide the fate of our America and of the whole human race for generations to come.

You good people here in Springfield know a great deal about war. You have known about munitions for years, since long before I was born. You know about our preparedness, and you knew about it long before Pearl Harbor.

This city — located on one of the most beautiful rivers in the United States — it isn't quite so refined as the Hudson — this city has always been the center of experimentation and production of the weapons of defense against aggression.

The Springfield rifle — the Garand rifle — they have proved themselves, in one battle after another, essential weapons of war.

Here in Springfield, great history has been made. As your President during these eventful years, I am proud to be here — and proud to be looking into the faces of all of you who did so much for America, and for the cause of civilization.

And also, I might add, because I have known publishers for a great many years — this city is the home of a great newspaper. And I wish that we had more papers throughout the Nation like the *Springfield Republican*.

It has been four years — four eventful, stirring years — since you people gave me the last mandate in an election. And here I am, back again.

For many American homes they have been years of personal heartbreak and tragedy, about which any words that I could say would be idle.

Yet, even for them — I would say, for them above all others — there is the proud sense that America has come greatly through a dark and dangerous time. The ship of state is sturdy and safe, and with continued courage and wisdom we can bring it into a harbor where it will not be whipped by the storms of another war within any foreseeable period.

But — we are going to remain prepared. I take it as a matter of

wisdom that we should not dismantle the Springfield arsenals. This time we are not going to scuttle our strength.

Four years ago many of us knew that this war might come. We sought to prepare America for it, often in the face of mocking gibes from those who said that we had nothing to fear from Germany or Japan.

We went about the work of building the national defenses and of setting up a system of selective service. We had the stern resolve — that I expressed many times four years ago — that we meant this for defense and not for offense — and that we would not send our boys to fight abroad unless we were attacked.

The attack came — treacherous, deadly attack.

Our pledge was kept. We fought back when we were attacked — obviously, rightly.

We fought back — as our forefathers had fought. We took the offensive — and we held it. The kind of America we inherited from our fathers is the kind of America we want to pass on to our children — but, an America more prosperous, more secure — free from want and free from fear.

It was to save that America that we joined in a common war against economic breakdown and depression — and we won that war.

It was to save that America that we joined in a common war against the Fascist ruthlessness and brutality of Germany and Japan. And we are winning that war.

It is to save that America that our sons are fighting gloriously on battlefields all over the world.

You and I have been through a lot together. And we are going to go ahead together — until we have finished this tremendous job of winning the war and building a strong, enduring peace.

So, sometimes I really honestly do forget politics. Regardless of what happens on election day — I assure you that I shall be the same man you have known all these years — and I am still dedicated to the same ideals for which you and I and our sons have been fighting.

I am very glad to have had this all too brief opportunity to be back here — I might almost say to chat with you.

I am glad to be back here in Springfield now, and I am coming back again. And being half from New England myself — up the river here in Northampton — I have a hunch — as lots of people do in western Massachusetts and eastern New York — I have a hunch that I shall be back here again soon as President of the United States.

In any case, as your President, I want to say to you — thank you for coming here. I have never spoken from here before — I think it's a pretty good spot. And thanks particularly for the magnificent job you have been doing in this city towards winning the war.

107 ¶ “As for Myself, Under the Same Circumstances, I Would Choose to Do the Same Thing — Again and Again and Again” — Campaign Address at Fenway Park, Boston, Massachusetts. November 4, 1944

THIS is not my first visit to Boston. I shall not review all my previous visits. I should have to go on talking for several days to do that — and radio time costs a lot of money.

But I want to recall one visit, back in October, 1928, when I came here to urge you to vote for a great American named Al Smith.

And you did vote for that eternally “Happy Warrior.”

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts — and your good neighbor, Rhode Island — both went Democratic in 1928 — four years before the rest of the Nation did.

This year — and I am making no predictions, I just have a little hope — this year we would like to welcome into the family Maine and Vermont.

And while I am speaking of that campaign of 1928, let me remind you that, having nominated Al Smith for the second time for the Presidency, I was then running at his request for the

Governorship of New York. And people were then — even then — saying that my health would not permit me to discharge the duties of public office.

Well, you know, I think that it is by now a pretty well established fact that I managed to survive my four years as Governor of New York. And at the end of that time I went elsewhere.

In this connection, in 1928 — that first year that I ran for Governor — Al Smith remarked publicly that the Governor of New York does not have to be an acrobat. And not many months before his untimely death, he remarked to me in my office in Washington, "It is perfectly evident that you don't have to be an acrobat to be President either."

When I talked here in Boston in 1928, I talked about racial and religious intolerance, which was then — as unfortunately it still is, to some extent — "a menace to the liberties of America."

And all the bigots in those days were gunning for Al Smith.

Religious intolerance, social intolerance, and political intolerance have no place in our American life.

Here in New England you have been fighting bigotry and intolerance for centuries. I reminded a genealogical society — I think they are called "ancestor worshippers" — I said to them that they knew that all of our people all over the country — except the pure-blooded Indians — are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, including even those who came over here on the Mayflower.

Today, in this war, our fine boys are fighting magnificently all over the world and among those boys are the Murphys and the Kellys, the Smiths and the Joneses, the Cohens, the Carusos, the Kowalskis, the Schultzes, the Olsens, the Swobodas, and — right in with all the rest of them — the Cabots and the Lowells.

All of these people, and others like them, are the life-blood of America. They are the hope of the world.

It is our duty to them to make sure that, big as this country is, there is no room in it for racial or religious intolerance — and that there is no room for snobbery.

Our young men and our young women are fighting not only

for their existence, their homes, and their families. They also are fighting for a country and a world where men and women of all races, colors, and creeds can live, and work, and speak and worship — in peace, and freedom and security.

If we can shorten this war by one month — even by one minute — we shall have saved the lives of some of our young men and women. We must not let our comforts or conveniences, our politics or our prejudices, stand in the way of our determination to drive — to drive relentlessly and unflinchingly — over the hard road to final victory.

You and I — all of us who are war workers — must stay on the job!

Although victory over the Nazis and the Japanese is certain and inevitable — and I for one have never had one moment's doubt of our ultimate victory — the war is still far from over. There is tough, hard, bloody fighting ahead.

We got into this war because we were attacked by the Japanese — and because they and their Axis partners, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, declared war on us.

I am sure that any real American — any real, red-blooded American — would have chosen, as this Government did, to fight when our own soil was made the object of a sneak attack. As for myself, under the same circumstances, I would choose to do the same thing — again and again and again.

When our enemies flung the gauge of battle at us, we elected to fight them in the American way, which meant that we went after *them* — and we started punching — and we are still punching. And we have driven our enemies into their own corner.

One of the tyrants, Mussolini, has been knocked out for the count. And the others are getting groggier and groggier every day.

We are made happy by the fact that the Italian people — our long-time friends — are started once again along the paths of freedom and peace.

I think that history will say that we were better prepared for this war than for any previous war in all our history.

On the day of Pearl Harbor, for example — the day before the declaration of war — we had more than two million men in our armed forces.

Our war production, started a year and a half before that, was rolling toward the gigantic volume of output that has been achieved.

Our Navy was building — indeed, it had been building ever since 1933. And we know why it went down. It started to build up again — when I first used P.W.A. funds to start a naval building program — that included our first modern carriers. One of those carriers, by the way, that you have read of, authorized ten years ago, was the *Enterprise* — a name well known throughout New England, the original *Enterprise* being the hero of the War of 1812 — but this new *Enterprise*, a grand and gallant ship, has also covered herself with glory all through this war, and was in there fighting last week in the great victory in Philippine waters.

But — in addition to our physical preparedness — we had something far more important — spiritual preparedness.

The American people were ready for it. On the day of Pearl Harbor they rose up as one man with a mighty shout — a shout heard 'round the world — the shout of "Let's go!"

And we went!

Everywhere I go I find that the American citizen is doing some hard thinking these days about what sort of government he wants during the next four years.

The memory of our people is not short. The years from 1929 to 1933 are thoroughly and grimly remembered by millions of our citizens — by workers who lost their jobs and their homes, by farmers who lost their crops and their farms, by families who lost their savings.

Since those dark days early in 1933, many fortifications have been built to protect the people of this country — just as we promised that there would be.

What kind of fortifications? Well, fortifications, for example, which have provided protection for your bank deposits and your

investments — your standard of living — your right to organize unions and to bargain collectively with your employers.

Your fortifications protect your soil and rivers and trees — your heritage of natural resources. They provide you with protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age — they protect you against inflation and runaway prices.

These fortifications are now manned by zealous defenders — and these defenders are not Communists, and these defenders are not fossils.

Can the citizens of the Nation now afford to turn over these bulwarks to the men who raised every possible obstacle to their original construction?

Does the average American believe that those who fought tooth and nail against progressive legislation during the past twelve years can be trusted to cherish and preserve that legislation?

Can it be that those who financed the bitter opposition to the New Deal through all these years have made an about-face and are now willing and able to fight for the objectives of the New Deal?

We have all heard Republican orators in this campaign call this Administration everything under the sun, and they promise that they, *if* elected — and oh, my friends, what a big “if” that is — they promise that if elected they would institute the biggest house-cleaning in history. It sort of brings to my mind that that is just the thing that the “outs” always say.

What a job that would be, that house-cleaning! It would mean, among other things, sweeping out with my Administration the most efficient and most patriotic Republicans that could be found in the whole country.

But — despite these campaign promises of wholesale house-cleaning — have you heard one word of specific criticism of any of the progressive laws that this Administration has proposed and enacted?

Have you heard any talk of sweeping out any of these laws — or sweeping out any of the agencies that administer them?

Oh, no, on that subject the Republican politicians are very uncharacteristically silent.

This Administration has made mistakes. That I freely assert. *Assert.* And I hope my friends of the press will not change that to *admit.*

But, my friends, I think it is a pretty good batting average. Our mistakes have been honestly made during sincere efforts to help the great mass of citizens. Never have we made the inexcusable mistake — we know some who have — of substituting talk for action when farms were being foreclosed, homes were being sold at auction, and people were standing in breadlines.

I thank God that it cannot be charged that at any time, under any circumstances, have we made the mistake of forgetting our sacred obligation to the American people.

And, I might add, never will we make that kind of mistake.

Is it conceivable to you that this Administration with its record of very deep concern for human welfare could ever be guilty of neglect of the welfare of our fighting men?

When your sons, and my sons, come home from the battle fronts — and they are coming home just as quickly as they are no longer needed for the essential job of this war — we are going to see that they have work — honest, self-respecting jobs.

We are going to see to it that those of them seeking farms get a real chance to settle on land of their own.

We are going to see to it that those who hope to establish businesses have a legitimate and fair opportunity to do so.

The American people are quite competent to judge a political party that works both sides of a street — a party that has one candidate making campaign promises of all kinds of added government expenditures in the West, while a running mate of his demands less government expenditures in the East.

You know — just as an aside, and I think I can speak freely to my old friends here in Boston — this is really a funny campaign.

I think I heard some campaign orator say that Secretary Hull and the rest of us had done such a fine job with the Good Neigh-

bor policy and our plans for world peace — that it is time for a change.

I believe I heard some campaign orator say that the “incompetent” Administration had developed a program that was so good for the farmers and the businessmen and the workers of the Nation — that it is time for a change.

I think I heard some campaign orator — you can identify him — say that we have so thoroughly shifted the control over the banks from Wall Street and State Street to Washington, D. C. — that it is time for a change.

And I am quite sure that I have heard somebody say that this “chaotic” Administration has done such an amazing job of war production — that it is time for a change.

I think I even heard somebody say that these “tired, quarrelsome” old men — are waging such a victorious war — that it is time for a change.

Well — if it is time for a change — the way to get it in this democracy is by means of votes. Whether I win or lose, I want to see a turnout next Tuesday of the biggest vote in all American history.

And I am hoping to see fifty million American voters go to the polls.

We could not find a better way to tell our boys overseas that the country they are fighting for is still going strong.

Just the other day you people here in Boston witnessed an amazing demonstration of talking out of both sides of the mouth.

Speaking here in Boston, a Republican candidate said — and pardon me if I quote him correctly — that happens to be an old habit of mine — he said that, quote, “the Communists are seizing control of the New Deal, through which they aim to control the Government of the United States.” Unquote.

However, on that very same day, that very same candidate had spoken in Worcester, and he said that with Republican victory in November, quote, “we can end one-man government, and we can forever remove the threat of monarchy in the United States.”

Now, really — which is it — Communism or monarchy?

I do not think that we could have both in this country, even if we wanted either, which we do not.

No, we want neither Communism nor monarchy. We want to live under our Constitution which has served pretty well for a hundred and fifty-five years. And, if this were a banquet hall instead of a ball park, I would propose a toast that we will continue to live under this Constitution for another hundred and fifty-five years.

I must confess that often in this campaign, I have been tempted, to speak my mind with sharper vigor and greater indignation.

Everybody knows that I was reluctant to run for the Presidency again this year. But since this campaign developed, I tell you frankly that I have become most anxious to win — and I say that for the reason that never before in my lifetime has a campaign been filled with such misrepresentation, distortion, and falsehood. Never since 1928 have there been so many attempts to stimulate in America racial or religious intolerance.

When any politician or any political candidate stands up and says, solemnly, that there is danger that the Government of the United States — your Government — could be sold out to the Communists — then I say that that candidate reveals — and I'll be polite — a shocking lack of trust in America.

He reveals a shocking lack of faith in democracy — in the spiritual strength of our people.

If there was ever a time in which that spiritual strength of our people was put to the test, that time was in the terrible depression from 1929 to 1933.

Our people, in those days, might have turned to alien ideologies — like Communism or Fascism.

But — our democratic faith was too sturdy. What the American people demanded in 1933 was not less democracy but more democracy, and that's what they got.

The American people proved in the black days of depression — as they have proved again in this war — that there is no chink in the armor of democracy.

On this subject — and on all subjects — I say to you, my friends,

what I said when first you conferred upon me the exalted honor of the Presidency:

“The only thing we have to fear is fear itself.”

And today I can add a corollary to that. I do not think that you will ever cast the majority of your votes for fearful men.

We face the enormous, the complex problems of building with our allies a strong world structure of peace.

In doing that historic job, we shall be standing before a mighty bar of judgment — the judgment of all of those who have fought and died in this war — the judgment of generations yet unborn — the very judgment of God.

I believe that we Americans will want the peace to be built by men who have shown foresight rather than hindsight.

Peace, no less than war, must offer a spirit of comradeship, a spirit of achievement, a spirit of unselfishness, and indomitable will to victory.

We in this country have waged war against the wilderness — against the mountains and the rivers — against droughts and storms. We have waged war against ignorance — against oppression — against intolerance.

We have waged war against poverty — against disease.

We fought the Revolutionary War for the principle that all men are created equal — and in those days we pledged “our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.”

This war, which we are now fighting, has been an interruption in the story of our forward progress; but it has also opened a new chapter — a chapter which it is now for us the living to begin.

At the end of this war this country will have the greatest material power of any Nation in the world.

It will be a clean, shining America — richer than any other in skilled workers, in engineers, and farmers, and businessmen, and scientists.

It will be an America in which there is a genuine partnership between the farmer and the worker and the businessman — in

which there are abundant jobs and an expanding economy of peace.

All around us we see an unfinished world — a world of awakened peoples struggling to set themselves on the path of civilization — people struggling everywhere to achieve a higher cultural and material standard of living.

I say we must wage the coming battle for America and for civilization on a scale worthy of the way that we have unitedly waged the battles against tyranny and reaction, and wage it through all the difficulties and the disappointments that may ever clog the wheels of progress.

And I say that we must wage it in association with the United Nations with whom we have stood and fought — with that association ever growing.

I say that we must wage a peace to attract the highest hearts, the most competent hands and brains.

That, my friends, is the conception I have of the meaning of total victory.

And that conception is founded on faith — faith in the unlimited destiny — the unconquerable spirit of the United States of America.

108 ¶ Informal, Extemporaneous Remarks at Kingston, New York. November 6, 1944

YOUR neighbor from across the river is mighty glad to be back here after four years. It has become a sort of a four-year custom by now. But it is rather a good custom for me to come to Kingston, and I always like it. I am happy, too, that now my county across the river is going to have a new Congressman. I told them in Newburgh that I was very glad that the legislature had taken my Congressman away from me, and that Hamilton Fish won't be my Congressman after the first of January.

You know, I go back into the history of this city quite a long way, because I had an ancestor who came up from New York to a place called Esopus about 1660, which is quite a way back.

109. *Extemporaneous Remarks at Poughkeepsie, N. Y.*

And he came up here just in time to take a musket and help to repel Indians who tried to kill all the original settlers. He was a member of what they called the militia in those days.

And that, perhaps, is why I inherited a good deal of love for the armed forces of the United States, who have been carrying on this war so magnificently.

The war is not in Kingston and Hyde Park physically. It is across the oceans. But it means the preservation of our homes in Hyde Park and in Kingston. The people are beginning to realize more and more that we are fighting for the defense of America. I think we are doing a pretty good job of it.

It takes me longer to go from Hyde Park to Kingston because you have taken off the ferry. I was complaining to the Mayor about it, and I think probably the only other thing to do is to build a bridge.

Well, it has been good to see you on this occasion. I think it is a bigger crowd than it has ever been before. And I hope that in the next four years when I come back for an occasional weekend at home from Washington I will be able to come over here and see you all.

In the meantime, I have heard of the great things you are doing in the war. Your Mayor was telling me the wonderful figures, the percentage of your boys that are in the armed forces. And I want to congratulate you also on what you are doing for the Navy in the two yards, one of which I happened to start twenty-five years ago.

So, keep up the good work, and good luck to you all.

Goodbye.

109 ¶ Informal, Extemporaneous Remarks at
Poughkeepsie, New York. November 6, 1944

NEIGHBORS of mine, I have been today on another sentimental journey. I have been among my neighbors. I have come down on this side of the river and crossed a big "sea." And luckily

there were no German submarines in that "sea" — I went from Beacon to Newburgh.

And in my travels this day, I think I have seen a very encouraging sign of our American life — I think the population is increasing enormously. I have seen more children than I knew existed in these three counties. They are coming along in good shape, and it encourages me greatly to think that the future of the country will be relatively safe in their hands, under a Constitution which has lasted more than 150 years — and I think as long as we increase as we are doing now — we shall still be living under the same old Constitution 155 years from now.

Down in Newburgh I went through a shipyard, having a few moments to spare, and then in the upper part of the city there was a crowd that was at least twice or three times the size it was four years ago. And that was encouraging. And I told them there that I did want to say a good word for our legislature because as you know, the duty of apportioning the Congressional Districts of this State is the duty of the legislature. And a curious thing happened recently. Our county used to be in the same District with Putnam and Orange counties. And quite a number of people were irked that the legislature changed it a bit. And then I think a Congressman was taken out of the District, insofar as Dutchess County goes. So, after the first of January we will be in a new Congressional District — we won't be with Orange any more, and therefore we will have a new Congressman.

Well, my friends, there is more than one way of getting rid of a Congressman.

Then I went up to Kingston, and there again the crowd was at least twice the size it had been before, and I remarked to them — you can see I am pure Hudson River when you come down to it — that my mother's family came from Newburgh — but up in Kingston — well, there was an old boy in 1660 who went up there from New York City. He was young, and I guess he was rather Dutch — with the old stubborn qualities. About that time the Indians attacked Kingston, and he became a member of the militia that rolled the Indians back.

And I think that it is for that reason, perhaps, that I am interested and have been all my life — though not in uniform — in military and naval affairs. It comes from the old Dutch boy in 1660 who belonged to the militia.

But one sad thing happened. I had to come all the way back down the west side of the river. They had taken off the Kingston ferry! Otherwise, the District and the county had changed very little in the last four years.

We were headed at that time — four years ago — into a war. We didn't talk about it very much. It doesn't do to scare people or alarm people. But we did a good deal of building and preparation, and by 1941 we had over two million men in the Army and Navy. We built up our munitions factories. We sent a great deal of aid to the people who were fighting Nazism and Fascism. And the result was that we were better prepared for this war than we had been in all our history for any war. We haven't been bombed in this country — rap on wood — and we haven't lost anything within our own boundaries during this war.

And now we are carrying on the offensive against the enemy, in order to make it quite certain that our own homes back here shall be safe.

I don't know — I think we have done a fair job of it, but anyway we have done it in the American way, with the approval of the American people, and that is something — to go on with our same ideals, our same form of government — as we have always done.

And I hope tomorrow that it is going to be said in this country that the war has been conducted constitutionally, and with the approval of the people of the United States. I hope that will be said. I think it will.

And so it has been good — it has been a good day. I have seen my near neighbors. I have seen the neighbors across the river and down the county — the southern end. I have seen an awful lot of people. It has been a good day, and I want to thank you for coming out tonight at this late hour, because it has given me a chance to see some of my nearer neighbors.

It is good to see you, and I am going to come back pretty often.

110. *Radio Address at Hyde Park, N. Y.*

NOTE: On November 6, the President also delivered brief extemporaneous addresses at Wappingers Falls, New York, and Beacon, New York, which are not printed in these volumes. The President's informal remarks at Kingston, New York, on November 6 are printed as Item 108, this volume.

110 ¶ “Our Task Now Is to Face the Future as a Militant and a United People” — Radio Address at Hyde Park, New York. November 6, 1944

AS WE SIT quietly this evening in our home at Hyde Park, our thoughts, like those of millions of other Americans, are most deeply concerned with the well-being of all our American fighting men. We are thinking of our own sons — all of them far away from home — and of our neighbors' sons and the sons of our friends.

That concern rises above all others in this critical period of our national life.

In great contrast to the quiet which is ours here in America, in our own secure homes, is the knowledge that most of those fighting men of ours have no quiet times, and little leisure at this hour to reflect on the significance of our American election day, tomorrow.

Some are standing at battle stations on shipboard, tense in the excitement of action; some lie in wet foxholes, or trudge doggedly through the sticky mud, firing as they go. Still others are high above the earth, fighting Messerschmitts or Zeros.

All of them are giving everything they have got to defeat our enemies, and uppermost in all their minds is the one thought: to win the war as soon as possible, so that they may return to the quiet and peace of their own homes.

But — in the midst of fighting — in the presence of our brutal enemies — our soldiers and sailors and airmen will not forget election day back home.

Millions of these men have already cast their own ballots, and they will be wondering about the outcome of the election, and

what it will mean to them in their future lives. And sooner or later all of them will be asking questions as to whether the folks back home looked after their interests, their liberties, their Government, their country — while they themselves were off at war.

Our boys are counting on us to show the rest of the world that our kind of government is the best in the world — and the kind we propose to keep! And so, when our people turn out at the polls tomorrow — and I sincerely hope that it will be fifty million strong — the world will respect our democracy, and the grand old Stars and Stripes will wave more proudly than ever before.

These brave fighters of ours have taken on enemies on both sides of the world, enemies who were nurtured since childhood in militarism. These boys of ours, wisely led, and using the matchless weapons which you here at home have sent to them, have outfought those ruthless enemies, outfought them on the land, outfought them on the sea, outfought them in the skies. They are winning the victory for all of us. Many are giving life itself.

And it is for us to make certain that we win for them — the living and the dead — a lasting peace.

There is nothing adequate which anyone in any place can say to those who are entitled to display the gold star in their windows. But each night as the people of the United States rest in their homes which have been safe from violence during all these years of the most violent war in all history — I am sure all of them silently give thought to their feelings of deepest gratitude to the brave departed and to their families for the immeasurable sacrifice that they have made for the cause of decency and freedom and civilization.

I do not want to talk to you tonight of partisan politics. The political battle is finished. Our task now is to face the future as a militant and a united people — united here at home as well as on the battle fronts.

Twice in twenty-five years our people have had to put on a brave, smiling front as they have suffered the anxiety and the agony of war.

No one wants to endure that suffering again.

110. *Radio Address at Hyde Park, N. Y.*

When we think of the speed and long-distance possibilities of air travel of all kinds to the remotest corners of the earth, we must consider the devastation wrought on the people of England, for example, by the new long-range bombs. Another war would be bound to bring even more devilish and powerful instruments of destruction to wipe out civilian populations. No coastal defenses, however strong, could prevent these silent missiles of death, fired perhaps from planes or ships at sea, from crashing deep within the United States itself.

This time, this time, we must be certain that the peace-loving Nations of the world band together in determination to outlaw and to prevent war.

Tomorrow, you the people of the United States again vote as free men and women, with full freedom of choice — with no secret police watching over your shoulders. And for generations to come Americans will continue to prove their faith in free elections.

But when the ballots are cast, your responsibilities do not cease. The public servants you elect cannot fulfill their trust unless you, the people, watch and advise them, raise your voices in protest when you believe your public servants to be wrong, back them up when you believe them to be right.

But not for one single moment can you now or later forget the all-important goals for which we are aiming — to win the war and unite our fighting men with their families at the earliest moment, to see that all have honorable jobs; and to create a world peace organization which will prevent this disaster — or one like it — from ever coming upon us again.

To achieve these goals we need strength and wisdom which is greater than is bequeathed to mere mortals. We need Divine help and guidance. We people of America have ever had a deep well of religious strength, far back to the days of the Pilgrim Fathers.

And so, on this thoughtful evening, I believe that you will find it fitting that I read a prayer sent to me not long ago:

III. Remarks to Torchlight Paraders at Hyde Park, N. Y.

"Almighty God, of Whose righteous will all things are and were created, Thou hast gathered our people out of many lands and races into a great Nation.

"We commend to Thy overruling providence the men and women of our forces by sea, by land, and in the air; beseeching Thee to take into Thine own hands both them and the cause they serve.

"Be Thou their strength when they are set in the midst of so many and great dangers. And grant that, whether by life or by death, they may win for the whole world the fruits of their sacrifice and a just peace.

"Guide, we beseech Thee, the Nations of the world, into the way of justice and truth, and establish among them that peace which is the reward of righteousness.

"Make the whole people of this land equal to our high trust, reverent in the use of freedom, just in the exercise of power, generous in the protection of weakness.

"Enable us to guard for the least among us the freedom we covet for ourselves; make us ill-content with the inequalities of opportunity which still prevail among us. Preserve our union against all the divisions of race and class which threaten it.

"And now, may the blessing of God Almighty rest upon this whole land; may He give us light to guide us, courage to support us, charity to unite us, now and forevermore. Amen."

111 ¶ Informal, Extemporaneous Remarks to the Torchlight Paraders on Election Night. Hyde Park, New York. November 7, 1944

I SEE some youngsters up a tree which reminds me of earlier days, when I wanted to get away from the discipline of the family, and I climbed that very tree up where that highest youngster is now, and I disappeared and I couldn't be found. And they got everybody — I think they got the fire department up trying to find me. And I realized that I was causing a good deal of commotion, so I said "Yoo-hoo," or something like that, and I came down.

Well, I remember my first torchlight parade right here in 1892 — Cleveland's election. And I was asleep, or supposedly asleep, right up in this window, a little room at the head of the

III. Remarks to Torchlight Paraders at Hyde Park, N. Y.

stairs; and I was listening, and I didn't know what was the matter — a queer light outside the window, with people coming up on farm wagons — before the days of the automobile. It was Hyde Park — a large part of it — coming down here to have a Democratic celebration.

And I got up and appeared down here in an old-fashioned nightgown of some kind, on this porch, and I wrapped up in an old Buffalo robe that came out of a wagon. And I had a perfectly grand evening.

Now if Elmer were old enough, he would know about that. But he has done pretty well himself. He has been an awfully good supervisor for this town, and we are all mighty proud of our neighbor Elmer Van Wagner.

And then there are all kinds of people that I remember, which only very old people like myself can remember. And I remember, once upon a time, I was fascinated by old Dan Barrett's brewery. And Dan, after meeting the train, which came in about twice a day in those days, used to bring people down here in his old bus, and I would go out there and I would talk to Dan Barrett by the hour. Now we have got a young Dan Barrett and he is down here on this place, here on the right.

The reports that are coming in are not so bad — but I can't concede anything. Oh, I couldn't concede anything — much too early. I can't make any statement at all. The State of New York as a whole seems to be going pretty well — pretty well, but it's much too early to say anything. We won't get the final returns on these so-called pivotal States for, I suppose, another hour. And they are working out all right, so far, and it looks as if I will have to come back here on a train from Washington for four more years.

And it's worth while still, and always will be, to leave Washington on a Friday night and get here Saturday morning, and go back to Washington on a Sunday night, just for two days up here. It will always be worth it.

And so I am glad to be here on this election day again — I might say again and again and again! But I'll be perfectly happy to come back here for good, as you all know. I don't have to tell you that.

III. *Remarks to Torchlight Paraders at Hyde Park, N. Y.*

It has been grand to see you. Thanks ever so much for coming down, but I have been on the telephone all evening to almost every part of the country. I have got a ticker in there, and I get the returns on that. I am trying to keep in touch with all these people — calling up a few people.

One person I haven't called up — I am waiting and holding my breath — and that is a lady [Margaret Connors] over in our neighboring State, in Connecticut. She is running against another lady [Clare Boothe Luce] over in the adjoining State, and my friend seems to be winning — she is ahead at the present time. And if she can only hold on to that lead, and they don't hold back the returns too long, we will have a new Congresswoman down Bridgeport way. And so we have real hope, which will be rather excellent for our own feelings — and I think if they prove true, a mighty good thing for this country. And that's a rough thing to say — about the other lady.

I haven't had any word about the present Congressman from this District [Hamilton Fish], but as I remarked yesterday somewhere, when I was taking a drive around, there is more than one way of getting rid of a Congressman. You have known about it being done by redistricting the State and putting the Congressman over in another county, but in the last returns that I have just got, he is doing very well in Rockland county — I mean his opponent Bennett. Bennett is also doing pretty well in Orange, and so there is a real possibility of our having a new Congressman in the lower Districts. Of course, we are in a different District this time — Thank goodness!

It has been good to see you, and I will have to go on back and do some more telephoning.

NOTE: The final official returns in the Presidential election of 1944 showed that the President had been reelected for a precedent-shattering fourth term, with 432 electoral votes to 99 for his Republican opponent, Governor Thomas E.

Dewey. Roosevelt won the electoral votes of 36 states; Governor Dewey won 12 states. In a popular vote of 48,025,684, Roosevelt received 25,602,505; Dewey received 22,006,278; the other votes went to various minor party candidates.

112 (Letter to Herbert H. Lehman on the First Anniversary of U.N.R.R.A. November 9, 1944

ON THE first anniversary of the creation of U.N.R.R.A., I wish to send to you and to the members of your staff my warmest congratulations on the great progress which you have made during this last year in preparing for the tremendous tasks ahead and my renewed good wishes for the successful fulfillment of your noble undertaking.

I and the other responsible officials of this Government have watched with keenest interest the development of U.N.R.R.A. from the signing of the Agreement in the White House last November 9 to the present moment when U.N.R.R.A. men and women are actually engaged in bringing hard-won assistance to the gallant people of Greece. This Government has endeavored in every way to support you and your staff to the fullest limit of our ability. This has not always been an easy task in the face of the pressing and staggering demands which the fighting of a deadly war on many fronts has placed and will continue to place upon our resources of manpower, of supplies, and of transportation. But we are determined that the sacrifices of the liberated peoples shall be rewarded and that, to the extent we have it in our power to help, these people shall promptly receive the clothing, food, and other supplies which they need to start life over.

I am confident that your inspiring leadership, together with the cooperation of the member Governments, will result in making U.N.R.R.A. an enduring example of international cooperation in action.

NOTE: Forty-four Nations signed the agreement establishing the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration on November 9, 1943 (see Item 123, 1943 volume, for the President's address on the signing of the agreement at the White House; see note to Item 123,

1943 volume, for an account of the organization and accomplishments of U.N.R.R.A.).

Herbert H. Lehman, former Governor of New York, was the first Director General of U.N.R.R.A., serving from its establishment until March, 1946. Fiorello H. LaGuardia

112. First Anniversary of U.N.R.R.A.

and Maj. Gen. Lowell H. Rooks successively followed Governor Lehman as Directors General of U.N. R.R.A.

During the first few months of U.N.R.R.A.'s existence, its operations were carried on independently of other foreign economic functions of the United States. On July 6, 1944, however, the President issued Executive Order No. 9453 defining more clearly the participation which the United States was to take in U.N.R.R.A.'s work, and outlining the responsibilities of the Foreign Economic Administration in respect to U.N.R.R.A. On the same date, the President addressed a letter to Leo T. Crowley, Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, setting forth this relationship as follows:

"My dear Mr. Crowley:

"I have today signed an Executive Order relating to participation by the United States in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. In the performance of your responsibilities under that Order, you will operate under the provisions of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Participation Appropriation Act, 1945.

"The success of U.N.R.R.A. depends to a large extent upon the successful execution of the important functions of the Foreign Economic Administration which has a major part in assuring that U.N.R.R.A. has available to it, when needed, the essential supplies, services, and funds.

"We should furnish every possible assistance to the Director General of U.N.R.R.A. in his discharge of the duties which the Council has assigned

to him in accordance with the Agreement. Those duties include the determination of relief and rehabilitation needs, the preparation of requests for supplies, the distribution of supplies and services among liberated people, and accounting for the use of resources contributed by member Nations.

"I have already stressed to the United States allocating agencies the importance of relief and rehabilitation programs. It is of great importance, as a matter of national policy, that there be available in all liberated areas those supplies that will be necessary for the health and welfare of peoples in those areas. The supplies and services contributed by the United States through U.N.R.R.A. are intended to help them to help themselves. In accordance with that policy, I am sure you will recognize in all your work relative to U.N.R.R.A. the major significance of its needs and will press their importance throughout your Administration and with the allocating, procurement, and other agencies assisting in the work.

"You will provide at U.N.R.R.A.'s request supplies and services for the relief of victims of war in accordance with the Agreement, Council Resolutions, and applicable laws of the United States, so long as such requests do not unduly dislocate the other supply programs with which F.E.A. is concerned.

"Beyond the point of transfer or delivery of supplies, services, and funds from the United States to U.N.R.R.A., we would look to the United States representative on the Council to assure propriety, consistency, and efficiency in the administration of this relief and rehabilitation program. The Director General will make periodic reports to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the progress of U.N.R.R.A.'s activities, which reports will be available to you. In case you need additional reports, you should arrange with the United States representative to obtain them for you.

113. *Remarks to Crowd Greeting Roosevelt at Washington, D. C.*

"The bulk of the United States' contribution will, of course, be expended for United States' supplies and services. Each member Nation, however, is requested under one of the U.N.R.R.A. resolutions to furnish at least 10 percent of its contribution in such form of currency as can be expended outside of the contributing country. Since the Congress has made a direct appropriation of \$450,000,000 to enable the United States to participate in the work of the U.N.R.R.A., it is expected that you will transfer up to \$45,000,000 to the Director General at his request and up to \$35,000,000 additional when the transfer authority of \$350,000,000 provided by Section 202 of the Appropriation Act becomes operative, as hereinafter indicated. In the event that U.N.R.R.A. should request the transfer of funds for such purposes in excess of the amounts provided for above, you are authorized to make such further direct transfers as you deem advisable.

"Under another Resolution of the Council, I am informed, the United States' share of the U.N.R.R.A. administrative expenses for the period ending December 31, 1944, is \$4,000,000. You should accordingly transfer this sum at once to the Director General.

Additional funds should be provided for this purpose for succeeding periods as the Council shall recommend.

"All United States funds transferred to U.N.R.R.A. will be expended at the discretion of the Director General in accordance with the broad policies determined by the Council or its Central Committee.

"I will want to consult with you, as developments dictate, prior to the transfer of supplies, services, or funds under the provisions of Section 202 of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Participation Appropriation Act, 1945.

"The success of the U.N.R.R.A. program will depend upon the good faith and generous assistance of each member Nation. In the case of the United States, I know that I can count upon you to serve as guide, counsel, and friend to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

"Sincerely yours,

"FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT"

(For other items on the work of U.N.R.R.A., see Items 123, 125 and note, 1943 volume; and Item 119 and note, this volume.)

113 ¶ Informal, Extemporaneous Remarks to Crowd Greeting the President at Union Station, Washington, D. C.

November 10, 1944

THIS is a very wonderful welcome home that you have given me on this rather rainy morning—a welcome that I shall always remember. And when I say a welcome home, I hope that some of the scribes in the papers won't intimate that I expect to make Washington my permanent residence for the rest of my life.

114. *Nine Hundred and Eightieth Press Conference*

All these years — eight in the Navy Department, twelve in the White House — and four to come — will have a great effect on Washington. The city is very different from the Washington that I first came to in the first administration of President Cleveland.

So I want to tell you how glad I am to be here and say one word to you — especially the Government workers — for all that you are doing to win this war. And when I say especially Government workers, I don't overlook all the other people in the city who make it possible for them to come here and live here and work here.

So thanks very much.

114 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Eightieth Press Conference (Excerpts). November 14, 1944

(Missouri Valley Authority — Jurisdiction of Interior and War Departments over dams — Seven regional authorities — Plans for economical inauguration.)

Q. Mr. President, Senator Overton says that the Missouri Valley Authority proposal would be dead, in his opinion, if the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation plan, which he favors, is adopted. Would you care to comment on the acceptability of that plan as a substitute?

THE PRESIDENT: I am not really sufficiently in touch with the plans. I couldn't even tell you what is in them exactly.

The problem is this, in the Missouri Valley. Like other watersheds that contain a good many States, there are always two kinds of problems. The first is the problem of the States themselves. Each State wants everything, and the say in everything affecting, of course, its own State, but affecting incidentally the whole flow of the river from the top to the bottom, passing through a number of other States. Well, that is something that has to be reconciled.

114. Nine Hundred and Eightieth Press Conference

In the Tennessee watershed, for example, there were, I think, seven States that were affected by the T.V.A., and there was a lot of feeling that they were going to give up some kind of a right; and that was a good many years ago, and it has been in operation for quite a while, and there isn't one of those States today that feels that State has been unfairly treated. It has been done for the benefit of all the States, and in proportion to the flow of the water, and the mileage, and the character of the land in the whole valley.

Well, there has been a feeling out there in the Missouri Valley, that there are two parts, the parts further back at the head of the tributaries of the Missouri, and the parts that are lower down and that are affected by floods and other things. And they think that by some other method they will be able to agree, but it's always been terribly hard to get them to agree, unless there is some — what might be called a central — authority to make the final decision.

Of course, they ought to be heard the whole length of the Missouri, which covers a tremendous territory, but there ought to be somebody — it's a question of speed — getting things done. So they would hear them all, and bring them together, and talk things over, and make a final decision.

Then the second part of it relates to a thing that goes way, way back. Who is to build the dam, the Department of the Interior or the War Department? Well, that is purely a jurisdictional thing, and it has never worried me very much. They each have a corps of dam builders, and they are very good. They built some very, very good dams. Some of them were built by the War Department engineers and some by the Reclamation Bureau.

Of course, the theory — that goes way, way back to 1860 something — is that irrigation was always turned over to the Interior Department to do, but that navigation was turned over to the Army engineers to do. Well, I don't much care who does the actual dam building. It probably is a good thing to have two different dam building agencies in the Govern-

ment, because you get a certain amount of competition between two Government agencies.

Well, as it worked out, they are both pretty good. They are both awfully cocky about the good dams they build. Well, that's fine. That's all to the good. They will both bring in a plan on the same dam, which is part navigational in its purpose and part irrigational. And we get plans from both, and then decide which one will do it. Well, that's not bad. There's very little waste in the competition between the two Departments. I would say you would save money, on the whole. But that is a purely jurisdictional thing within the Government construction work.

Of course, the only real example that we have got in operations on a big scale is the T.V.A., and the people down there in all the seven States like it, and it seems to be working. There is no local dispute over the T.V.A. so far, because it has been fair as between the different States. So I can't tell you in that one particular case about the Missouri, because I am not sufficiently up to date on these different bills.

I still think there ought to be a Missouri Valley Authority. There are an awful lot of States — an awful lot of territory.

And of course, I hope that there will be an Authority, for instance, for the Arkansas River. Well, people in the East don't visualize it. The Arkansas River rises right on the Continental Divide in western Colorado, and it already has become a flood menace by the time it gets down to southeastern Colorado. Pueblo is on the Arkansas River. Well, Pueblo is way out in Colorado. And then it meanders down through a lot of States before it gets down to Arkansas and Louisiana to the Mississippi River. It's an ideal thing to put under an Authority.

Same way, we have talked about a Columbia River Authority and some people talked about an Ohio River Authority, so that I have drawn the thing out on a sheet of paper so many times I can do it in my sleep. A map of the United States — well, I divide it up roughly into seven different regions, one

114. *Nine Hundred and Eightieth Press Conference*

of them being the main stem of the Mississippi River itself, because that has been a separate entity for all time. There is the barge line on the Mississippi, and it is more of a unit than any other river, just a narrow strip from the top end of the country to the southern end of the country.

And I hope that in time we will get seven different Authorities, each one with a separate general location.

For instance, a good example, the Cumberland River, which starts up in northern Kentucky and wanders down into Tennessee. And it's almost parallel with the Tennessee, and actually as it gets west, just before the Ohio goes into the Mississippi, it turns north and goes into the Mississippi within ten or fifteen miles of where the Tennessee goes in. And yet it is an entirely different watershed. Well, in all probability, affecting in general terms the same States, it ought to be part of the Tennessee Valley Authority, to save time and trouble. And the construction work of the T.V.A., of course, will be completed pretty soon. I think it's fair to take on another valley basin.

When you come to the other problems, the little rivers to the south of it, like Tombigbee, which starts across a little watershed about 150 feet high and about 25 miles from the Tennessee — and the Tennessee, of course, running at that point northwest to the Tombigbee and due south to the Gulf of Mexico — well, there are half a dozen Tombigbees in the Gulf section. Probably, they should be put into a separate Authority, including rivers in Texas.

But it is awfully hard, because there is so much feeling, that no one State wants to join up with another State in the general policy or management of running a great watershed project. Mind you, it isn't only water power. That is one of the lesser things, on the whole. . . .

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us about your inauguration plans?

THE PRESIDENT: I saw it on the ticker. (*Laughter*)

Q. Can you confirm it?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, it's all right. I had Ed Halsey and Dave

114. *Nine Hundred and Eightieth Press Conference*

Lynn, the Architect of the Capitol, down Saturday, and I said, "You know, I am terribly concerned about dollars and cents because I am afraid that a lot of people in the Senate — Senator Byrd is the Chairman of this Committee [Senator Byrd was also the Chairman of a Committee on Non-Essential Expenditures which frequently criticized the Administration for failure to economize sufficiently] — (*much laughter*) — and what are you laughing at? — (*more laughter*) — and they have appropriated \$25,000 for the inauguration. But, you know, I think I can save an awful lot of money." (*More laughter*)

And with that desire to save money, I said, "I think I can do it for less than ten percent of that cost. I think I can do it for less than \$2,000. Give them a light buffet luncheon, that will be the only expense."

The ladies here are all fascinated over what a good house-keeper I am. (*More laughter*)

MAY CRAIG: (*interjecting*) That's not what fascinates me! (*Loud laughter*)

THE PRESIDENT: (*continuing*) So they were quite interested. They said, "How can you do it for less than \$2,000?" A lot of that can go to consommé and chicken à la king, and a few sandwiches and coffee. "Well," I said, "I think I can do it."

The best architectural view, almost, in the Capital is the front of the White House that was originally meant to be the front door. There wasn't any north portico when the White House was built. And the main driveway was this one right here — (*indicating*) — that had these two curving stairways — steps, up to a perfectly charming porch — curving porch. And that was the front of the White House until about 1825, somewhere along there. And it really is lovely, the ironwork of those steps and the beautiful design. And there's a rail on top.

No. I tell you what we found. Up there, Dave Lynn has got an iron scaffold, and I have got down here a wooden scaffold, and by putting them both up, there will be room not only

115. *Opening of Sixth War Loan Drive*

for the photographers but all of the press, so everybody will get a chance to see it. Now isn't that a happy thought? (*Laughter*)

Q. Are you going to parade any on inauguration day?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Who is there here to parade? . . .

NOTE: See Item 73 and note, this volume, for discussion of the plan for a Missouri Valley Authority. For an account of the accomplishments of the T.V.A., see note to Item 5, and references cited therein, 1941 volume.

See Item 67, pp. 252-256, 1937 volume, for the President's recommendation that the Congress authorize seven regional planning authorities; the Congress did not act favorably on this recommendation.

115 ¶ The President Opens the Sixth War Loan Drive. November 19, 1944

THE Sixth War Loan Drive that starts tomorrow is something more than just a money-raising affair.

We cannot all fight the enemy face to face. We cannot all produce the weapons and the raw materials that are so vital to our armed forces.

But there is one front on which all of us — every man, woman, and child — can serve, and serve for the duration. We can all practice self-denial. We can all sacrifice some of our comforts to the needs of the men in service; and yes, even some of our needs to their comforts.

The war in the present month of November alone will cost us seven and one-half billions of dollars. That is two hundred and fifty millions a day.

That is why every war bond that you buy is so important.

The war is not over — no, not by many a costly battle. While we have every reason to be proud of what has been done — even optimistic about the ultimate outcome — we have no reason to be complacent about the tough road that still lies ahead of us.

We have just been through a wartime election, demonstrating

116. *Postwar Scientific Research and Development*

to the people of the world the deep roots of our democratic faith.

This Sixth War Loan, I am confident, will be a further example of democracy in action in a world at war.

There is an old saying about sticking to the plow until you have reached the end of the furrow. Every rule of common sense and patriotic thought makes that maxim applicable to our conduct in this war.

And so in the name of our wounded and sick, in the name of our dead, and in the name of future generations of Americans, I ask you to plow out this furrow to a successful and victorious end.

NOTE: Throughout the defense and war periods, the President made statements in support of the purchase of defense war savings bonds and stamps, the extension of the voluntary pay-roll savings plan, and the various war loan drives conducted under the supervision of the Treasury Department throughout the country. (See Item 34 and note, 1941 volume; Items 47, 67, and 99 and notes, 1943 volume, and

Item 42 and note, this volume, for earlier statements of the President on war loan drives, the purchase of defense and war savings bonds and stamps, and the extension of the voluntary pay-roll savings plan.)

The Sixth War Loan Drive was conducted from November 20 through December 16, 1944. Sales amounted to \$21,621,000,000 — 154 percent of the \$14,000,000,000 goal.

116 ¶ The President Requests Plans for Future Scientific Research and Development.

November 20, 1944

THE Office of Scientific Research and Development, of which you are the Director, represents a unique experiment of teamwork and cooperation in coordinating scientific research and in applying existing scientific knowledge to the solution of the technical problems paramount in war. Its work has been conducted in the utmost secrecy and carried on without public recognition of any kind; but its tangible results can be found in the commu-

niqués coming in from the battle fronts all over the world. Some day the full story of its achievements can be told.

There is, however, no reason why the lessons to be found in this experiment cannot be profitably employed in times of peace. The information, the techniques, and the research experience developed by the Office of Scientific Research and Development and by the thousands of scientists in the universities and in private industry, should be used in the days of peace ahead for the improvement of the national health, the creation of new enterprises bringing new jobs, and the betterment of the national standard of living.

It is with that objective in mind that I would like to have your recommendations on the following four major points:

First: What can be done, consistent with military security, and with the prior approval of the military authorities, to make known to the world as soon as possible the contributions which have been made during our war effort to scientific knowledge?

The diffusion of such knowledge should help us stimulate new enterprises, provide jobs for our returning servicemen and other workers, and make possible great strides for the improvement of the national well-being.

Second: With particular reference to the war of science against disease, what can be done now to organize a program for continuing in the future the work which has been done in medicine and related sciences?

The fact that the annual deaths in this country from one or two diseases alone are far in excess of the total number of lives lost by us in battle during this war should make us conscious of the duty we owe future generations.

Third: What can the Government do now and in the future to aid research activities by public and private organizations? The proper roles of public and of private research, and their interrelation, should be carefully considered.

Fourth: Can an effective program be proposed for discovering and developing scientific talent in American youth so that the continuing future of scientific research in this country may be

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assured on a level comparable to what has been done during the war?

New frontiers of the mind are before us, and if they are pioneered with the same vision, boldness, and drive with which we have waged this war we can create a fuller and more fruitful employment and a fuller and more fruitful life.

I hope that, after such consultation as you may deem advisable with your associates and others, you can let me have your considered judgment on these matters as soon as convenient — reporting on each when you are ready, rather than waiting for completion of your studies on all.

Dr. Vannevar Bush,
Director,
Office of Scientific Research and Development,
Washington, D. C.

NOTE: At the suggestion of Oscar Cox — who during the war years was of great assistance to Harry Hopkins and me in a variety of different subjects — I talked with Dr. Vannevar Bush about what role the Government could play in post-war scientific research. We agreed that the whole field of future scientific research should be explored under the direction of the Office of Scientific Research and Development. The President decided to give impetus to the project by sending Dr. Bush the foregoing letter.

It was with the collaboration of the Office of Scientific Research and Development that the atomic bomb, the proximity fuse, and a host of other weapons of war were invented and perfected (see note to Item 60, 1941 volume, for an account of the

work of the Office of Scientific Research and Development). It was typical of the President, however, that he was at least equally as concerned with mobilization of America's scientific genius to attack and solve peacetime problems. He felt that if science under the spur of wartime necessity could make such astounding progress in forging weapons of destruction, it was reasonable to believe that, with proper support, science would foster a more abundant life in times of peace.

Upon receipt of the foregoing letter, Dr. Vannevar Bush assembled four committees of distinguished persons to prepare data in answer to each of the issues raised by the President. These committees in turn consulted the leading figures in the respective fields of in-

116. *Postwar Scientific Research and Development*

quiry. Intensive work was accomplished on all subjects during the early months of 1945. The findings were submitted to President Truman on July 5, 1945, in the form of a Report entitled "Science — The Endless Frontier." The facts, conclusions, and recommendations of the Report are based on the findings of the four committees; the full texts of the committee findings are included as appendices to the report.

In answer to the four questions raised by the President, the Report made the following recommendations:

1. *Dissemination of scientific knowledge gained during the war.* Except in the field of medical research, wartime restrictions prevented the continuous cross-fertilization necessary for scientific progress. Professional medical journals published hundreds of articles with the permission of the War and Navy Departments, but in other fields narrow specialization was enforced and many discoveries remained secret. The Report recommended that a declassification board be established to control the release of scientific information for publication. Accordingly a staff of the Office of Scientific Research and Development began the preparation of manuscripts summarizing their war work. H. D. Smyth, Professor of Physics at Princeton University, prepared the official report of the discoveries in the development of the atomic bomb, entitled

"Atomic Energy for Military Purposes," which was published shortly after Dr. Bush's Report. Other scientific articles began to appear as security restrictions were lifted.

In addition to recommending publication of scientific discoveries, the Report recommended a greater degree of international exchange of scientific information. Specifically, the Government was asked to aid in the arrangement of international science congresses, the official reception of foreign scientists of standing in this country, and the provision of international fellowships.

2. *Organization of a future program for medicine and related sciences.* The advances in medicine during the war were made possible only by drawing on the backlog of basic research accomplished prior to the war. Therefore, the Report recommended an expanded program of research in those fields where our knowledge is still limited. Although phenomenal strides had been made in reducing infant deaths and increasing life expectancy by providing cures for many diseases, there remained many diseases unconquered by modern medicine. Chronic disease of the kidneys, arteriosclerosis, and cerebral hemorrhage accounted for 45 percent of the deaths in this country. Infectious diseases and cancer ranked second and third as causes of deaths. Mental diseases were increasing at the rate of 125,000 annually.

116. *Postwar Scientific Research and Development*

Basic research in medicine and the underlying sciences were primarily the responsibility of the medical schools and universities. Yet while the cost of medical research had been rising, endowment income, foundation grants, and private donations had been diminishing. To maintain our progress in medicine, the Report recommended that the Government extend financial support through grants for research and for fellowships in the medical schools and universities. It was suggested that not more than \$5,000,000 should be expended the first year, and \$20,000,000 annually after the program would be under way.

3. *Government aid to research activities.* In addition to the program of Government aid to medicine just described, the Report recommended expanded Government support to science. It was urged that a permanent Scientific Advisory Board be created to consult with the research agencies within the Government and to advise the President and the Congress concerning the policies and budgets of these agencies engaged in scientific research. It was recommended that, in order to reduce the handicap of competition from industry and the universities, the procedures for recruiting, classifying, and compensating scientific personnel be liberalized. The Report further recommended that the Government also encourage industrial research (a) by clarifying the Internal Revenue Code to liberalize deductions for re-

search and development expenditures; and (b) by strengthening the patent system and removing uncertainties in the patent laws which have hampered small industries in translating new ideas into products.

The Report advocated more military research in peacetime as one of the greatest contributions to national security. The vehicle recommended was a civilian-controlled organization having close liaison with the Army and Navy, supported by Government funds, with the power to initiate military research supplementing that carried on directly under Army and Navy control.

4. *Renewal of scientific talent.* The Report estimated that the war created a deficit of 150,000 science and technology students who would have received bachelor's degrees but for the war, and that 1955 would see a deficit of 17,000 students who might have obtained advanced degrees by that date. In effect, the shortage of trained scientists limits our "endless frontier." In order to insure that those talented individuals in our population receive the proper training—rather than depend on the circumstances of family fortune—the Report urged that the Federal Government provide undergraduate and graduate financial support.

Under the terms of this program, the Government would provide 24,000 undergraduate scholarships and 900 graduate fellowships, costing \$30,000,000 annually when the pro-

116. *Postwar Scientific Research and Development*

gram was in full operation. Each year 6,000 undergraduate scholarships would be made available to high school graduates and 300 graduate fellowships offered to college graduates. The plan further provided that recipients of these grants would be enrolled in a National Science Reserve and be liable for call into Government service for scientific work in wartime.

5. *Establishment of a National Research Foundation.* As a means of achieving the objectives outlined in the Report, it was recommended that a National Research Foundation be established as a focal point within the Government for assisting scientific research conducted outside the Government. This Foundation would be composed of divisions of medical research, natural sciences, national defense, scientific personnel and education, and publications and scientific collaboration. A nine-member board of Presidential appointees with four-year overlapping terms would establish basic policies and carry out the program which the Report recommended. Estimates of expenditures were \$33,500,000 for the first year of operation and \$122,500,000 for the fifth and succeeding years of operation. Grants and contracts would then be made to organizations outside of the Federal Government.

By June 1, 1949, while legislation to organize government aid to science and research had not

been enacted, nevertheless several steps had been taken to institute the programs recommended in response to the President's questions.

By Executive Order No. 9568 (issued by President Truman on June 8, 1945) a Publication Board was established to provide for the declassification and release of scientific and technical information consistent with military security. Executive Order No. 9604 (issued by President Truman on August 25, 1945) extended the scope of the previous Order to authorize the release of enemy scientific and industrial information.

Following the issuance of these two Executive Orders, a Committee on Release of Scientific Information was created, with interdepartmental representation. The operational program of the Publication Board and this Committee was taken over by the Department of Commerce, which commenced publication of a weekly bibliography of scientific and industrial reports and organized declassification procedures in other agencies. In addition, the War and Commerce Departments collaborated in the collection of captured scientific and technical information in former enemy countries.

As a further result of the questions raised by President Roosevelt, an Executive Order (No. 9791) establishing the President's Scientific Research Board was issued by President Truman on October 17, 1946. This order provided that the

117. *Resignation of Cordell Hull*

Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion be the Chairman of the Board, which comprised the heads of twelve other Federal departments and agencies. The Board was directed to make an inquiry into the most feasible methods for planning, administering, and staff- ing Federal research programs and determining their relationship with non-Federal research programs. The objective of the Board was to insure that the scientific personnel, training, and research facilities of the Nation be used most effectively in the national interest.

117 ¶ Exchange of Letters on the Resignation of Cordell Hull as Secretary of State.

November 21, 1944

My dear Cordell:

YOUR letter of this afternoon has hit me between wind and water. It has been very sad for me even to contemplate the ending of our close relationship during all these twelve years. It is not merely that our personal relations have been so uniformly and invariably agreeable, or that our joint work has borne true success in so many fields, as it is the personal feeling of not being able to lean on you for aid and intimate interchange of thought.

This is especially true because we have come so far along the road of friendly relations among Nations that I have counted so much on your help in carrying this work through the final stage of complex and difficult conditions which still face us.

Your health is honestly my first thought, and I am really confident that you will be on your feet again in a relatively short time, even though you are limited to special tasks and avoid the daily routine of Department work. As of today, therefore, you must devote all your thought to getting back on your feet and on this all your friends will join in helping.

I will, of course, accept your resignation as Secretary of State if you want me to do so. But I wish you would, as an alternative, allow me to accept it as of January twentieth, which is the end of our Third Term. Perhaps sentiment enters into this suggestion

117. *Resignation of Cordell Hull*

a little bit, but it would give me great satisfaction if we should round out the three terms. That means two months more, and during that time I could see you from time to time and get your advice on some of the things that will come before us.

Incidentally, when the organization of the United Nations is set up, I shall continue to pray that you as the Father of the United Nations may preside over its first session. That has nothing to do with whether you are Secretary of State or not at the time, but should go to you as the one person in all the world who has done the most to make this great plan for peace an effective fact. In so many different ways you have contributed to friendly relations among Nations that even though you may not remain in a position of executive administration, you will continue to help the world with your moral guidance.

With my affectionate regards,

As ever yours,

My dear Mr. President:

It is with inexpressible disappointment that I find it necessary, for considerations of health, to retire from public service. I, therefore, with utmost regret, tender herewith my resignation as Secretary of State.

It is a matter of special satisfaction to me that throughout my almost twelve years at the Department of State, our personal relations have been uniformly and invariably agreeable and that, by our joint efforts, many difficult tasks growing out of the foreign relations of this country before and during this war have been brought to partial or full completion; many great questions have been faced successfully; and many forward movements of surpassing importance to friendly relations among Nations have been instituted.

As the war draws to a close there remains a vast area of complex and difficult conditions and problems which must be dealt with in the months and years immediately ahead. It is a supreme tragedy to me personally that I am unable to continue making

118. Department Heads Warned Not to Predict End of War

my full contribution to such great international undertakings as the creation of the postwar peace organization, the solution of the many other problems involved in the promotion of international cooperation, and the final development of a full and complete structure of a world order under law.

When I recover my strength, I shall individually be always at your service in every possible way.

Sincerely yours,

CORDELL HULL

118 ¶ Letter from the President Ordering Heads of Executive Departments and Independent Agencies to Refrain from Public Statements Indicating an Early End of the War.

December 1, 1944

AT A MOST critical time, when production of essential supplies vital to the war effort must be kept at a high level, speculative public statements by responsible military and civilian public officials at home and abroad indicating an early termination of the war tend to curtail production of essential war materials. It is highly necessary that this condition be remedied and to this end all Government officials are directed to refrain from such public statements.

119 ¶ The President Transmits to the Congress
U.N.R.R.A.'s First Quarterly Report on
Expenditures and Operations.

December 5, 1944

To the Congress:

I AM TRANSMITTING herewith the first quarterly report on U.N.R.R.A. expenditures and operations in accordance with the Act of March 28, 1944, authorizing United States participation in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The enemy has been driven out of all or virtually all of the Soviet Union, France, Greece, Belgium, and Luxembourg. Parts of The Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Norway, as well as the Philippines, New Guinea, New Britain, and Burma have been liberated by the armed forces of the United Nations. Those forces — more powerful each month than the month before — are now striking additional blows to complete the task of liberation and to achieve final victory over Germany and Japan.

U.N.R.R.A. was established by the United Nations to help meet those essential needs of the people of the liberated areas which they cannot provide for themselves. Necessary relief stocks are being acquired and the personnel recruited to assure efficient and equitable administration of relief supplies and relief services. As rapidly as active military operations permit, U.N.R.R.A. is undertaking operations in the field. U.N.R.R.A. representatives are already in or on the way to liberated areas of Europe and are preparing to go to the Pacific and Far East. The colossal task of relieving the suffering of the victims of war is under way.

The conditions which prevail in many liberated territories have proven unfortunately to be fully as desperate as earlier reports have indicated. The enemy has been ruthless beyond measure. The Nazis instituted a deliberate policy of starvation,

119. *U.N.R.R.A.'s First Quarterly Report*

persecution, and plunder which has stripped millions of people of everything which could be destroyed or taken away.

The liberated peoples will be helped by U.N.R.R.A. so that they can help themselves; they will be helped to gain the strength to repair the destruction and devastation of the war and to meet the tremendous task of reconstruction which lies ahead.

All the world owes a debt to the heroic peoples who fought the Nazis from the beginning — fought them even after their homelands were occupied and against overwhelming odds — and who are continuing the fight once again as free peoples to assist in the task of crushing completely Nazi and Japanese tyranny and aggression.

NOTE: On November 9, 1943, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was established by the signing of an agreement concluded by the United Nations and associated Governments (see Item 123 and note, 1943 volume, for the President's address on the signing of the U.N.R.R.A. agreement; see also Item 125 and note, 1943 volume, for the President's message to the Congress recommending appropriations for U.N.R.R.A. to carry out the terms of the Agreement).

As indicated in the President's message of transmittal, the U.N. R.R.A. Report of December 5, 1944, was the first of a series of quarterly reports submitted to the Congress as required by the U.N. R.R.A. Participation Appropriation Act of 1945, which was enacted on June 30, 1944. The first quarterly report covered the United States' participation in the operations of U.N.R.R.A. up to September 30, 1944.

The first report announced that in Europe alone 100,000,000 people had been freed from Nazi domination. To meet critical deficiencies, many of these people needed food, clothing, medicines, shelter, and transportation. In the initial period covered by the first quarterly report, emergency needs in liberated areas were met only from military relief supplies. Meanwhile, U.N.R.R.A. directly operated a number of war refugee camps, completed arrangements for the procurement of hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of supplies, and supplied staffs to assist the military authorities in relief operations in Greece and other countries of western Europe. The groundwork was laid for relief and rehabilitation work in the Far East, and at the time of the issuance of the first quarterly report, U.N.R.R.A. field offices were in the process of establishment at Sydney, Australia, and Chungking, China.

120. *Nine Hundred and Eighty-fourth Press Conference*

120 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Eighty-fourth Press Conference (Excerpts).

December 19, 1944

(*The President is "a little left of center" — What the Atlantic Charter is.*)

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't got any news.

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Bevin said in London last week that you initialed the Quebec British plan for British stabilization of Greece. Could you tell us anything about that?

THE PRESIDENT: Wasn't that denied?

Q. Don't think so, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: State Department? I think so.

Q. No, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think they said something in a more polite form than that.

Q. Is it to be denied, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't bring it up again. I think it's contentious. I found a new word when I was away: contentious. (*Laughter*) I wouldn't bring it up. There is nothing in that. . . .

MAY CRAIG: Mr. President, this is a contentious question, but I would like a serious answer. (*Laughter*)

THE PRESIDENT: You would find it awful hard to get, May.

MAY CRAIG: There's a good deal of question as to whether you are going right or left politically, and I would like your opinion on which way you are going?

THE PRESIDENT: I am going down the whole line a little left of center. I think that was answered, that question, eleven and a half years ago, and still holds.

Q. But you told us a little while ago that you were going to have Dr. Win-The-War and not Dr. New Deal.

THE PRESIDENT: (*interjecting*) That's right.

Q. (*continuing*) The question is whether you are going back to be Dr. New Deal after the war —

120. *Nine Hundred and Eighty-fourth Press Conference*

THE PRESIDENT: (*interposing*) No, no. No. Keep right along a little to the left of center, which includes winning the war.

That's not much of an answer, is it?

MAY CRAIG: No. (*Laughter*)

THE PRESIDENT: However, you have broken the ice, May.

Q. Mr. President, if you are going down a little left of center, how does that match with the six appointments you sent up to the Hill on the State Department?

THE PRESIDENT: Very well.

Q. Would you call them a little left of center?

THE PRESIDENT: I call myself a little left of center. I have got a lot of people in the Administration — oh, I know some of them are extreme right and extreme left, and everything else — a lot of people in the Administration, and I cannot vouch for them all. They work out pretty well, on the whole. Just think, this crowd here in this room — my gracious, you will find every opinion between left and extreme right.

Q. Mr. President, would you welcome, and do you see the prospect of an early conference with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin?

THE PRESIDENT: I saw that. Yes. A highly speculative story.

Q. I asked you if you saw the prospect of an early conference?

THE PRESIDENT: I said it's highly — highly — what? — what was the word I used about it? — speculative.

Q. I would like to eliminate the speculation and go to the highest source. (*Laughter*)

THE PRESIDENT: I know you would. So would I. You are not the only one. (*More laughter*)

Q. Mr. President, in being a little left of center, you have noticed in your life that many a progressive or liberal stays where he is and becomes hopelessly conservative as time goes on.

THE PRESIDENT: And you are exactly the same age as I am.

Q. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Now, do you feel that you are getting more conservative?

MR. GODWIN: I think I am.

120. *Nine Hundred and Eighty-fourth Press Conference*

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that's bad. You must be older than I am. (*Laughter*) Old age hasn't crept up on me yet. You ought to be careful. You ought to watch that; it's a serious thing when it happens. . . .

Q. Mr. President, did Mr. Churchill ever sign the Atlantic Charter?

THE PRESIDENT: Nobody ever signed the Atlantic Charter. Now that's an amazing statement.

Q. Where is it, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you're thinking in awfully — oh, what will I say? — banal phrases and thought.

There isn't any copy of the Atlantic Charter, so far as I know. I haven't got one. The British haven't got one. The nearest thing you will get is the radio operator on the *Augusta* and on the *Prince of Wales*. That's the nearest thing you will come to it. It's one of the things that was agreed to on board ship, and there was no formal document.

And the aides were directed to have the scribbled thing, which had a great many corrections, some I suppose in Mr. Churchill's handwriting, and some in mine, and some in Sir Alec Cadogan's handwriting, some in scraps of paper, some in Sumner Welles's handwriting — and the aides were directed to have it sent off to the British Government, and to the United States Government, and released to the press. That is the Atlantic Charter.

Q. Well, Mr. President, is it not true that all of the United Nations have signed the —

THE PRESIDENT: (*interposing*) Oh, yes.

Q. (*continuing*) — obligations of the Atlantic Charter through the Declaration of Washington?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, that was done on the first of January, 1942, and that's all signed.

There was one amusing thing that happened to it. The original was, I think, typewritten in the State Department. And finally, on the first of January, 1942, the Ambassadors came in a great part of that day. We had two or three sessions.

120. *Nine Hundred and Eighty-fourth Press Conference*

And we all signed up. And then a little later on Brazil and a couple of other countries signed, over in the Dining Room in the White House, which was all decorated with flags.

That's where I got caught. Nobody caught on. The press was there, though.

And the Brazilian Ambassador was sitting on my right, and the copy wasn't there! I delivered a speech, and then asked the signatory powers to sign. But there was nothing to sign. It was in the Department safe, and the keeper of the Department safe who knew the combination was out in Bethesda, which didn't help at all.

And I said all right, we haven't got the document for you to sign; and I wrote out longhand very simple words: we hereby approve and join in the Declaration by the United Nations set up on the first of January last.

But before writing it, I looked for a pen, and there wasn't any pen! — (*laughter*) — because the pen wouldn't work — didn't have any ink in it. It finally ended by my borrowing the pen — I used really strong language — luckily I wasn't on the air — (*more laughter*) — as to the lack of pens, and I borrowed the fountain pen of the Mexican Ambassador.

Q. Mr. President, that Statement that was issued to the press said it was a Statement signed by yourself and by the British Prime Minister. Is that literally not true, sir, that it was merely presented through you — that it was not a document —

THE PRESIDENT: (*interposing*) What Statement to the press?

Q. When the Atlantic Charter Statement was issued?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Issued through the White House.

THE PRESIDENT: It isn't a formal document. He [Churchill] has got a lot of his handwriting — some of mine — in it, and I don't know where it is now.

Q. I understand that, sir, but the caption on that Statement that we received said it was a Statement signed by yourself and the British Prime Minister. I was just trying to clarify

120. *Nine Hundred and Eighty-fourth Press Conference*

whether that document actually had signatures on the bottom of it, or whether it did not?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I think it's probable, in time, they will find some documents and signatures.

Q. The spirit still is there, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we all agreed on it, that's all I know. I have got some memoranda that were signed by the British Prime Minister, but it wasn't the complete document. It isn't considered signed by us both.

Q. My recollection is that the thing that came up to the Capitol said at the bottom, "Signed Roosevelt and Churchill." . . .

THE PRESIDENT: It was signed in substance. There is no formal document — complete document — signed by us both. There are memoranda to the people there and to the radio people.

Q. (*interjecting*) Whether or not it was signed, you promulgated and stood for it, and you stand for it now?

THE PRESIDENT: (*continuing*) And sent for the radio man and said put this on the air. That's all.

Q. Have you, since that time, Mr. President, wished that you had a formal document which was signed, sealed, and attested?

THE PRESIDENT: No, except from the point of view of sightseers in Washington. I think that they will like to see it, perhaps not so much as the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of the United States. Well, if you wanted to exhibit it, there isn't any good reason we can't.

NOTE: For the official statement on the Atlantic Charter, and subsequent comments by the President on the Atlantic Charter, see Items 74, 76, 77, and 78, 1941 volume; Item 82, 1942 volume; Item 90, 1943 volume; and Item 121, this volume.

121 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Eighty-fifth Press Conference (Excerpts). December 22, 1944

(*The Atlantic Charter as a statement of objectives — Columnists.*)

Q. Mr. President, may I ask a question about the Atlantic Charter which was discussed at our last press conference? It seems that recently a number of people have felt that we are losing the purposes, or that they are slipping away from us —

THE PRESIDENT: (*interposing*) Again, it depends on which paper you read.

Q. Well, I would like to hear from the President and not merely from others. I would like to know what the President thinks about it?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I ought to prepare something a little formal and think it over, but I will try it.

There are certain — you might call them documents, because is a telegram a document? — I don't know — "pronouncements," call it that, that in all history have been made. Some of them are of a good deal of importance, some of them do have an effect on the thinking of a public towards objectives, and for a better world.

And the Atlantic Charter stands as an objective. A great many of the previous pronouncements that go back many centuries have not been attained yet, and yet the objective is still just as good as it was when it was announced several thousand years ago.

And I think that the objective of the Atlantic Charter is just as sound, if you believe in that kind of objective — some people don't, some people laugh at it — just as valid as when it was announced in 1941.

There are a lot of people who say you can't attain an objective or improvement in human life or in humanity, therefore why talk about it. Well, those people who come out for the Ten Commandments will say we don't all live up to the Ten Commandments, which is perfectly true, but on the

whole they are pretty good. It's something pretty good to shoot for. The Christian religion most of us in the room happen to belong to, we think it is pretty good. We certainly haven't attained it. Well, the Atlantic Charter is going to take its place, not comparing it with the Christian religion or the Ten Commandments, but as a definite step, just the same way as Wilson's Fourteen Points constituted a major contribution to something we would all like to see happen in the world. Well, those Fourteen Points weren't all attained, but it was a step towards a better life for the population of the world.

And every once in a while somebody comes forward with something else, and will in the future. It depends a little bit on how you are built.

Q. Mr. President, did you mean to imply by that that we are as far from attaining the ends of the Atlantic Charter as the world was a thousand years ago?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, no. Oh, no. The world goes a little bit by peaks and valleys, but on the whole the curve is upward; on the whole, over these thousands of years human life is on a great deal better scale than it was then. And we have got a long way to go.

But things are better, and things are going to get better, if we work for it. There are some people who don't like to work for it — some people in this room — who are — what will I say? — congenitally “agin” that sort of thing. Well, that is part of the peaks and valleys. . . .

Q. Mr. President, have there been any further developments toward a meeting between the Big Three?

THE PRESIDENT: Not yet. And, by the way, when it is — when a development is made, you won't be told. (*Laughter*) There is such a thing known as security for a ship or for a plane, which we have to maintain, as we have in the past. It would be vital about maintaining it when they have known about the fact that I had gone — a pretty good guess as to which way I had gone would be the same thing.

121. *Nine Hundred and Eighty-fifth Press Conference*

MR. EARLY: Make that off the record.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. That's off the record.

Q. Is there any chance of inviting or bringing, then, Mr. Stalin here, do you think?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Mr. President —

THE PRESIDENT: (*interposing*) That has to be off the record.

Q. That's all off the record, too?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything that could be said to further our understanding as to what has held up this meeting up to this point? Since you have said you were anxious to meet, Mr. Churchill has said the same thing.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, again, I have got to tell you off the record. It's largely a question of geography. There aren't three people in the same place. You can't hold a conference in several different places. There has got to be one place. That has to be off the record, too. In other words, to find a place that three of us can go to.

Q. Does the fact that the Premier of Russia is also actively at the head of the armed forces have a bearing on that?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, yes. Oh, yes. Oh, all kinds of factors. . . .

Q. Mr. President, there has been some discussion of a joint chiefs of staff for political and economic questions, similar to the joint chiefs of staff for military questions. Is there anything comparable to that in contemplation?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that was a columnist suggested that, wasn't it? It was a columnist, that's right. All we can say is that columnists are with us, an unnecessary excrescence on our civilization. Excuse me. (*Laughter*)

MAY CRAIG: (*interposing*) But you have one in the family! [Mrs. Roosevelt's column, "My Day."] (*Loud laughter*)

THE PRESIDENT: (*laughing*) Yes, that's true. That's different. (*continued laughter*) Very good — very good. That's perfectly true, May, but it's a little bit different. Mostly it's a diary. (*More laughter*) . . .

122. *Christmas Eve Address to the Nation*

NOTE: For the official statement on 74, 76, 77, and 78, 1941 volume; the Atlantic Charter, and subsequent comments by the President on the Atlantic Charter, see Items 74, 76, 77, and 78, 1941 volume; Item 82, 1942 volume; Item 90, 1943 volume; and Item 120, this volume.

122 ¶ Christmas Eve Address to the Nation.

December 24, 1944

IT IS NOT easy to say "Merry Christmas" to you, my fellow Americans, in this time of destructive war. Nor can I say "Merry Christmas" lightly tonight to our armed forces at their battle stations all over the world — or to our allies who fight by their side.

Here, at home, we will celebrate this Christmas Day in our traditional American way — because of its deep spiritual meaning to us; because the teachings of Christ are fundamental in our lives; and because we want our youngest generation to grow up knowing the significance of this tradition and the story of the coming of the immortal Prince of Peace and Good Will. But, in perhaps every home in the United States, sad and anxious thoughts will be continually with the millions of our loved ones who are suffering hardships and misery, and who are risking their very lives to preserve for us and for all mankind the fruits of His teachings and the foundations of civilization itself.

The Christmas spirit lives tonight in the bitter cold of the front lines in Europe and in the heat of the jungles and swamps of Burma and the Pacific islands. Even the roar of our bombers and fighters in the air and the guns of our ships at sea will not drown out the messages of Christmas which come to the hearts of our fighting men. The thoughts of these men tonight will turn to us here at home around our Christmas trees, surrounded by our children and grandchildren and their Christmas stockings and gifts — just as our own thoughts go out to them, tonight and every night, in their distant places.

We all know how anxious they are to be home with us, and

they know how anxious we are to have them — and how determined every one of us is to make their day of home-coming as early as possible. And — above all — they know the determination of all right-thinking people and Nations, that Christmases such as those that we have known in these years of world tragedy shall not come again to beset the souls of the children of God.

This generation has passed through many recent years of deep darkness, watching the spread of the poison of Hitlerism and Fascism in Europe — the growth of imperialism and militarism in Japan — and the final clash of war all over the world. Then came the dark days of the fall of France, and the ruthless bombing of England, and the desperate battle of the Atlantic, and of Pearl Harbor and Corregidor and Singapore.

Since then the prayers of good men and women and children the world over have been answered. The tide of battle has turned, slowly but inexorably, against those who sought to destroy civilization.

On this Christmas day, we cannot yet say when our victory will come. Our enemies still fight fanatically. They still have reserves of men and military power. But, they themselves know that they and their evil works are doomed. We may hasten the day of their doom if we here at home continue to do our full share.

And we pray that that day may come soon. We pray that until then, God will protect our gallant men and women in the uniforms of the United Nations — that He will receive into His infinite grace those who make their supreme sacrifice in the cause of righteousness, in the cause of love of Him and His teachings.

We pray that with victory will come a new day of peace on earth in which all the Nations of the earth will join together for all time. That is the spirit of Christmas, the holy day. May that spirit live and grow throughout the world in all the years to come.

123 ¶ The President's Statement and Executive Order on the Seizure of Montgomery Ward & Co. Properties. Executive Order No. 9508.

December 27, 1944

Statement:

WE ARE today at a crucial point in the war. Great battles which will determine the fate of the world are raging in Europe and in the Pacific. The tempo and the fury of the conflict are mounting.

Our commanders in the field are demanding weapons in increasing quantities so that they may hit the enemy harder and harder. The supreme effort of all of us here at home is imperative if we are to give them what they need. Nothing less will suffice.

The Government of the United States cannot and will not tolerate any interference with war production in this critical hour.

Nearly three years ago we set up wartime labor relations machinery to insure that our troops and our allies would get essential supplies without interruptions caused by industrial disputes. This machinery, embodied in the National War Labor Board, has had the support of all responsible elements in American management and American labor. It has been a vital element in the attainment of our unparalleled record of war production.

Now the confidence which employers and workers rightly place in this structure for the impartial adjudication of disputes is being threatened by consistent and wilful defiance of its decisions by the head of one of the great corporations of this country — Sewell Avery, Chairman of the Board of Montgomery Ward & Co.

This company, under Mr. Avery's leadership, has waged a bitter fight against the bona fide unions of its employees throughout the war, in reckless disregard of the Government's efforts to maintain harmony between management and labor. Its record of labor relations has been a record of continuous trouble.

123. Seizure of Montgomery Ward & Co.

Twice the Government has had to seize properties of Montgomery Ward as a result of Mr. Avery's defiant attitude, once in Chicago and once in Springfield, Illinois, where the Hummer Manufacturing Company, a Montgomery Ward division, has been operated by the War Department since last May.

For more than a year the company has refused to accept decisions involving workers in ten of its retail stores. Four of these stores are in the Detroit area, the very heart of war production from the viewpoint of urgency. A strike is in progress in these four stores, and strikes are threatened in other cities where the company's stores are located. There is a distinct threat that workers in some of our most critical war plants may join the strike in support of the Montgomery Ward employees if the Government fails to act. We are not going to let this happen.

Strikes in wartime cannot be condoned, whether they are strikes by workers against their employers or strikes by employers against their Government. All of our energies are engrossed in fighting a war on the military battle fronts. We have none to spare for a war on the industrial battle fronts. It is up to us to uphold and strengthen our machinery for settling disputes without interruptions of production. We cannot do this in a total war if we permit defiance to go unchallenged.

The findings submitted to me by the War Labor Board were unanimously adopted by the Board including the representatives of industry.

We cannot allow Montgomery Ward & Co. to set aside the wartime policies of the United States Government just because Mr. Sewell Avery does not approve of the Government's procedure for handling labor disputes. Montgomery Ward & Co., like every other corporation and every labor union in this country, has a responsibility to our fighting men. That responsibility is to see that nothing interferes with the continuity of our war production. It is because Montgomery Ward & Co. has failed to assume this obligation that I have been forced to sign an Executive Order directing the Secretary of War to take over and operate certain properties of Montgomery Ward & Co.

123. *Seizure of Montgomery Ward & Co.*

Executive Order:

WHEREAS the National War Labor Board has found and reported to me that labor disturbances involving nearly 12,000 workers now exist in the plants and facilities of Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated in Jamaica, New York; Detroit, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; St. Paul, Minnesota; Denver, Colorado; San Rafael, California; and Portland, Oregon; that in the exercise of the authority conferred upon it by the War Labor Disputes Act, the National War Labor Board has issued directive orders deciding the labor disputes that gave rise to the said disturbances; that the said directive orders provide terms and conditions, of a kind customarily included in collective bargaining agreements, to govern the relations between the parties to such disputes; that the terms and conditions provided for by the said directive orders are fair and equitable to employer and employee under all the circumstances of the cases; that Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated has refused to put into effect the terms and conditions contained in these directive orders; that as a result of the refusal of Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated to put into effect the terms and conditions contained in the directive orders issued by the National War Labor Board in the dispute in the plants and facilities of Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated in Detroit, Michigan, a serious strike involving approximately 1,800 employees is now in progress in that city; that there is a present danger that the strike now existing in the plants and facilities of Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated in Detroit, Michigan, will spread to plants and facilities of Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated located in other cities and will adversely affect the operation of other plants and facilities, located in the Detroit area and elsewhere, that are engaged in the production of materials used in the prosecution of the war; and

WHEREAS the National War Labor Board has also found and reported to me that Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated, employs approximately 70,000 workers, and serves approximately 30 million customers; that an interruption of the Com-

123. *Seizure of Montgomery Ward & Co.*

pany's activities would unduly delay and impede the war effort; that the preservation of the wartime structure of labor relations and the prevention of interruptions of war production depend upon the peaceful settlement of labor disputes by the National War Labor Board in the manner provided for by the Congress; that the preservation of the national stabilization program requires peaceful settlement of wage disputes during the war by the procedure provided for by the Congress; that the persistent refusal of Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated, to put into effect the terms and conditions contained in directive orders issued by the National War Labor Board, pursuant to the War Labor Disputes Act, threatens to destroy both the wartime structure of labor relations and the procedure established by the Congress for the peaceful settlement of wage disputes during the war, and unduly impedes and delays the war effort; and

WHEREAS after investigation I find and proclaim that the plants and facilities of Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated, located in Jamaica, New York; Detroit, Dearborn, and Royal Oak, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; St. Paul, Minnesota; Denver, Colorado; San Rafael, California; and Portland, Oregon, are plants and facilities that are equipped for the production of articles or materials which may be required for the war effort or which may be useful in connection therewith, within the meaning of the War Labor Disputes Act; that Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated, is engaged in the distribution of articles and materials that are essential to the maintenance of the war economy; that as a result of labor disturbances there are existing and threatened interruptions of the operations of the said plants and facilities of Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated; that the war effort will be unduly impeded or delayed by these interruptions; that the operation of other plants and facilities essential to the war effort is threatened by the labor disturbances at the plants and facilities of Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated; and that the exercise as hereinafter specified of the powers and authority vested in me is necessary to insure, in the interest of the war effort, the operation of these plants and facilities, and of

123. *Seizure of Montgomery Ward & Co.*

other plants and facilities that are threatened to be affected by the said labor disturbances; and

WHEREAS, after investigation I also find and proclaim that these existing and threatened interruptions result from the failure of Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated, to adjust labor disputes of long standing with respect to the terms and conditions of employment at the Company's plants and facilities; that the National War Labor Board has considered these disputes and issued directive orders determining and providing methods for their adjustment; that the labor unions involved have expressed their willingness to adjust the disputes in accordance with the directive orders of the National War Labor Board, but Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated, has persistently refused to accept the provisions of the directive orders as a basis for the adjustment of such disputes; and that this refusal unduly impedes and delays the successful prosecution of the war;

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the power and authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including the War Labor Disputes Act (57 Stat. 163) and section 9 of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 (54 Stat. 892) as amended by the War Labor Disputes Act, as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed, through and with the aid of any persons or instrumentalities that he may designate, to take possession of the plants and facilities of Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated, that are located in Jamaica, New York; Detroit, Dearborn, and Royal Oak, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; St. Paul, Minnesota; Denver, Colorado; San Rafael, California; and Portland, Oregon, and any real or personal property or other assets used or useful in connection with the operation of such plants and facilities, and to operate or to arrange for the operation of such plants and facilities in any manner that he deems essential for the successful prosecution of the war. The Secretary of War is also authorized to exercise any contractual or other rights of Montgomery Ward

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& Co., Incorporated; to continue the employment of, or to employ, any persons; to do any other thing that he may deem necessary for the operation of the said plants and facilities, including the production, sale, and distribution of the articles and materials customarily produced in or sold or distributed from the said plants and facilities; and to take any other steps that he deems necessary to carry out the provisions and purposes of this order.

2. The Secretary of War shall operate the said plants and facilities under the terms and conditions of employment that are in effect at the time possession of the said plants and facilities is taken, and during his operation of the plants and facilities shall observe the terms and conditions of the directive orders of the National War Labor Board, including those dated June 6 and 16, 1944, and December 14 and 15, 1944, provided that the Secretary of War is authorized to pay the wage increases specified in said directive orders, from the effective dates specified in said directive orders to the date possession of said plants and facilities is taken under this order, only out of the net operating income of said plants and facilities during the period of their operation by the Secretary of War. In the event that it appears to the Secretary of War that the net operating income of said plants and facilities will be insufficient to pay the aforesaid accrued wage increases, the Secretary shall make a report to the President with respect thereto.

3. All Federal agencies, including, but not limited to, the War Manpower Commission, the National Selective Service, the Department of Justice, and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, are directed to cooperate with the Secretary of War to the fullest extent possible in carrying out the purposes of this Order. The Secretary of War may request other Federal agencies, including those mentioned above, to assign personnel to assist him in the performance of his duties hereunder.

4. Possession, control, and operation of any plant or facility, taken under this Order shall be terminated by the Secretary of War within sixty days after he determines that the productive

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efficiency of the plant or facility prevailing prior to the existing and threatened interruptions of operations, referred to in the recitals of this Order, has been restored.

5. The words "plants and facilities of Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated," whenever used in this Order, shall be deemed to include, without limitation, any mail-order house, warehouse, office, retail store, factory, or production or assembly unit, owned or operated by Montgomery Ward & Co., Incorporated, in the areas specified in this order.

NOTE: Montgomery Ward & Co. displayed the same recalcitrance, on the industry side, toward the Government's wartime labor policies that John L. Lewis had displayed on the labor side. On a number of occasions between 1942 and 1944, the management of Montgomery Ward & Co. rejected the directive orders of the National War Labor Board and refused to accede to the authority of the United States Government. The first of these disputes occurred in November-December, 1942, when Montgomery Ward & Co. refused to comply with a ruling of the National War Labor Board; only after two letter directives by the President did the Company see fit to comply.

In April, 1944, a second crisis arose in the relations between the Government and Montgomery Ward & Co. The Company gave notice of termination of its contract with the union, claiming that the union no longer represented a majority of the employees. The National War Labor Board ordered continuance of the contractual terms until an election could be

held to determine whether the union still represented a majority of the employees. After the Company had rejected the order of the National War Labor Board and severed all relations with the union, the union, on April 12, 1944, struck in protest against the Company's failure to abide by the Board's order.

This dispute was referred to the President. He urged both the union and the Company to abide by the Board's ruling.

The union stated in reply to the President that "your Order will meet with complete compliance from our workers." On the other hand, Sewell Avery of Montgomery Ward & Co. replied that "Wards experience with the War Labor Board over a period of two years has convinced Wards that the Board is a means by which special privileges are granted to labor unions." Avery's telegram to the President further charged that "the so-called public members have consistently joined with the union members to support the demands of organized labor. The so-called industry mem-

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bers are committed to a policy of supporting the majority vote of the union members and the union-dominated public members."

Thus Mr. Avery bluntly condemned the mechanisms which the Government had established for the wartime settlement of labor disputes, although an overwhelming majority of patriotic industrial and labor leaders had fulfilled their pledge to support this machinery, which worked so well in stabilizing wartime labor relations.

Because of the Company's refusal to comply, the President on April 25, 1944, issued Executive Order No. 9438 authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to take possession of, and operate, the Montgomery Ward & Co. plants and facilities. Shortly thereafter, an election of the employees was held. Although the Company had contended that the union did not represent a majority of the employees, the election returns on May 9, 1944, revealed 2,340 for the union and 1,565 against the union. On the same day, the Company was turned back to its owners by the Secretary of Commerce (see Item 29, this volume, for the President's May 9, 1944, press conference discussion of the Montgomery Ward case).

On December 9, 1944, a third crisis arose in the relations between the Government and Montgomery Ward & Co. This was the outbreak

of a strike against one of the Company's retail stores in Detroit, Michigan. The question at issue in the Detroit strike was the National War Labor Board order to raise wages which were then at a substandard level. This action had been taken by the Board in carrying out the principles of the national stabilization program (see Item 97 and note, 1942 volume, and Item 35 and note, 1943 volume). Again the Company flatly refused to comply with the order.

This deliberate refusal to abide by the order of the National War Labor Board came at a time when the Nazi armies were making their last desperate bid for victory in an all-out offensive in the Ardennes. It came at a time when American forces fighting overseas deserved the united support of the people of America in turning out the weapons for victory.

The Circuit Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit in the case of *U. S. vs. Montgomery Ward & Company, Inc., et al.*, No. 8765, June 8, 1945, upheld the constitutional power of the President to seize the plants. Control of the plants was retained by the Army until after V-J Day. By Executive Order No. 9603, dated August 25, 1945, President Truman returned the Montgomery Ward & Co. plants and a number of other plants and facilities to their private owners.

124 ¶ The President Vetoes a Bill Abolishing the Jackson Hole National Monument.

December 29, 1944

I HAVE withheld my approval from H. R. 2241, "To abolish the Jackson Hole National Monument as created by Presidential Proclamation Numbered 2578, dated March 15, 1943."

The effect of this bill would be to deprive the people of the United States of the benefits of an area of national significance from the standpoint of naturalistic, historic, scientific, and recreational values. The Jackson Hole National Monument as established by Proclamation Numbered 2578 constitutes an outstanding example of a valley formed by block-faulting and glacial action, and has as significant a story to tell of these great forces of nature as has the Grand Canyon to reveal of erosive processes. It also constitutes a breeding and feeding ground for rare types of birds and animal life. For many years it was a celebrated rendezvous of trappers and Indians; very few areas of the West preserve as many frontier associations. In addition, it provides the necessary foreground for the great mountain peaks in the adjoining Grand Teton National Park, and in its scenic and geologic characteristics forms an integral part of the whole Grand Teton region.

In issuing the proclamation creating the Jackson Hole National Monument, I followed precedents repeatedly established by my predecessors, beginning with President Theodore Roosevelt, in exercising the authority conferred by Section 2 of the Antiquities Act approved by the Congress on June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 225). Eighty-two national monuments have been established by Presidents of the United States of both political parties. Seven of these monuments are larger than the Jackson Hole National Monument. There are few official acts of the President of the United States, in the field of conservation or in any other phase of Government, so amply supported by precedent, as is the proclamation establishing Jackson Hole National Monument.

124. *Veto of Bill Abolishing Jackson Hole Monument*

In the light of the legislative history of the Antiquities Act of June 8, 1906, and the interpretation placed thereon by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Cameron vs. United States* (252 U.S. 450), I am convinced that Jackson Hole is an "object of historic or scientific interest" within the meaning of that Act. Therefore, I cannot assent to the position taken by the proponents of H. R. 2241 that the monument reserve should be annulled on the ground that there was no authority for its creation.

The proclamation establishing the Jackson Hole National Monument reserved only the Federal lands within appropriately designated boundaries, and was issued subject to all valid existing rights. As in the case of many other Federal reservations, certain private and State lands are also within the boundaries designated in the proclamation. These lands, which comprise a small fraction of the total acreage, are not affected in any way by the proclamation. They are still in private and State ownership and the rights of the owners are the same as they were before the proclamation was issued. No lands have been or can be confiscated; no citizens have been or can be dispossessed. Moreover, private property and incomes within the monument boundaries remain subject to taxation by the State and county to the same extent as they were before the monument was established.

Soon after Jackson Hole National Monument was created, the Secretary of the Interior issued a policy statement setting forth definite principles to govern the administration of the Federal lands within the monument. This statement provides for the continuance of all permits issued by the Forest Service or other Federal agencies for the use now within the national monument during the lifetime of the present holders and the members of their immediate families. In this statement the Secretary recognized existing grazing privileges on monument lands and existing stock driveway privileges, and declared that cattlemen desiring in the spring and fall to drive their cattle across monument lands, between their respective ranches and the summer ranges, would be permitted to do so as a matter of settled administrative policy.

124. *Veto of Bill Abolishing Jackson Hole Monument*

I recognize the seriousness of the tax problem that might be produced in Teton County, Wyoming, were those lands within the monument boundaries which have been acquired by private interests, for ultimate incorporation in the monument, to be removed from the tax rolls at a time when fully equivalent revenues have not as yet accrued to the County through the development of the tourist attractions of the region. I would be sympathetic to the enactment of legislation whereby revenues derived by the Federal Government from the National Park and Monument system could be used to offset, on an equitable basis, any loss of taxes due to the Federal acquisition, by donation or purchase, of private lands within the monument. I would also be sympathetic to the enactment of legislation that would incorporate into law the administrative policies with respect to the private utilization of Federal lands within the monument to which I have already referred. Among other things, such legislation might provide assurance for private landholders within the monument who now have grazing privileges on Federal lands that these privileges will be continued to them, and to their heirs and assigns, so long as the lands to which these privileges are appurtenant remain in private ownership.

In the establishment of the Jackson Hole National Monument consideration was given to the interests of the people of the United States as a whole in order that the area might be preserved and made available to our citizens for the realization of its highest values, including its scenery, its scientific interest, its wildlife, and its history. I believe that whatever reasonable objections may exist to the continuance of the monument can be overcome without depriving this area of the protection to which it is justly entitled under the Antiquities Act of June 8, 1906, and under the other laws relating to national monuments. Therefore, it would seem to me that the proper remedy in this situation is not the undoing of what has been done, but the making of such adjustments as may be appropriate to meet the local conditions.

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For these reasons I feel that it is my duty to withhold approval from H. R. 2241.

NOTE: The Congress in 1944, and on several subsequent occasions, attempted to abolish the Jackson Hole National Monument and withdraw these rich park lands from enjoyment by the public.

The President and Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes felt strongly that abolition of the Jackson Hole National Monument would be a blow to the public interest, and a surrender to private interests. The Jackson Hole area, comprising over 200,000 acres bordering on the Grand Teton Na-

tional Park, is the type of country which should be preserved for the full enjoyment of the general public. It is a relatively unspoiled portion of the trappers' paradise of the western fur trade area; it also has geological and historical importance because the Jackson Hole basin was deluged with glacial debris which accounted for many unique features within the area.

After the President's veto, the Congress took no action to repass the bill.

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January 3, 1945

To the Congress:

I AM TRANSMITTING the Budget for the fiscal year 1946 as fighting all over the globe reaches a climax of fury. We on the home front must back our fighting men and women to the limit. That is our supreme duty. At the same time we must look ahead. We must be ready to throw our whole effort into the campaign against Japan as fast as the war in Europe permits. And finally, we must begin plans to transform an all-out war economy into a full-employment peace economy whenever demobilization becomes possible. Programs for all these developments must be considered in budget planning for a period that extends over eighteen months.

We must make sure that our armed forces can plan their procurement programs for continuing global war. I shall transmit

detailed recommendations for war appropriations by early spring, in time for the Congress to act on these requests before the beginning of the new fiscal year. I estimate now that 73 billion dollars of appropriations and authorizations will be needed for war purposes for the fiscal year 1946.

If the war develops favorably, unobligated balances of war appropriations no longer required for authorized purposes will be placed in reserve and reported to the Congress for repeal or other action under the provisions of present law.

Actual expenditures of the Federal Government depend largely on the course of the war. I have not made in the past, and I shall not now make, any prediction concerning the length of the war. My only prediction is that our enemies will be totally defeated before we lay down our arms. Depending on various assumptions which may reasonably be made with respect to the course of the war, estimates of war expenditures for the fiscal year 1946 range from less than 60 to more than 80 billion dollars. I propose to use 70 billion dollars as a tentative estimate of war expenditures for the fiscal year 1946. I repeat, however—the rate of actual spending must depend on developments on the battle fronts.

For purposes other than war, I am recommending appropriations, in general and special accounts, to cover estimated expenditures of 13 billion dollars.

Total appropriations and authorizations (including reappropriations and permanent appropriations) for war and other purposes reached a peak of 128 billion dollars for the last complete fiscal year that ended June 30, 1944; 97 billion dollars have been appropriated for the current fiscal year; and I estimate now that 87 billion dollars will be recommended to the Congress for the next fiscal year.

Total expenditures for war and other purposes (in general and special accounts and net outlays of Government corporations, excluding debt retirement) were 95 billion dollars during the fiscal year 1944; they are now estimated at 100 billion dollars

for the current fiscal year; and, on the basis of the tentative estimates of war expenditures, they will be 83 billion dollars during the fiscal year 1946.

I propose no substantial change in tax legislation at this time. Revenues are expected to decline somewhat under the influence of the estimated decline in expenditures. The Federal debt is estimated to reach 252 billion dollars on June 30, 1945, and 292 billion dollars twelve months later.

The 1946 Budget is summarized in charts and tables following this Message. In the subsequent sections I comment on appropriations, expenditures, and revenues under existing legislation, and make suggestions for future legislation.

THE WAR PROGRAM

EXPENDITURES FOR THE WAR PROGRAM. Early in the war we had the threefold task of building up a new munitions industry in this country, producing the equipment and means of transportation for our expanding armed forces, and aiding our allies in their resistance against the aggressors. The record today shows that we have spent 28 billion dollars since July 1, 1940, to build munitions factories, cantonments, depots, hospitals, war housing, and for other war construction. Three times the total strength of our Army and Navy at the time of Pearl Harbor is now fighting or deployed overseas. Thirty-six billion dollars of lend-lease aid have been furnished in goods and services to our allies, who in turn have aided us with approximately 4.5 billion dollars worth of goods and services.

We have now substantially completed our war construction. Expenditures for war construction, which in the fiscal year 1943 reached a peak of 12.7 billion dollars, are now down to an annual rate of about 2.5 billion dollars. The development of new weapons and increased need for ammunition still require some new plants and equipment, but total outlays for war construction are declining, as shown in the following table:

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WAR EXPENDITURES FOR FISCAL YEARS 1941-1945

Including net outlays of Government corporations

[In billions]

Type of expenditure	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945 ¹
Munitions, including ships.....	\$2.3	\$12.7	\$42.3	\$55.6	\$53.8
War construction and war plant:					
Industrial plant and equipment.....	0.8	4.1	6.7	2.6	1.3
Non-industrial and military construction.....	1.4	3.5	6.0	2.0	0.9
Total war construction and war plant.....	2.2	7.6	12.7	4.6	2.2
Pay, subsistence, and other non-munitions ²	2.2	8.0	20.1	29.5	33.0
Total war expenditures.....	6.7	28.3	75.1	89.7	89.0

¹ Revised estimate.

² Including agricultural lend-lease and other civilian war activities.

We have also substantially completed the initial equipment of the Army and Navy and their air forces. Although we have now a Merchant Marine four times its prewar tonnage, the terrific strain of global war makes necessary some further addition to the cargo and tanker fleet.

Our forces engaged in battles in Europe and Asia expend munitions at a prodigious rate. The main job now is that of replenishing equipment and supplies and of providing our fighting men with the most up-to-date weapons which can be contrived. Some weapons of which we had sizable inventories only a few months ago must now be produced in increased quantities. More than one-fourth of present war production is in critical items. Untimely relaxation in war production spells greater sacrifice in human lives and delays victory.

Expenditures for pay and subsistence of the armed forces still are increasing because of the higher pay for a larger number of soldiers and sailors stationed overseas. Expenditures for mustering-out payments are also increasing as a result of the considerable turnover in our forces.

The war expenditure estimate for the fiscal year 1946 also

provides for continuance of subsidies paid out of funds of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to assure war output and to stabilize the cost of living. It excludes payments of the Department of Agriculture for the farm price support and related agricultural programs which are discussed elsewhere in this Budget. No allowance is made either for possible addition of new subsidy programs or for discontinuance or reduction of existing programs, although I hope that a reduction will become possible. In accordance with legislation enacted by the last Congress, I shall submit detailed recommendations for these programs at a later date.

War expenditures are expected to decline in the fiscal year 1946; our war construction and initial military equipment are substantially complete, and our supply lines have been filled. The extent of that decline depends on the course of the war. The composition of war expenditures will change considerably in any case.

There has been overoptimistic speculation about the possible cut in war expenditures when major hostilities in Europe end and our main efforts are concentrated on the Japanese campaign. We should make a great mistake if, in our military and budgetary planning, we underestimate the task of defeating Japan. Japan now occupies twice the area which was held by the Nazis in Europe at the peak of their power, an area as large as the continental United States. The population now under Japanese control is more than three times the population of the United States.

The supply lines to the Pacific and Asiatic theater are two and three times the distance to Europe, and the turn-around time for ships has been two-thirds greater. As the battle against Japan mounts, more cargo will have to be shipped over greater distances.

Our task in Europe will not end with the cessation of hostilities there. The war will not be won unless we accept our share of responsibility for the administration of occupied territories

and for relief and rehabilitation in the liberated areas. Expenditures for these tasks are part of the war Budget.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE WAR PROGRAM. The uncertainties of war require that the budgets of the military agencies be sufficiently large and flexible to permit them to meet all demands that may arise. Adequate appropriations and contract authorizations enable the war agencies to make commitments and to place procurement contracts far enough ahead for industry to plan the various stages of production. On the other hand, we should, of course, also be prepared to adjust our war programs downward if the development of the war allows.

The Congress has placed administrative controls in the Executive Office of the President by granting authority, under legislation expiring June 30, 1945, to limit personnel in the Federal agencies and has reinforced them by requesting reports on unobligated balances of war appropriations.

There is a considerable time lag between the legislative authorization or appropriation for war supply, the obligation or placement of orders with contractors, and the final payment on delivery of finished munitions. The huge authorizations and appropriations voted by the Congress in the early years of the war enabled the war agencies to place munitions contracts for later delivery. We are now paying for deliveries under these contracts. Unliquidated obligations for the war program totaled 100 billion dollars at the beginning of the fiscal year 1944; they had been reduced at the end of November, 1944, to about 66 billion dollars by payment or, in some cases, by cancellation.

Appropriations and authorizations for war purposes, in the general and special accounts, for the fiscal year 1944 were 120 billion dollars. For the fiscal year 1945, they declined to 85 billion dollars, and for the fiscal year 1946 are now tentatively estimated at 73 billion dollars. These totals include reappropriations and contract authorizations required for new obligations. The total war program, measured by such appropriations and authorizations together with net commitments of Government

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corporations for the fiscal years 1941 through 1946, will total 450 billion dollars, as shown in the following table:

THE WAR PROGRAM

[In billions]

Description	Cumulative from July 1, 1940, to—	
	June 30, 1945	June 30, 1946
Authorizations:		
Appropriations	\$362.7	\$423.4
Unliquidated contract authorizations	13.1	11.1
Net commitments of Reconstruction Finance Corporation and affiliates ¹	16.5	15.2
Total authorizations	392.3	449.7
Expenditures:		
General and special accounts	279.4	348.8
Reconstruction Finance Corporation and affiliates (net)	9.4	10.0
Total expenditures	288.8	358.8
Unobligated balances and unliquidated obligations at end of period	103.5	90.9

¹ Gross commitments less withdrawals and cancellations, and less receipts from rents, repayments, and sales.

The estimated appropriations and authorizations for war for the fiscal year 1946 are composed of 59 billion dollars of new appropriations and authorizations, and 14 billion dollars of re-appropriations of funds previously appropriated for war but not yet obligated. Unobligated balances of prior-year appropriations and authorizations to the Maritime Commission are adequate to carry out the merchant ship construction program as now approved. Detailed recommendations for most war activities will be transmitted in the spring.

These tentative estimates of appropriations include provisions for continuing lend-lease aid to our allies. They are based on the assumption that the Lend-Lease Act will be reenacted prior to its expiration on June 30, 1945.

About one-sixth of present war outlays are for lend-lease and for relief and rehabilitation. We shall continue to provide lend-lease, and our allies to provide reciprocal aid, to the full extent necessary to win the war. Lend-lease has been and will be an instrument of war; it will be liquidated with the end of the war. But when the war draws to a close in any theater, it may become urgently necessary for us to assist in relieving distress in the liberated areas. Appropriations to the War Department make some provision for civilian supply in territories occupied by the Army, but only to the extent necessary in the interest of military operations. For relief and rehabilitation after the battle lifts, the Congress has already authorized 1,350 million dollars as the contribution of the United States to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. To date, appropriations of 450 million dollars and transfer authorizations from lend-lease of 350 million dollars have been made as our share for immediate needs under this program. If the appropriated amount proves inadequate, we must take additional measures, in cooperation with the other United Nations, to make sure that the peoples of the liberated countries have essential relief from the devastation of war.

APPROPRIATIONS AND EXPENDITURES FOR OTHER THAN WAR ACTIVITIES

AFTERMATH OF WAR. In last year's Budget Message, I indicated the inevitable increase of expenditures in the aftermath-of-war category, particularly expenditures for war veterans, interest on the public debt, and tax refunds. Total expenditures for these purposes are increasing from 1.6 billion dollars in 1939 to an estimated 7.2 billion dollars in the current fiscal year, and will probably amount to 9.8 billion dollars in the next fiscal year. This increase arises directly out of the war. The 1946 total is larger than the whole Federal Budget five years ago.

Veterans' pensions and benefits. Although the full impact of the veterans' program will not be felt until the years following

demobilization, the total estimated requirements for 1946 of 2,623 million dollars represent about 20 percent of the total appropriations for other than direct war purposes. They are more than double the total appropriated for the veterans' program in the current fiscal year.

Additional appropriations for the current fiscal year will become necessary to cover increased pension costs occasioned by losses in service; to conform with recent legislation increasing coverage and liberalizing payments to veterans of former wars and to their dependents; and to carry out the provisions of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. The estimated supplemental appropriations include these items.

Pension costs during the fiscal year 1946 are expected to increase sharply to a total of 1,080 million dollars, and the costs of education, readjustment allowances, and loan guarantees to 295 million dollars. In addition, 1,000 million dollars are provided for losses resulting from the hazards of the war among holders of national service life insurance policies and 85 million dollars for construction and reconditioning of hospital facilities. This hospital construction program (shown in the Budget under General Public Works), together with Army facilities later to be made available to the Veterans' Administration, may ultimately provide 300,000 beds.

The time and rate of demobilization will greatly affect the expansion of education, readjustment allowance, loan guarantee, and rehabilitation activities of the Veterans' Administration. The number of veterans of the present war will increase until at full tide these veterans will constitute one-tenth of the population and almost one-fourth of the labor force. The responsibility which we are assuming for their jobs, education, medical care, and financial assistance makes it increasingly essential that these programs for veterans be integrated with other programs of like nature affecting the whole Nation.

Interest. Interest on the public debt is estimated to rise next year by 750 million dollars to 4,500 million dollars. This rise reflects entirely the current increase in the outstanding debt. No

change is anticipated in the low interest rates at which the war is being financed.

Tax refunds. Refunds of taxes are expected to require a total of 2,725 million dollars, an increase of 556 million dollars over the fiscal year 1945. About 1 billion dollars of this total will consist of repayments to wage and salary earners of withholdings in excess of tax liabilities. Another billion dollars reflects the issuance of postwar bonds which cover the refundable 10 percent of the excess profits tax. Other corporate tax refunds are due to the recomputation of the special amortization allowances for emergency facilities certified to be no longer necessary for war production, and to the carry-back provisions of the corporate income and excess profits tax laws. The refunds arising from these provisions for corporate tax relief will reach full volume only in future years.

AGRICULTURE. Agricultural production has continued at record levels for three successive war years. Farm income has been more than 135 percent of parity throughout the period. To assure continued production at a high level, I recommend appropriations for the Department of Agriculture, including the War Food Administration, of 512 million dollars. Although this is considerably less than has been appropriated in the fiscal year 1945, the amount available, after adjustment for unused balances, reappropriations, and transfers, will not be substantially less than the amount being used for agricultural purposes in this fiscal year. The appropriations include provision for the Agricultural Adjustment Agency, the Soil Conservation Service, the Farm Security Administration, the exportation and domestic consumption of agricultural commodities, the administration of the Sugar Act, and research and other long-established functions of the Department of Agriculture. They do not include provision for potential net expenditures of either the Commodity Credit Corporation or the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation. Of the 512 million dollars recommended, 10 million dollars for the War Food Administration are designated for war activities and 10 million dollars are for General Public Works.

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Anticipating the needs of returning war veterans and the desirability of providing adequate assistance to small, low-income farmers, I recommend that the borrowing authority of the Farm Security Administration be increased from 67 to 125 million dollars for rural rehabilitation and from 15 to 50 million dollars for the tenant purchase program. I recommend that the borrowing authority of the Rural Electrification Administration be increased from 25 to 150 million dollars in order to permit the extension of electricity to at least part of the 6 million rural families now without such service. I have already given my approval to a recommendation of the War Food Administrator for an increase of 2 billion dollars in borrowing authority of the Commodity Credit Corporation. I shall recommend appropriations for financing the revived program for crop insurance in the very near future.

This agricultural budget is a wartime budget. It does not fully reflect desirable long-time objectives. In the future, we must develop a program to eliminate malnutrition and rural poverty. The Government is committed to support agricultural prices to farmers at a fair level for two years after the war. Farmers and the Nation as a whole must be protected from heavy fluctuations in agricultural prices and income, and this must be accomplished without the accumulation of unmanageable surpluses. So long as a large number of people have an inadequate diet, we cannot have a true surplus of agricultural production. We can have only too much of the wrong things.

SOCIAL SECURITY, RETIREMENT, AND EDUCATION. *Social security.* Appropriations for administration and grants under the social security program are estimated at 494 million dollars for the fiscal year 1946, an increase of 14 million dollars over the fiscal year 1945. This increase is largely for higher grants to match payments of the States under the Social Security Act.

I hope that the Congress will give early consideration to extension and improvement of our social security system and will reexamine the financial basis of the program.

Retirement funds. Appropriations for the Government em-

ployees' retirement funds are estimated at 247 million dollars for the fiscal year 1946, an increase of 50 million dollars over the current fiscal year. This will reduce the previously accrued liabilities of the Government to these trust funds and will also provide for an increase in the number of employees currently acquiring benefit rights.

Education. As a part of the Budget for the fiscal year 1946, I am recommending reorganization of the basic structure of the Office of Education. This reorganization will facilitate service to the States in the development of more adequate educational programs with proper emphasis on all the various aspects of education.

The training and educational programs of the Army, the Navy, and civilian agencies during this war have broadened our conception of the role that education should play in our national life. The records of selective service reveal that we have fallen far short of a suitable standard of elementary and secondary education. If a suitable standard is to be maintained in all parts of the country, the Federal Government must render aid where it is needed — but only where it is needed. Such financial aid should involve no interference with State and local control and administration of educational programs. It should simply make good our national obligation to all our children. This country is great enough to guarantee the right to education adequate for full citizenship.

PUBLIC WORKS. Recommended appropriations under the General Public Works Program in the fiscal year 1946 total 279 million dollars, 93 million dollars more than appropriated for the current year. Balances brought forward from public works appropriations of several years ago are about used up. Even with the recommended new appropriations, the program as a whole will be limited; actual construction will continue to be restricted to those projects which contribute to the war effort. Because of the completion of some of this war-related construction, expenditures are estimated to decrease slightly in the next fiscal year.

I recommend, however, appropriations for the planning of

public works which the Congress has already authorized. We must continue to stock up a shelf of meritorious construction and development projects to be undertaken as manpower and material become available. By the end of the current fiscal year, detailed plans will be ready for about 1.5 billion dollars of Federal public works, and also will be substantially ready for a billion-dollar program of Federal-aid highways, half of this road program to be financed with State funds. We need a larger shelf of detailed plans in order to be prepared for the postwar period. Hence, appropriations for 1946 are recommended to make possible the completion of additional plans for highways, flood control, river development, stream pollution control, power transmission, reclamation, hospital, and other construction, as authorized by law. Further requests for funds for detailed planning of Federal projects will be made on Congressional authorization.

Plans have been completed or are in the design stage for about 3 billion dollars of State and local public works, excluding Federal-aid highways. The War Mobilization and Reconversion Act authorizes funds for Federal loans and advances which would make it possible to place further projects on the shelf of planned public works. The extent to which Federal funds are needed to enable States and localities to plan adequately for useful public works is now being reexamined, and I shall soon transmit a new recommendation concerning funds for these purposes.

In addition, programs are being developed for Federal loans and guarantees to stimulate private construction after the war. Guarantees and loans already available under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act will encourage residential, commercial, and farm building.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT. The civil departments and agencies of the Federal Government have been fully geared to the war effort. Appropriations for other than direct war or war-related activities have been reduced to rock bottom. When the war situation permits a reduction in the war program, it will also be possible to reduce war activities of the civil departments. Such activities should be curtailed wherever possible. The Bureau of

the Budget has been instructed to review currently the activities of the various Government agencies and to recommend such changes as become desirable in light of changing war requirements.

Agencies which will play a leading role in the peace effort must begin preparations for a progressively larger job. I recommend, for instance, an increase in the appropriations for the Department of State in order that it may be more adequately staffed at home and abroad. To prepare for the expected increase in workload, increases in appropriations are recommended for the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, the Office of the Administrator of Civil Aeronautics, and a few other agencies.

Recommended appropriations for general Government for the fiscal year 1946 are slightly below those enacted for the current fiscal year. If supplemental appropriations for overtime pay are adopted, requirements for general Government may be somewhat above those for the current year.

GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS — OTHER THAN WAR ACTIVITIES. Receipts of Government corporations (excluding war activities) will exceed expenditures for purposes other than debt retirement by 27 million dollars in the fiscal year 1946, and by 224 million dollars in the current fiscal year.

The operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation in connection with the farm and food programs require net outlays of 1 billion dollars during the current fiscal year. This assumes a supplemental appropriation of 256 million dollars to restore impaired capital of the Corporation. The estimate for the fiscal year 1946 provides for net expenditures of 572 million dollars which will absorb practically all the funds available to the Corporation under its present maximum borrowing authority of 3 billion dollars. If the Congress approves the pending recommendation for a further increase in the borrowing authority, increased operations of the Corporation may result in additional net expenditures in the fiscal year 1946.

Activities of other Government corporations are expected to

show smaller net receipts than during the fiscal year 1945. Liquidation of prewar loans and other assets will probably taper off. Some expansion in the non-defense lending activities of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is also anticipated. The net receipts of Government corporations, in both the fiscal years 1945 and 1946, reflect substantial transfers of funds necessary to retire outstanding obligations of the Federal land banks.

FEDERAL PERSONNEL. Most of the Federal civilian employees are engaged in essential war work and must stay on the job as long as the war lasts. Government war services have suffered in recent months by departure of personnel, partly because of over-optimism about early victory, partly because of concern about employment opportunities after the war.

The total number of paid Federal employees in the continental United States in November, 1944, was slightly under 2,900,000, of whom 2,040,000 were in the War and Navy Departments and other war agencies and 836,000 in the Post Office and other peacetime establishments. The total has declined 126,000 below the peak of June, 1943. There will be further reductions as the course of the war permits, but our main concern at the present moment is to keep essential Government personnel on the job.

Anticipated supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 1946 include about 500 million dollars as an approximation of the additional cost of overtime pay and other salary adjustments, assuming enactment of such pay legislation as the Congress may authorize to replace those present acts which expire June 30, 1945. This allowance has not been allocated among the detailed war and other appropriation estimates to which it relates. The Budget estimates of personnel needs, expressed in "man-years," do, however, assume continuance of the present work week, generally 48 hours. Under the War Overtime Pay Act of 1943, salaried employees are compensated for hours worked in excess of 40 a week. With but minor exceptions, basic salary rates have not been increased during the war.

In contrast to salaried employees, the skilled and unskilled

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workers, such as those in navy yards and arsenals, have had wage adjustments which have approximately kept pace with wage rates for comparable work in private industry. They have also received overtime pay at true time and one-half rates.

The third large category of Federal employees — the postal workers — in addition to receiving overtime compensation at straight-time rates, has been granted a wartime bonus.

Prior to the expiration of the overtime pay law, the Congress should reexamine the entire subject of hours of work and pay. Regardless of the progress of the war in Europe, many Federal employees will continue to be needed on a 48-hour work schedule, and provision must be made for their overtime compensation. I recommend that the Congress enact permanent legislation which would authorize overtime compensation at true time and one-half rates.

When at some future date it becomes possible for most Federal employees to go on a 40-hour work week, their earnings will be materially reduced. A situation of hardship and unfairness will then exist unless an increase in basic salary rates has been granted in recognition of the rise in the cost of living. I recommend a prompt reexamination of Federal salary rates with a view to making adjustments consistent with the national stabilization policy.

BUDGET TOTALS

The discussion of expenditures for the war and for all other purposes lays the basis for presenting the Budget totals and for an analysis of the impact of the Federal Budget on the national economy as a whole.

EXPENDITURES. Of the total estimated expenditures, including net outlays of Government corporations, of 83 billion dollars for the fiscal year 1946, 84 percent is for direct war purposes; 12 percent is for veterans, interest on the public debt, and tax refunds; and only 4 percent for all other activities of the Federal Government. Expenditures in this last group of "other activ-

ities" are estimated at 3.3 billion dollars, somewhat less than for the current fiscal year; they are only about one-half of what they were in the years before the start of the defense program — largely because of the reduction in work relief, aids to youth, and general public works.

NET RECEIPTS IN THE FISCAL YEAR 1946 UNDER EXISTING LEGISLATION. Net receipts in general and special accounts under existing legislation are expected to decline from 45.7 billion dollars in the current fiscal year to 41.3 billion dollars in the fiscal year 1946. This development reflects, in large part, the 17-billion-dollar decrease in expenditures estimated in this Budget. Such a decrease in expenditures before full reconversion to civilian production will mean smaller individual incomes and corporate profits. This, in turn, will bring a decrease in receipts from individual income taxes and from corporate taxes. Because the present law will expire June 30, 1945, receipts from recovery of excessive profits from renegotiated war contracts will taper off during the fiscal year 1946. I recommend that the Congress extend the authority to renegotiate war contracts.

Receipts from excises and customs are expected to continue at about the same level in the fiscal year 1946 as in the current fiscal year. Sales of surplus Government-owned war supplies and property are beginning to yield substantial amounts. These receipts will be still larger in later fiscal years.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TAX LEGISLATION. Wartime taxes must be maintained as long as large-scale war expenditures are necessary. There is no justification for tax reductions as long as we are engaged in a major war. When a favorable development of the war allows a major decline in war expenditures, minor tax adjustments will become possible and desirable. I am pleased that the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation is studying the tax problems of the transition and postwar period.

BORROWING IN THE FISCAL YEAR 1946. Borrowing requirements during the fiscal year 1946 will amount to an estimated 40 billion dollars, compared with 51 billion dollars in the current fiscal year. Federal trust funds will have 5 billion dollars

available for investment in Government securities, thus leaving 35 billion dollars to be borrowed from individuals and financial and other institutions. These estimates assume that the Treasury general fund balance, which amounted to 20 billion dollars at the end of the fiscal year 1944, will be reduced by 5 billion dollars during the current fiscal year, and by 2 billion dollars during the fiscal year 1946. They also assume that retirement of guaranteed obligations of Government corporations held outside the Treasury will be almost completed by June 30, 1945.

These large borrowing operations will require a further rise in the public debt to 292 billion dollars on June 30, 1946. Before the debt reaches this figure, a further increase in the 260-billion-dollar debt limit will be necessary.

Management of the public debt has become one of the major financial operations of the Government. To assure effective discharge of these responsibilities and, in particular, to maintain the present low rates of interest, ample powers must be available to the monetary authorities. I shall later recommend legislation reducing the present high gold-reserve requirements of the Federal Reserve banks.

The management of the public debt is bound to have a profound influence on the economy for a long time to come. Retaining high taxes on the masses of consumers for general reduction of debt held by financial institutions may destroy purchasing power and create unemployment. But the use of progressive taxes for the redemption of bonds held by millions of individual savers may have a stabilizing influence on incomes and employment. I favor a policy of orderly but steady debt reduction, consistent with the objectives of long-run economic policy. The mistakes in debt management and tax policy after the last war should not be repeated.

ECONOMIC CONTROLS AND RECONVERSION

RECONVERSION. As long as we are at war — at war against two powerful enemies or against only one of them — we will give

unqualified priority to all war production and to all manpower needs of war. Nevertheless, some reconversion of war industries may become possible, dependent on the progress of the war.

The foundation for dealing with the main reconversion problems has been laid by the Contract Settlement Act, the Surplus Property Act, and the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act; the machinery for the administration of these acts is being put in operation. Still, a great many problems remain to be solved if we are to be ready for successful reconversion. We may have a scarcity of manpower in certain industries and regions, while temporary unemployment may develop in others. We may have surpluses of some commodities and a downward tendency in certain prices, particularly of raw materials, while scarcities cause a continuing upward pressure on other prices.

The human side of reconversion requires effective organization to aid each discharged war veteran and war worker to find his way back into productive peacetime employment. As far as veterans are concerned, the basis is laid by the Servicemen's Readjustment Act. I have already emphasized the need to strengthen our social security program. With respect to the reconversion period, I am particularly concerned over the fact that broad categories of workers are not covered by present legislation and that present standards for unemployment compensation are not adequate in many States. To promote employment opportunities and to assure the proper occupational adjustment of returning veterans and war workers, a strong, integrated system of public employment offices is a basic necessity. We can best accomplish this objective by the establishment, through permanent legislation, of an effective national employment service with adequate coverage throughout the Nation. For the reconversion period we should provide assistance for travel and retraining of war workers.

We must also see to it that our administrative machinery for the adjustment of labor disputes is ready for the strains of the reconversion period. We must apply some of our wartime lessons in labor-management cooperation in working out a sound long-

range labor policy implemented by permanent mediation machinery for the adjustment of labor disputes.

The material side of reconversion should also be conducted with a view toward the long-range objectives of economic policy. Surplus property disposal should contribute to filling the needs of production, domestic and foreign. It should be carried on with full recognition of the objectives of price stability.

Every effort should be made to achieve full civilian use of plants built for war purposes when they are no longer needed for war production and to facilitate their rapid transfer to private industry for productive use. If prompt transfers of ownership cannot be made, temporary lease arrangements may facilitate early productive use while permanent arrangements for transfer are being worked out.

Statistical information concerning business activities and markets, employment and unemployment, incomes, expenditures, and savings is urgently needed as a guide for economic policies during the remainder of the war and during the reconversion and postwar periods. I recommended appropriations for this purpose to the last Congress. I shall transmit recommendations in the near future for those essential parts of the program on which the Congress took no action. Business, agriculture, labor, and the Government need to know the basic economic facts if each is to play its role with maximum effectiveness during the months and years ahead.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL PROGRAMS. As the war progresses, we must hasten our plans to secure world-wide economic cooperation in both the transition period and the postwar period. We have learned that just as the United States cannot afford to be isolationist in its political philosophy, neither can it stand the malignant effects of economic isolationism.

Last July the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference formulated articles of agreement for the establishment of an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. These institutions will be integral parts of a broad program for cooperation among the

United Nations in those areas of economic contact where failure to adopt common policies will result in economic "spite fences," economic waste, and economic warfare.

A concrete program for international monetary and financial cooperation at an early date is essential. In the first place, all countries agree that a solution must be found for the evils that stem from the unstable and destructive exchange practices which the Fund is designed to eliminate. Second, the need for international investment is already becoming acute. The liberated countries will require loans for the reconstruction of their industry, their transport, their cities, their agriculture, and their trade. The International Bank will make direct long-term loans out of its capital or from borrowed funds, and particularly will guarantee private loans for these purposes. While the proceeds of these loans will be spent to procure equipment in the countries where it is available, the risks of lending will be spread equitably among all member countries.

It is therefore imperative that both the Fund and the Bank be established at once in order that they may be properly staffed and equipped to cope with problems which are already developing as the countries in Europe are liberated. Accordingly, I urge acceptance of the agreements and recommend the enactment of legislation which would permit the United States to make its proportionate investment in the Fund and the Bank.

In addition to the operations of the International Bank, there will continue to be many types of foreign investment in which a national financial institution such as the Export-Import Bank should participate, especially during the next few years when the foreign demand for our products will be particularly heavy. The Export-Import Bank will provide short- and medium-term credits to finance our exporters. It will also undertake long-term lending for reconstruction and development in cases where special American purposes are to be served and other countries may not wish to participate. In collaboration with private banks, manufacturers, engineers, and exporters, the Export-Import Bank has had ten years of successful experience in these fields.

At present its resources available for new operations are very limited. In order that it may play its part in the reconstruction period, I recommend early expansion of its lending power.

At present our foreign investment programs are impeded by legislation which restricts loans to those countries which are in default on loans arising out of the first World War. For both the International Bank and the Export-Import Bank to operate effectively, as well as to achieve an adequate flow of private investment, it is essential that these restrictions be removed.

NATIONAL INCOME, PRODUCTION, AND ECONOMIC CONTROLS. The American Nation has almost doubled its total output of goods and services under the impact of the war program. Slightly less than one-half of this total output is purchased by the Federal Government. What is left for civilian consumption has been sufficient to provide most of us with better living standards than prevailed before the war.

The national economy is operating at extremely high levels of income and expenditure. Despite wartime taxes and large wartime savings, consumers and business have sought to buy more than the available supply of goods and services. Nevertheless, prices have been substantially stabilized through vigorous application of our stabilization program and the cooperation of the American people. Whereas the cost of living has increased by between 25 and 30 percent since 1939, it has risen only about 2 percent since the "hold-the-line" order of April 1943. Holding the line on prices and wages has prevented, and is still preventing, inflationary developments.

The reduction in war expenditures, which I hope the progress of the war will permit during the next fiscal year, will result in somewhat lower wartime incomes, even if wage ceilings are adjusted upward to avoid reduction in average hourly rates when overtime is curtailed. Nevertheless, the demand for goods and services will undoubtedly still be great and we can be sure of eager buyers for whatever durable goods industry might produce.

When war production is extensively reduced some of the

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controls which were needed in an all-out war economy can be relaxed, although other controls must be continued to assure necessary war production and orderly reconversion. For example, we must avoid speculation in inventories such as contributed to the inflation after the last war. The fact that many businesses and individuals have ample funds for a buying spree necessitates caution in relaxing controls. The balance between incomes, savings, and expenditures will still be precarious during the reconversion period. It will therefore be necessary to retain the machinery for allocation and price controls as long as certain materials and finished goods are in short supply. I therefore recommend extension of the Economic Stabilization Act before its expiration on June 30, 1945.

In general, it will be our policy to hold the over-all cost of living and to permit only such adjustments as are conducive to the full utilization of available resources and compatible with the general objective of economic stabilization. As long as we are engaged in a war with desperate and resourceful enemies, war controls are needed, but they must be readjusted to changing levels of war production and civilian production.

DEMobilIZATION AND POSTWAR FULL EMPLOYMENT

Large-scale demobilization can hardly be expected to begin during the period covered in this Budget. Nevertheless, as we continue to mobilize for a long, hard war, we must under no circumstances be caught unprepared for peace.

Under the impact of a huge war program, we are employing 52 million men and women either in war production or in production and service for civilian purposes, while another 12 million are serving in the armed forces. After the war many of them will retire or resume their schooling or devote themselves to their homes and families. But such reduction in the civilian labor force will be more than offset by demobilization of our armed forces and by the natural growth of the population of working age. Thus, before long there may be 60 million men

and women to be employed. Huge war expenditures have brought full employment, more than full employment. What will be the outlook when Federal expenditures are 50 and 25 billion dollars in the period of demobilization and thereafter?

The following table shows the operations of our national economy—the Nation's Budget—in the calendar year 1939 with considerable unemployment, and the same operations in the calendar year 1944 when we have moved to a much higher level of incomes, expenditures, and savings, involving more than full employment under the stress of war. Manifestly, full employment in peacetime can be assured only when the reduction in war demand is approximately offset by additional peacetime demand from the millions of consumers, businesses, and farmers, and by Federal, State, and local Governments. And that means that consumers' expenditures and business investments must increase by about 50 percent, measured in constant prices, above the level of the year 1939 if full employment is to be provided by private enterprise.

Consumers' purchases of durable goods, business non-war investments, and capital outlays of the Governments for non-war purposes have been so low during recent years that a large backlog of demand will be carried over into the postwar period. Individuals, however, will buy the new car or build the new home only if they feel secure in their jobs; businessmen will expand plant and buy new machinery only if they feel confident of profitable markets for additional products.

The American people have learned during the war the measure of their productive capacity, and they will remember that experience in the peace to come. It is the responsibility of business enterprise to translate market opportunities into employment and production. It is the responsibility of the Government to hold open the door of opportunity and to assure sustained markets. Then and only then can free enterprise provide jobs.

Full employment after the war is not only a matter of immediate self-interest, but also part of our stake in world stability and prosperity. Other countries are anxiously awaiting the

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THE GOVERNMENT'S BUDGET AND THE NATION'S BUDGET

Calendar years 1939 and 1944

[Current prices,¹ in billions]

Economic group	Calendar year 1939			Calendar year 1944		
	Receipts	Expenditures	Excess (+), deficit (-)	Receipts	Expenditures	Excess (+), deficit (-)
CONSUMERS						
Income after taxes	\$67.3			\$132.8		
Expenditures		\$61.7			\$97.0	
Savings (+)			+\$5.6			+\$35.8
BUSINESS						
Undistributed profits and reserves	\$8.3			\$12.3		
Gross capital formation		\$10.9			\$2.6	
Excess of receipts (+) or capital formation (-)			-\$2.6			+\$9.7
STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT						
Receipts from the public, other than borrowing	\$8.9			\$10.4		
Payments to the public		\$9.1			\$8.8	
Excess of receipts (+) or payments (-)			-\$0.2			+\$1.6
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT						
Receipts from the public, other than borrowing	\$6.5			\$47.9		
Payments to the public		\$9.3			\$95.0	
Excess of receipts (+) or payments (-)			-\$2.8			-\$47.1
Less: Adjustments ²	\$2.4	\$2.4		\$5.9	\$5.9	
TOTAL: GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT						
Receipts	\$88.6			\$197.5		
Expenditures		\$88.6			\$197.5	
Balance			0			0

¹ Prices in 1944 were between 25 and 30 percent above 1939.

² Mainly Government expenditures for other than goods and services.

development of our policy and will be more willing to make international commitments if they are assured of high postwar employment in the United States. They are fully aware that international cooperation cannot succeed unless the United States is prosperous.

We must attack the employment problem on every front.

For instance, we must overhaul the wartime tax structure to stimulate consumers' demand and to promote business investment. The elements of such a tax program should be developed now so that it can be put into effect after victory.

We must make sure that there are opportunities for new and growing business. The national and international policies which we adopt now — affecting trade, credit, investment, and competition and monopoly — largely determine future business and employment opportunities.

We must develop the human standards and material resources of the Nation, which in turn will tend to increase our productivity and most effectively support business expansion and employment. Our program should include provision for extending social security, including medical care; for better education, public health, and nutrition; for the improvement of our homes, cities, and farms; and for the development of transportation facilities and river valleys. We must plan now so that these programs can become effective when manpower and material are available.

I shall from time to time submit to the Congress recommendations for legislative measures to implement our demobilization program and to assure jobs for all returning war veterans and discharged war workers.

Our productive achievements during the war have demonstrated once and for all the progress which this Nation can support, the progress which will be required if all our resources are to be put to adequate peacetime use. The war, however, will also leave us deep distortions in our economic life which must be overcome. We owe it to those who give everything that we set our sights as high for peace as we set them for war.

126 ¶ “International Cooperation on Which Enduring Peace Must Be Based Is Not a One-Way Street” — Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.

January 6, 1945

To the Congress:

IN CONSIDERING the State of the Union, the war and the peace that is to follow are naturally uppermost in the minds of all of us.

This war must be waged — it is being waged — with the greatest and most persistent intensity. Everything we are and have is at stake. Everything we are and have will be given. American men, fighting far from home, have already won victories which the world will never forget.

We have no question of the ultimate victory. We have no question of the cost. Our losses will be heavy.

We and our allies will go on fighting together to ultimate total victory.

We have seen a year marked, on the whole, by substantial progress toward victory, even though the year ended with a setback for our arms, when the Germans launched a ferocious counter-attack into Luxembourg and Belgium with the obvious objective of cutting our line in the center.

Our men have fought with indescribable and unforgettable gallantry under most difficult conditions, and our German enemies have sustained considerable losses while failing to obtain their objectives.

The high tide of this German effort was reached two days after Christmas. Since then we have reassumed the offensive, rescued the isolated garrison at Bastogne, and forced a German withdrawal along the whole line of the salient. The speed with which we recovered from this savage attack was largely possible because we have one supreme commander in complete control of all the

Allied armies in France. General Eisenhower has faced this period of trial with admirable calm and resolution and with steadily increasing success. He has my complete confidence.

Further desperate attempts may well be made to break our lines, to slow our progress. We must never make the mistake of assuming that the Germans are beaten until the last Nazi has surrendered.

And I would express another most serious warning against the poisonous effects of enemy propaganda.

The wedge that the Germans attempted to drive in western Europe was less dangerous in actual terms of winning the war than the wedges which they are continually attempting to drive between ourselves and our allies.

Every little rumor which is intended to weaken our faith in our allies is like an actual enemy agent in our midst — seeking to sabotage our war effort. There are, here and there, evil and baseless rumors against the Russians — rumors against the British — rumors against our own American commanders in the field.

When you examine these rumors closely, you will observe that every one of them bears the same trade-mark — “Made in Germany.”

We must resist this divisive propaganda — we must destroy it — with the same strength and the same determination that our fighting men are displaying as they resist and destroy the panzer divisions.

In Europe, we shall resume the attack and — despite temporary setbacks here or there — we shall continue the attack relentlessly until Germany is completely defeated.

It is appropriate at this time to review the basic strategy which has guided us through three years of war, and which will lead, eventually, to total victory.

The tremendous effort of the first years of this war was directed toward the concentration of men and supplies in the various theaters of action at the points where they could hurt our enemies most.

It was an effort — in the language of the military men — of deployment of our forces. Many battles — essential battles — were

fought; many victories — vital victories — were won. But these battles and these victories were fought and won to hold back the attacking enemy, and to put us in positions from which we and our allies could deliver the final, decisive blows.

In the beginning our most important military task was to prevent our enemies — the strongest and most violently aggressive powers that ever have threatened civilization — from winning decisive victories. But even while we were conducting defensive, delaying actions, we were looking forward to the time when we could wrest the initiative from our enemies and place our superior resources of men and materials into direct competition with them.

It was plain then that the defeat of either enemy would require the massing of overwhelming forces — ground, sea, and air — in positions from which we and our allies could strike directly against the enemy homelands and destroy the Nazi and Japanese war machines.

In the case of Japan, we had to await the completion of extensive preliminary operations — operations designed to establish secure supply lines through the Japanese outer-zone defenses. This called for overwhelming sea power and air power — supported by ground forces strategically employed against isolated outpost garrisons.

Always — from the very day we were attacked — it was right militarily as well as morally to reject the arguments of those shortsighted people who would have had us throw Britain and Russia to the Nazi wolves and concentrate against the Japanese. Such people urged that we fight a purely defensive war against Japan while allowing the domination of all the rest of the world by Nazism and Fascism.

In the European theater the necessary bases for the massing of ground and airpower against Germany were already available in Great Britain. In the Mediterranean area we could begin ground operations against major elements of the German Army as rapidly as we could put troops in the field, first in North Africa and then in Italy.

Therefore, our decision was made to concentrate the bulk of

our ground and air forces against Germany until her utter defeat. That decision was based on all these factors; and it was also based on the realization that, of our two enemies, Germany would be more able to digest quickly her conquests, the more able quickly to convert the manpower and resources of her conquered territory into a war potential.

We had in Europe two active and indomitable allies — Britain and the Soviet Union — and there were also the heroic resistance movements in the occupied countries, constantly engaging and harassing the Germans.

We cannot forget how Britain held the line, alone, in 1940 and 1941; and at the same time, despite ferocious bombardment from the air, built up a tremendous armaments industry which enabled her to take the offensive at El Alamein in 1942.

We cannot forget the heroic defense of Moscow and Leningrad and Stalingrad, or the tremendous Russian offensives of 1943 and 1944 which destroyed formidable German armies.

Nor can we forget how, for more than seven long years, the Chinese people have been sustaining the barbarous attacks of the Japanese and containing large enemy forces on the vast areas of the Asiatic mainland.

In the future we must never forget the lesson that we have learned — that we must have friends who will work with us in peace as they have fought at our side in war.

As a result of the combined effort of the Allied forces, great military victories were achieved in 1944: The liberation of France, Belgium, Greece, and parts of The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia; the surrender of Rumania and Bulgaria; the invasion of Germany itself and Hungary; the steady march through the Pacific islands to the Philippines, Guam, and Saipan; and the beginnings of a mighty air offensive against the Japanese islands.

Now, as this Seventy-ninth Congress meets, we have reached the most critical phase of the war.

The greatest victory of the last year was, of course, the successful breach on June 6, 1944, of the German "impregnable" sea

wall of Europe and the victorious sweep of the Allied forces through France and Belgium and Luxembourg — almost to the Rhine itself.

The cross-channel invasion of the Allied armies was the greatest amphibious operation in the history of the world. It overshadowed all other operations in this or any other war in its immensity. Its success is a tribute to the fighting courage of the soldiers who stormed the beaches — to the sailors and merchant seamen who put the soldiers ashore and kept them supplied — and to the military and naval leaders who achieved a real miracle of planning and execution. And it is also a tribute to the ability of two Nations, Britain and America, to plan together, and work together, and fight together in perfect cooperation and perfect harmony.

This cross-channel invasion was followed in August by a second great amphibious operation, landing troops in southern France. In this, the same cooperation and the same harmony existed between the American, French, and other Allied forces based in North Africa and Italy.

The success of the two invasions is a tribute also to the ability of many men and women to maintain silence, when a few careless words would have imperiled the lives of hundreds of thousands, and would have jeopardized the whole vast undertakings.

These two great operations were made possible by success in the Battle of the Atlantic.

Without this success over German submarines, we could not have built up our invasion forces or air forces in Great Britain, nor could we have kept a steady stream of supplies flowing to them after they had landed in France.

The Nazis, however, may succeed in improving their submarines and their crews. They have recently increased their U-boat activity. The Battle of the Atlantic — like all campaigns in this war — demands eternal vigilance. But the British, Canadian, and other Allied navies, together with our own, are constantly on the alert.

The tremendous operations in western Europe have overshadowed

owed in the public mind the less spectacular but vitally important Italian front. Its place in the strategic conduct of the war in Europe has been obscured, and — by some people unfortunately — underrated.

It is important that any misconception on that score be corrected — now.

What the Allied forces in Italy are doing is a well-considered part in our strategy in Europe, now aimed at only one objective — the total defeat of the Germans. These valiant forces in Italy are continuing to keep a substantial portion of the German Army under constant pressure — including some 20 first-line German divisions and the necessary supply and transport and replacement troops — all of which our enemies need so badly elsewhere.

Over very difficult terrain and through adverse weather conditions, our Fifth Army and the British Eighth Army — reinforced by units from other United Nations, including a brave and well-equipped unit of the Brazilian Army — have, in the past year, pushed north through bloody Cassino and the Anzio beachhead, and through Rome until now they occupy heights overlooking the valley of the Po.

The greatest tribute which can be paid to the courage and fighting ability of these splendid soldiers in Italy is to point out that although their strength is about equal to that of the Germans they oppose, the Allies have been continuously on the offensive.

That pressure, that offensive, by our troops in Italy will continue.

The American people — and every soldier now fighting in the Apennines — should remember that the Italian front has not lost any of the importance which it had in the days when it was the only Allied front in Europe.

In the Pacific during the past year, we have conducted the fastest-moving offensive in the history of modern warfare. We have driven the enemy back more than 3,000 miles across the Central Pacific.

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A year ago, our conquest of Tarawa was a little more than a month old.

A year ago, we were preparing for our invasion of Kwajalein, the second of our great strides across the Central Pacific to the Philippines.

A year ago, General MacArthur was still fighting in New Guinea almost 1,500 miles from his present position in the Philippine Islands.

We now have firmly established bases in the Mariana Islands, from which our Superfortresses bomb Tokyo itself — and will continue to blast Japan in ever-increasing numbers.

Japanese forces in the Philippines have been cut in two. There is still hard fighting ahead — costly fighting. But the liberation of the Philippines will mean that Japan has been largely cut off from her conquests in the East Indies.

The landing of our troops on Leyte was the largest amphibious operation thus far conducted in the Pacific.

Moreover, these landings drew the Japanese Fleet into the first great sea battle which Japan has risked in almost two years. Not since the night engagements around Guadalcanal in November-December, 1942, had our Navy been able to come to grips with major units of the Japanese Fleet. We had brushed against their fleet in the first battle of the Philippine Sea in June, 1944, but not until last October were we able really to engage a major portion of the Japanese Navy in actual combat. The naval engagement which raged for three days was the heaviest blow ever struck against Japanese sea power.

As a result of that battle, much of what is left of the Japanese Fleet has been driven behind the screen of islands that separates the Yellow Sea, the China Sea, and the Sea of Japan from the Pacific.

Our Navy looks forward to any opportunity which the lords of the Japanese Navy will give us to fight them again.

The people of this Nation have a right to be proud of the courage and fighting ability of the men in the armed forces — on

all fronts. They also have a right to be proud of American leadership which has guided their sons into battle.

The history of the generalship of this war has been a history of teamwork and cooperation, of skill and daring. Let me give you one example out of last year's operations in the Pacific.

Last September Admiral Halsey led American naval task forces into Philippine waters and north to the East China Sea, and struck heavy blows at Japanese air and sea power.

At that time it was our plan to approach the Philippines by further stages, taking islands which we may call A, C, and E. However, Admiral Halsey reported that a direct attack on Leyte appeared feasible. When General MacArthur received the reports from Admiral Halsey's task forces, he also concluded that it might be possible to attack the Japanese in the Philippines directly — bypassing islands A, C, and E.

Admiral Nimitz thereupon offered to make available to General MacArthur several divisions which had been scheduled to take the intermediate objectives. These discussions, conducted at great distances, all took place in one day.

General MacArthur immediately informed the Joint Chiefs of Staff here in Washington that he was prepared to initiate plans for an attack on Leyte in October. Approval of the change in plan was given on the same day.

Thus, within the space of 24 hours, a major change of plans was accomplished which involved Army and Navy forces from two different theaters of operations — a change which hastened the liberation of the Philippines and the final day of victory — a change which saved lives which would have been expended in the capture of islands which are now neutralized far behind our lines.

Our over-all strategy has not neglected the important task of rendering all possible aid to China. Despite almost insuperable difficulties, we increased this aid during 1944. At present our aid to China must be accomplished by air transport — there is no other way. By the end of 1944, the Air Transport Command was carrying into China a tonnage of supplies three times as great as

that delivered a year ago, and much more, each month, than the Burma Road ever delivered at its peak.

Despite the loss of important bases in China, the tonnage delivered by air transport has enabled General Chennault's Fourteenth Air Force, which includes many Chinese flyers, to wage an effective and aggressive campaign against the Japanese. In 1944 aircraft of the Fourteenth Air Force flew more than 35,000 sorties against the Japanese and sank enormous tonnage of enemy shipping, greatly diminishing the usefulness of the China Sea lanes.

British, Dominion, and Chinese forces together with our own have not only held the line in Burma against determined Japanese attacks but have gained bases of considerable importance to the supply line into China.

The Burma campaigns have involved incredible hardship, and have demanded exceptional fortitude and determination. The officers and men who have served with so much devotion in these far distant jungles and mountains deserve high honor from their countrymen.

In all of the far-flung operations of our own armed forces — on land, and sea and in the air — the final job, the toughest job, has been performed by the average, easy-going, hard-fighting young American, who carries the weight of battle on his own shoulders.

It is to him that we and all future generations of Americans must pay grateful tribute.

But — it is of small satisfaction to him to know that monuments will be raised to him in the future. He wants, he needs, and he is entitled to insist upon, our full and active support — now.

Although unprecedented production figures have made possible our victories, we shall have to increase our goals even more in certain items.

Peak deliveries of supplies were made to the War Department in December, 1943. Due in part to cutbacks, we have not produced as much since then. Deliveries of Army supplies were

down by 15 percent by July, 1944, before the upward trend was once more resumed.

Because of increased demands from overseas, the Army Service Forces in the month of October, 1944, had to increase its estimate of required production by 10 percent. But in November, one month later, the requirements for 1945 had to be increased another 10 percent, sending the production goal well above anything we have yet attained. Our armed forces in combat have steadily increased their expenditure of medium and heavy artillery ammunition. As we continue the decisive phases of this war, the munitions that we expend will mount day by day.

In October, 1944, while some were saying the war in Europe was over, the Army was shipping more men to Europe than in any previous month of the war.

One of the most urgent immediate requirements of the armed forces is more nurses. Last April the Army requirement for nurses was set at 50,000. Actual strength in nurses was then 40,000. Since that time the Army has tried to raise the additional 10,000. Active recruiting has been carried on, but the net gain in eight months has been only 2,000. There are now 42,000 nurses in the Army.

Recent estimates have increased the total number needed to 60,000. That means that 18,000 more nurses must be obtained for the Army alone and the Navy now requires 2,000 additional nurses.

The present shortage of Army nurses is reflected in undue strain on the existing force. More than a thousand nurses are now hospitalized, and part of this is due to overwork. The shortage is also indicated by the fact that 11 Army hospital units have been sent overseas without their complement of nurses. At Army hospitals in the United States there is only 1 nurse to 26 beds, instead of the recommended 1 to 15 beds.

It is tragic that the gallant women who have volunteered for service as nurses should be so overworked. It is tragic that our wounded men should ever want for the best possible nursing care.

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The inability to get the needed nurses for the Army is not due to any shortage of nurses; 280,000 registered nurses are now practicing in this country. It has been estimated by the War Manpower Commission that 27,000 additional nurses could be made available to the armed forces without interfering too seriously with the needs of the civilian population for nurses.

Since volunteering has not produced the number of nurses required, I urge that the Selective Service Act be amended to provide for the induction of nurses into the armed forces. The need is too pressing to await the outcome of further efforts at recruiting.

The care and treatment given to our wounded and sick soldiers have been the best known to medical science. Those standards must be maintained at all costs. We cannot tolerate a lowering of them by failure to provide adequate nursing for the brave men who stand desperately in need of it.

In the continuing progress of this war we have constant need for new types of weapons, for we cannot afford to fight the war of today or tomorrow with the weapons of yesterday. For example, the American Army now has developed a new tank with a gun more powerful than any yet mounted on a fast-moving vehicle. The Army will need many thousands of these new tanks in 1945.

Almost every month finds some new development in electronics which must be put into production in order to maintain our technical superiority — and in order to save lives. We have to work every day to keep ahead of the enemy in radar. On D-Day, in France, with our superior new equipment, we located and then put out of operation every warning set which the Germans had along the French coast.

If we do not keep constantly ahead of our enemies in the development of new weapons, we pay for our backwardness with the life's blood of our sons.

The only way to meet these increased needs for new weapons and more of them is for every American engaged in war work to stay on his war job — for additional American civilians, men and women, not engaged in essential work, to go out and get a war

job. Workers who are released because their production is cut back should get another job where production is being increased. This is no time to quit or change to less essential jobs.

There is an old and true saying that the Lord hates a quitter. And this Nation must pay for all those who leave their essential jobs — or all those who lay down on their essential jobs for non-essential reasons. And — again — that payment must be made with the life's blood of our sons.

Many critical production programs with sharply rising needs are now seriously hampered by manpower shortages. The most important Army needs are artillery ammunition, cotton duck, bombs, tires, tanks, heavy trucks, and even B-29's. In each of these vital programs, present production is behind requirements.

Navy production of bombardment ammunition is hampered by manpower shortages; so is production for its huge rocket program. Labor shortages have also delayed its cruiser and carrier programs, and production of certain types of aircraft.

There is critical need for more repair workers and repair parts; this lack delays the return of damaged fighting ships to their places in the fleet, and prevents ships now in the fighting line from getting needed overhauling.

The pool of young men under 26 classified as I-A is almost depleted. Increased replacements for the armed forces will take men now deferred who are at work in war industry. The armed forces must have an assurance of a steady flow of young men for replacements. Meeting this paramount need will be difficult, and will also make it progressively more difficult to attain the 1945 production goals.

Last year, after much consideration, I recommended that the Congress adopt a national service act as the most efficient and democratic way of insuring full production for our war requirements. This recommendation was not adopted.

I now again call upon the Congress to enact this measure for the total mobilization of all our human resources for the prosecution of the war. I urge that this be done at the earliest possible moment.

It is not too late in the war. In fact, bitter experience has shown that in this kind of mechanized warfare where new weapons are constantly being created by our enemies and by ourselves, the closer we come to the end of the war, the more pressing becomes the need for sustained war production with which to deliver the final blow to the enemy.

There are three basic arguments for a national service law:

First, it would assure that we have the right numbers of workers in the right places at the right times.

Second, it would provide supreme proof to all our fighting men that we are giving them what they are entitled to, which is nothing less than our total effort.

And, third, it would be the final, unequivocal answer to the hopes of the Nazis and the Japanese that we may become half-hearted about this war and that they can get from us a negotiated peace.

National service legislation would make it possible to put ourselves in a position to assure certain and speedy action in meeting our manpower needs.

It would be used only to the extent absolutely required by military necessities. In fact, experience in Great Britain and in other Nations at war indicates that use of the compulsory powers of national service is necessary only in rare instances.

This proposed legislation would provide against loss of retirement and seniority rights and benefits. It would not mean reduction in wages.

In adopting such legislation, it is not necessary to discard the voluntary and cooperative processes which have prevailed up to this time. This cooperation has already produced great results. The contribution of our workers to the war effort has been beyond measure. We must build on the foundations that have already been laid and supplement the measures now in operation, in order to guarantee the production that may be necessary in the critical period that lies ahead.

At the present time we are using the inadequate tools at hand to do the best we can by such expedients as manpower ceilings,

and the use of priority and other powers, to induce men and women to shift from non-essential to essential war jobs.

I am in receipt of a joint letter from the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, dated January 3, 1945, which says:

"With the experience of three years of war and after the most thorough consideration, we are convinced that it is now necessary to carry out the statement made by the Congress in the joint resolutions declaring that a state of war existed with Japan and Germany: That 'to bring the conflict to a successful conclusion, all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.'

"In our considered judgment, which is supported by General Marshall and Admiral King, this requires total mobilization of our manpower by the passage of a national war service law. The armed forces need this legislation to hasten the day of final victory, and to keep to a minimum the cost in lives.

"National war service, the recognition by law of the duty of every citizen to do his or her part in winning the war, will give complete assurance that the need for war equipment will be filled. In the coming year we must increase the output of many weapons and supplies on short notice. Otherwise we shall not keep our production abreast of the swiftly changing needs of war. At the same time it will be necessary to draw progressively many men now engaged in war production to serve with the armed forces, and their places in war production must be filled promptly. These developments will require the addition of hundreds of thousands to those already working in war industry. We do not believe that these needs can be met effectively under present methods.

"The record made by management and labor in war industry has been a notable testimony to the resourcefulness and power of America. The needs are so great, nevertheless, that in many instances we have been forced to recall soldiers and sailors from military duty to do work of a civilian character in war production, because of the urgency of the need for equipment and because of inability to recruit civilian labor."

Pending action by the Congress on the broader aspects of national service, I recommend that the Congress immediately enact legislation which will be effective in using the services of the 4,000,000 men now classified as IV-F in whatever capacity is best for the war effort.

In the field of foreign policy, we propose to stand together with the United Nations not for the war alone but for the victory for which the war is fought.

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It is not only a common danger which unites us but a common hope. Ours is an association not of Governments but of peoples — and the peoples' hope is peace. Here, as in England; in England, as in Russia; in Russia, as in China; in France, and through the continent of Europe, and throughout the world; wherever men love freedom, the hope and purpose of the people are for peace — a peace that is durable and secure.

It will not be easy to create this peoples' peace. We delude ourselves if we believe that the surrender of the armies of our enemies will make the peace we long for. The unconditional surrender of the armies of our enemies is the first and necessary step — but the first step only.

We have seen already, in areas liberated from the Nazi and the Fascist tyranny, what problems peace will bring. And we delude ourselves if we attempt to believe wishfully that all these problems can be solved overnight.

The firm foundation can be built — and it will be built. But the continuance and assurance of a living peace must, in the long run, be the work of the people themselves.

We ourselves, like all peoples who have gone through the difficult processes of liberation and adjustment, know of our own experience how great the difficulties can be. We know that they are not difficulties peculiar to any continent or any Nation. Our own Revolutionary War left behind it, in the words of one American historian, "an eddy of lawlessness and disregard of human life." There were separatist movements of one kind or another in Vermont, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Maine. There were insurrections, open or threatened, in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. These difficulties we worked out for ourselves as the peoples of the liberated areas of Europe, faced with complex problems of adjustment, will work out their difficulties for themselves.

Peace can be made and kept only by the united determination of free and peace-loving peoples who are willing to work together — willing to help one another — willing to respect and tolerate and try to understand one another's opinions and feelings.

The nearer we come to vanquishing our enemies the more we inevitably become conscious of differences among the victors.

We must not let those differences divide us and blind us to our more important common and continuing interests in winning the war and building the peace.

International cooperation on which enduring peace must be based is not a one-way street.

Nations like individuals do not always see alike or think alike, and international cooperation and progress are not helped by any Nation assuming that it has a monopoly of wisdom or of virtue.

In the future world the misuse of power, as implied in the term "power politics," must not be a controlling factor in international relations. That is the heart of the principles to which we have subscribed. We cannot deny that power is a factor in world politics any more than we can deny its existence as a factor in national politics. But in a democratic world, as in a democratic Nation, power must be linked with responsibility, and obliged to defend and justify itself within the framework of the general good.

Perfectionism, no less than isolationism or imperialism or power politics, may obstruct the paths to international peace. Let us not forget that the retreat to isolationism a quarter of a century ago was started not by a direct attack against international cooperation but against the alleged imperfections of the peace.

In our disillusionment after the last war we preferred international anarchy to international cooperation with Nations which did not see and think exactly as we did. We gave up the hope of gradually achieving a better peace because we had not the courage to fulfill our responsibilities in an admittedly imperfect world.

We must not let that happen again, or we shall follow the same tragic road again — the road to a third world war.

We can fulfill our responsibilities for maintaining the security of our own country only by exercising our power and our influ-

ence to achieve the principles in which we believe and for which we have fought.

In August, 1941, Prime Minister Churchill and I agreed to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, these being later incorporated into the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942. At that time certain isolationists protested vigorously against our right to proclaim the principles — and against the very principles themselves. Today, many of the same people are protesting against the possibility of violation of the same principles.

It is true that the statement of principles in the Atlantic Charter does not provide rules of easy application to each and every one of this war-torn world's tangled situations. But it is a good and a useful thing — it is an essential thing — to have principles toward which we can aim.

And we shall not hesitate to use our influence — and to use it now — to secure so far as is humanly possible the fulfillment of the principles of the Atlantic Charter. We have not shrunk from the military responsibilities brought on by this war. We cannot and will not shrink from the political responsibilities which follow in the wake of battle.

I do not wish to give the impression that all mistakes can be avoided and that many disappointments are not inevitable in the making of peace. But we must not this time lose the hope of establishing an international order which will be capable of maintaining peace and realizing through the years more perfect justice between Nations.

To do this we must be on our guard not to exploit and exaggerate the differences between us and our allies, particularly with reference to the peoples who have been liberated from Fascist tyranny. That is not the way to secure a better settlement of those differences or to secure international machinery which can rectify mistakes which may be made.

I should not be frank if I did not admit concern about many situations — the Greek and Polish for example. But those situations are not as easy or as simple to deal with as some spokesmen, whose sincerity I do not question, would have us believe. We

have obligations, not necessarily legal, to the exiled Governments, to the underground leaders, and to our major allies who came much nearer the shadows than we did.

We and our allies have declared that it is our purpose to respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live and to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them. But with internal dissension, with many citizens of liberated countries still prisoners of war or forced to labor in Germany, it is difficult to guess the kind of self-government the people really want.

During the interim period, until conditions permit a genuine expression of the people's will, we and our allies have a duty, which we cannot ignore, to use our influence to the end that no temporary or provisional authorities in the liberated countries block the eventual exercise of the peoples' right freely to choose the government and institutions under which, as freemen, they are to live.

It is only too easy for all of us to rationalize what we want to believe, and to consider those leaders we like responsible and those we dislike irresponsible. And our task is not helped by stubborn partisanship, however understandable on the part of opposed internal factions.

It is our purpose to help the peace-loving peoples of Europe to live together as good neighbors, to recognize their common interests and not to nurse their traditional grievances against one another.

But we must not permit the many specific and immediate problems of adjustment connected with the liberation of Europe to delay the establishment of permanent machinery for the maintenance of peace. Under the threat of a common danger, the United Nations joined together in war to preserve their independence and their freedom. They must now join together to make secure the independence and freedom of all peace-loving states, so that never again shall tyranny be able to divide and conquer.

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International peace and well-being, like national peace and well-being, require constant alertness, continuing cooperation, and organized effort.

International peace and well-being, like national peace and well-being, can be secured only through institutions capable of life and growth.

Many of the problems of the peace are upon us even now while the conclusion of the war is still before us. The atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding and determination to find a common ground of common understanding, which surrounded the conversations at Dumbarton Oaks, gives us reason to hope that future discussions will succeed in developing the democratic and fully integrated world security system toward which these preparatory conversations were directed.

We and the other United Nations are going forward, with vigor and resolution, in our efforts to create such a system by providing for it strong and flexible institutions of joint and co-operative action.

The aroused conscience of humanity will not permit failure in this supreme endeavor.

We believe that the extraordinary advances in the means of intercommunication between peoples over the past generation offer a practical method of advancing the mutual understanding upon which peace and the institutions of peace must rest, and it is our policy and purpose to use these great technological achievements for the common advantage of the world.

We support the greatest possible freedom of trade and commerce.

We Americans have always believed in freedom of opportunity, and equality of opportunity remains one of the principal objectives of our national life. What we believe in for individuals, we believe in also for Nations. We are opposed to restrictions, whether by public act or private arrangement, which distort and impair commerce, transit, and trade.

We have house-cleaning of our own to do in this regard. But it is our hope, not only in the interest of our own prosperity but

in the interest of the prosperity of the world, that trade and commerce and access to materials and markets may be freer after this war than ever before in the history of the world.

One of the most heartening events of the year in the international field has been the renaissance of the French people and the return of the French Nation to the ranks of the United Nations. Far from having been crushed by the terror of Nazi domination, the French people have emerged with stronger faith than ever in the destiny of their country and in the soundness of the democratic ideals to which the French Nation has traditionally contributed so greatly.

During her liberation, France has given proof of her unceasing determination to fight the Germans, continuing the heroic efforts of the resistance groups under the occupation and of all those Frenchmen throughout the world who refused to surrender after the disaster of 1940.

Today, French armies are again on the German frontier, and are again fighting shoulder to shoulder with our sons.

Since our landings in Africa, we have placed in French hands all the arms and material of war which our resources and the military situation permitted. And I am glad to say that we are now about to equip large new French forces with the most modern weapons for combat duty.

In addition to the contribution which France can make to our common victory, her liberation likewise means that her great influence will again be available in meeting the problems of peace.

We fully recognize France's vital interest in a lasting solution of the German problem and the contribution which she can make in achieving international security. Her formal adherence to the declaration by United Nations a few days ago and the proposal at the Dumbarton Oaks discussions, whereby France would receive one of the five permanent seats in the proposed Security Council, demonstrate the extent to which France has resumed her proper position of strength and leadership.

I am clear in my own mind that, as an essential factor in the

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maintenance of peace in the future, we must have universal military training after this war, and I shall send a special message to the Congress on this subject.

An enduring peace cannot be achieved without a strong America — strong in the social and economic sense as well as in the military sense.

In the State of the Union message last year I set forth what I considered to be an American economic bill of rights.

I said then, and I say now, that these economic truths represent a second bill of rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all — regardless of station, race, or creed.

Of these rights the most fundamental, and one on which the fulfillment of the others in large degree depends, is the "right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the Nation." In turn, others of the economic rights of American citizenship, such as the right to a decent home, to a good education, to good medical care, to social security, to reasonable farm income, will, if fulfilled, make major contributions to achieving adequate levels of employment.

The Federal Government must see to it that these rights become realities — with the help of States, municipalities, business, labor, and agriculture.

We have had full employment during the war. We have had it because the Government has been ready to buy all the materials of war which the country could produce — and this has amounted to approximately half our present productive capacity.

After the war we must maintain full employment with Government performing its peacetime functions. This means that we must achieve a level of demand and purchasing power by private consumers — farmers, businessmen, workers, professional men, housewives — which is sufficiently high to replace wartime Government demands; and it means also that we must greatly increase our export trade above the prewar level.

Our policy is, of course, to rely as much as possible on private enterprise to provide jobs. But the American people will not

accept mass unemployment or mere makeshift work. There will be need for the work of everyone willing and able to work — and that means close to 60,000,000 jobs.

Full employment means not only jobs — but productive jobs. Americans do not regard jobs that pay substandard wages as productive jobs.

We must make sure that private enterprise works as it is supposed to work — on the basis of initiative and vigorous competition, without the stifling presence of monopolies and cartels.

During the war we have guaranteed investment in enterprise essential to the war effort. We should also take appropriate measures in peacetime to secure opportunities for new small enterprises and for productive business expansion for which finance would otherwise be unavailable.

This necessary expansion of our peacetime productive capacity will require new facilities, new plants, and new equipment.

It will require large outlays of money which should be raised through normal investment channels. But while private capital should finance this expansion program, the Government should recognize its responsibility for sharing part of any special or abnormal risk of loss attached to such financing.

Our full-employment program requires the extensive development of our natural resources and other useful public works. The undeveloped resources of this continent are still vast. Our river-watershed projects will add new and fertile territories to the United States. The Tennessee Valley Authority, which was constructed at a cost of \$750,000,000 — the cost of waging this war for less than 4 days — was a bargain. We have similar opportunities in our other great river basins. By harnessing the resources of these river basins, as we have in the Tennessee Valley, we shall provide the same kind of stimulus to enterprise as was provided by the Louisiana Purchase and the new discoveries in the West during the nineteenth century.

If we are to avail ourselves fully of the benefits of civil aviation, and if we are to use the automobiles we can produce, it will be necessary to construct thousands of airports and to overhaul our entire national highway system.

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The provision of a decent home for every family is a national necessity, if this country is to be worthy of its greatness — and that task will itself create great employment opportunities. Most of our cities need extensive rebuilding. Much of our farm plant is in a state of disrepair. To make a frontal attack on the problems of housing and urban reconstruction will require thorough-going cooperation between industry and labor, and the Federal, State, and local Governments.

An expanded social security program, and adequate health and education programs, must play essential roles in a program designed to support individual productivity and mass purchasing power. I shall communicate further with the Congress on these subjects at a later date.

The millions of productive jobs that a program of this nature could bring are jobs in private enterprise. They are jobs based on the expanded demand for the output of our economy for consumption and investment. Through a program of this character we can maintain a national income high enough to provide for an orderly retirement of the public debt along with reasonable tax reduction.

Our present tax system geared primarily to war requirements must be revised for peacetime so as to encourage private demand.

While no general revision of the tax structure can be made until the war ends on all fronts, the Congress should be prepared to provide tax modifications at the end of the war in Europe, designed to encourage capital to invest in new enterprises and to provide jobs. As an integral part of this program to maintain high employment, we must, after the war is over, reduce or eliminate taxes which bear too heavily on consumption.

The war will leave deep disturbances in the world economy, in our national economy, in many communities, in many families, and in many individuals. It will require determined effort and responsible action of all of us to find our way back to peacetime, and to help others to find their way back to peacetime — a peacetime that holds the values of the past and the promise of the future.

If we attack our problems with determination we shall suc-

ceed. And we must succeed. For freedom and peace cannot exist without security.

During the past year the American people, in a national election, reasserted their democratic faith.

In the course of that campaign various references were made to "strife" between this Administration and the Congress, with the implication, if not the direct assertion, that this Administration and the Congress could never work together harmoniously in the service of the Nation.

It cannot be denied that there have been disagreements between the legislative and executive branches — as there have been disagreements during the past century and a half.

I think we all realize too that there are some people in this Capital City whose task is in large part to stir up dissension, and to magnify normal healthy disagreements so that they appear to be irreconcilable conflicts.

But — I think that the over-all record in this respect is eloquent: The Government of the United States of America — all branches of it — has a good record of achievement in this war.

The Congress, the Executive, and the Judiciary have worked together for the common good.

I myself want to tell you, the Members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, how happy I am in our relationships and friendships. I have not yet had the pleasure of meeting some of the new Members in each House, but I hope that opportunity will offer itself in the near future.

We have a great many problems ahead of us and we must approach them with realism and courage.

This new year of 1945 can be the greatest year of achievement in human history.

Nineteen forty-five can see the final ending of the Nazi-Fascist reign of terror in Europe.

Nineteen forty-five can see the closing in of the forces of retribution about the center of the malignant power of imperialistic Japan.

Most important of all — 1945 can and must see the substantial

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beginning of the organization of world peace. This organization must be the fulfillment of the promise for which men have fought and died in this war. It must be the justification of all the sacrifices that have been made — of all the dreadful misery that this world has endured.

We Americans of today, together with our allies, are making history — and I hope it will be better history than ever has been made before.

We pray that we may be worthy of the unlimited opportunities that God has given us.

NOTE: At 10 P.M. of the same day he sent the foregoing State of the Union message to the Congress, the President made a radio address embodying significant excerpts from his message (see Item 126-A, this volume). He commenced his radio address with the following statement: "Today, in pursuance of my Constitutional duty, I sent to the Congress

a message on the State of the Union — and this evening I am taking the opportunity to repeat to you some parts of that message." The President then repeated in summary form certain portions of the message.

Toward the close of his radio address, the President added several paragraphs which did not appear in his message to the Congress.

126-A. ¶ Radio Address Summarizing State of the Union Message. January 6, 1945

TODAY, in pursuance of my Constitutional duty, I sent to the Congress a message on the State of the Union — and this evening I am taking the opportunity to repeat to you some parts of that message.

This war must be waged — it is being waged — with the greatest and most persistent intensity. Everything we are and have is at stake. Everything we are, and have, will be given.

We have no question of the ultimate victory. We have no question of the cost. Our losses will be heavy.

But — we and our Allies will go on fighting together to ultimate total victory.

We have seen a year marked, on the whole, by substantial progress toward victory, even though the year ended with a setback for our arms, when the Germans launched a ferocious counterattack into Luxembourg and Belgium with the obvious objective of cutting our line in the center.

Our men have fought with indescribable and unforgettable gallantry under most difficult conditions.

The high tide of this German attack was reached two days after Christmas. Since then we have reassumed the offensive, rescued the isolated garrison at Bastogne, and forced a German withdrawal along the whole line of the salient.

The speed with which we recovered from this savage attack was possible primarily because we have one Supreme Commander in complete control of all the Allied armies in France. General Eisenhower has faced this period of trial with admirable calm and resolution and with steadily increasing success. He has my complete confidence.

Further desperate attempts may well be made to break our lines, to slow our progress. We must never make the mistake of assuming that the Germans are beaten until the last Nazi has surrendered.

And I would express a most serious warning against the poisonous effects of enemy propaganda.

The wedge that the Germans attempted to drive in Western Europe was less dangerous in terms of winning the war than the wedges which they are continually attempting to drive between ourselves and our Allies.

Every little rumor which is intended to weaken our faith in our Allies is like an actual enemy agent in our midst — seeking to sabotage our war effort. There are, here and there, evil and baseless rumors against the Russians — rumors against the British — rumors against our own American commanders in the field.

When you examine these rumors closely, you will observe

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that every one of them bears the same trademark — “Made in Germany.”

- We must resist this propaganda — we must destroy it — with the same strength and the same determination that our fighting men are displaying as they resist and destroy the panzer divisions.

In all of the far-flung operations of our own armed forces — on land, and sea, and in the air — the final job, the toughest job, has been performed by the average, easy-going, hard-fighting young American who carries the weight of battle on his own shoulders.

It is to him that we and all future generations of Americans must pay grateful tribute.

But — it is of small satisfaction to him to know that monuments will be raised to him in the future. He wants, he needs, and he is entitled to insist upon, our full and active support — now.

Although unprecedented production figures have made possible our victories, we shall have to increase our goals in certain weapons even more.

Our armed forces in combat have steadily increased their expenditure of ammunition. As we continue the decisive phases of this war, the munitions that we expend will mount day by day.

I shall not go into the details of war production and the requirements of war materials. They are contained in the message that I sent today, and I hope that many of you will have an opportunity to read that in full.

But there is one very human need that I do want to mention.

We need twenty thousand more trained nurses for our Army and Navy.

Those nurses that we have are rendering gallant service to our sick and wounded men, but they have been called upon to do more than their share. More than a thousand nurses are now hospitalized themselves — and part of this is due to overwork. At Army hospitals in the United States there is only one nurse to twenty-six beds, instead of one to fifteen beds, as there should be.

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Since volunteering has not produced the number of nurses required, I asked the Congress in my message to amend the Selective Service Act to provide for the induction of registered nurses into the armed forces.

The need is too pressing to await the outcome of further efforts at recruiting. However, I urge registered nurses throughout the country to volunteer immediately for this great service.

The only way to meet our increased needs for more weapons and new weapons is for every American now engaged in war work to stay on his war job — for additional American civilians, men and women not now engaged in essential work, to go out and get a war job. Workers who are released because their war production is cut back should get another job where war production is being increased. This is no time to quit or change to less essential jobs.

There is an old and true saying that the Lord hates a quitter. And this Nation must pay for all those who leave their essential jobs — for all those who lay down on their essential jobs for non-essential reasons. And that payment must be made with the life's blood of our sons.

Last year, after much consideration, I recommended that the Congress adopt a National Service Act as the most efficient and democratic way of insuring full production for our war requirements. This recommendation was not adopted.

I have again called upon the Congress today to enact this measure for the total mobilization of all our human resources — men and women — for the prosecution of the war. I urge that this be done at the earliest possible moment.

It is not too late in the war. In fact, bitter experience has shown that, in this kind of mechanized warfare where new weapons are constantly being created by our enemies and by ourselves, the closer we come to the end of the war, the more pressing becomes the need for sustained war production with which to deliver the final blow to the enemy.

There are three basic arguments for a National Service Law.

First — it would assure that we have the right numbers of workers in the right places at the right times.

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Second — it would provide supreme proof to all our fighting men that we are giving them what they are entitled to, which is nothing less than our total effort.

And — third — it would be the final, unequivocal answer to the hopes of the Nazis and the Japanese that we may become half-hearted about this war, and that they can get from us a negotiated peace.

National service legislation would be used only to the extent absolutely required by military necessities. In fact, experience in Great Britain and in other Nations at war indicates that use of the compulsory powers of national service is necessary only in rare instances.

National service would provide against loss of retirement and seniority rights and benefits. It would not mean reduction in wages.

The contribution of our workers in this war has been beyond measure. We must now build on the foundations that have already been laid, and supplement the measures now in operation, in order to guarantee the production that may be necessary in the critical period that lies ahead.

The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy have written me a letter in which, speaking of present war needs, they said:

“In our considered judgment, which is supported by General Marshall and Admiral King, this requires total mobilization of our manpower by the passage of a national war service law. The armed forces need this legislation to hasten the day of final victory, and to keep to a minimum the cost in lives.”

That is the testimony of those best qualified to know the situation which confronts us.

Pending action by the Congress on the broader aspects of national service, I have recommended that the Congress immediately enact legislation which will be effective in using the services of the four million men now classified as 4-F in whatever capacity is best for the war effort.

In the field of foreign policy, we propose to stand together

with the United Nations not for the war alone but for the victory for which the war is fought.

It is not only a common danger which unites us, but a common hope. Ours is an association not of governments but of peoples — and the peoples' hope is peace. Here, as in England; in England, as in Russia; in Russia, as in China; in France, and through the continent of Europe, and throughout the world; wherever men love freedom, the hope and purpose of the people are for peace — a peace that is durable and secure.

It will not be easy to create this peoples' peace. We have seen already, in areas liberated from the Nazi and the Fascist tyranny, what problems peace will bring. And we delude ourselves if we attempt to believe wishfully that all these problems can be solved overnight.

The firm foundation can be built — and it will be built. But the continuance and assurance of a living peace must, in the long run, be the work of the people themselves.

We ourselves, like all peoples who have gone through the difficult processes of liberation and adjustment, know of our own experience how great the difficulties can be. We know that they are not difficulties peculiar to any continent or any Nation. Our own Revolutionary War left behind it, in the words of one American historian, "an eddy of lawlessness and disregard of human life." There were separatist movements of one kind or another in Vermont, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Maine. There were insurrections, open or threatened, in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. We worked out for ourselves these difficulties — as the peoples of the liberated areas of Europe, faced with complex problems of adjustment, will work out their difficulties for themselves.

Peace can be made and kept only by the united determination of free and peace-loving peoples who are willing to work together — willing to help one another — willing to respect and tolerate and try to understand one another's opinions and feelings.

In the future world the misuse of power, as implied in the term "power politics," must not be a controlling factor in inter-

national relations. That is the heart of the principles to which we have subscribed. In a democratic world, as in a democratic Nation, power must be linked with responsibility, and obliged to defend and justify itself within the framework of the general good.

In our disillusionment after the last war we gave up the hope of achieving a better peace because we had not the courage to fulfill our responsibilities in an admittedly imperfect world.

We must not let that happen again, or we shall follow the same tragic road again — the road to a third world war.

We can fulfill our responsibilities for maintaining the security of our own country only by exercising our power and our influence to achieve the principles in which we believe, and for which we have fought.

It is true that the statement of principles in the Atlantic Charter does not provide rules of easy application to each and every one of the tangled situations in this war-torn world. But it is a good and a useful thing — it is an essential thing — to have principles toward which we can aim.

And we shall not hesitate to use our influence — and to use it now — to secure so far as is humanly possible the fulfillment of the principles of the Atlantic Charter. We have not shrunk from the military responsibilities brought on by this war. We cannot and will not shrink from the political responsibilities which follow in the wake of battle.

To do this we must be on our guard not to exploit and exaggerate the differences between us and our Allies, particularly with reference to the peoples who have been liberated from Fascist tyranny. That is not the way to secure a better settlement of those differences, or to secure international machinery which can rectify mistakes which may be made.

I must admit concern about many situations — the Greek and Polish for example. But those situations are not as easy or as simple to deal with as some spokesmen, whose sincerity I do not question, would have us believe. We have obligations, not necessarily legal, to the exiled governments, to the underground

leaders, and to our major Allies who came much nearer the shadows than we did.

We and our Allies have declared that it is our purpose to respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live and to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them. But with internal dissension, with many citizens of liberated countries still prisoners of war or forced to labor in Germany, it is difficult to guess the kind of self-government the people really want.

During the interim period, until conditions permit a genuine expression of the peoples' will, we and our Allies have a duty, which we cannot ignore, to use our influence to the end that no temporary or provisional authorities in the liberated countries block the eventual exercise of the peoples' right freely to choose the government and institutions under which, as free men, they are to live.

It is our purpose to help the peace-loving peoples of Europe to live together as good neighbors, to recognize their common interests, and not to nurse their traditional grievances against one another.

But we must not permit the many specific and immediate problems of adjustment connected with the liberation of Europe to delay the establishment of permanent machinery for the maintenance of peace. Under the threat of a common danger, the United Nations joined together in war to preserve their independence and their freedom. They must now join together to make secure the independence and freedom of all peace-loving states, so that never again shall tyranny be able to divide and conquer.

International peace and well-being, like national peace and well-being, require constant alertness, continuing cooperation, and organized effort.

International peace and well-being, like national peace and well-being, can be secured only through institutions capable of life and growth.

One of the most heartening events of the year in the international field has been the renaissance of the French people and the return of the French Nation to the ranks of the United Nations. Far from having been crushed by the terror of Nazi domination, the French people have emerged with stronger faith than ever in the destiny of their country and in the soundness of the democratic ideals to which the French Nation has contributed so greatly.

Today, French armies are again on the German frontier and are again fighting shoulder to shoulder with our sons.

Since our landings in Africa, we have placed in French hands all the arms and material of war which our resources and the military situation permitted. And I am glad to say that we are now about to equip large new French forces with the most modern weapons for combat duty.

I am clear in my own mind that, as an essential factor in the maintenance of world peace in the future, we must have universal military training after this war, and I shall send a special message to the Congress on this subject.

An enduring peace cannot be achieved without a strong America — strong in the social and economic sense as well as in the military sense.

I have already set forth what I consider to be an American Economic Bill of Rights, and the most fundamental of these is the "right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the Nation."

In turn, others of the economic rights of American citizenship such as the right to a decent home, to a good education, to good medical care, to social security, to reasonable farm income, will, if fulfilled, make major contributions to achieving adequate levels of employment.

In the message that I sent to the Congress today I discussed the general approach to the program that we have in mind for the provision of close to sixty million jobs.

Although we must plan now for our postwar economy, and enact the necessary legislation, and set up the appropriate agen-

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cies for reconversion from war to peace, and lay the foundations for that transition period — all of which we are now doing — it is obviously impossible for us to do anything which might possibly hinder the production for war at this time, when our men are fighting on the frontiers of Germany and dropping bombs on the war industries of Japan.

In these days, our thoughts and our hopes and our prayers are with our sons and brothers, our loved ones who are far from home.

We can and we will give them all the support of which this great Nation is capable. But — no matter how well they may be equipped with weapons and munitions — their magnificent fight will have been in vain if this war should end in the breaking of the unity of the United Nations.

We need the continuing friendship of our Allies in this war. Indeed, that need is a matter of life and death. And we shall need that friendship in the peace.

I quote from an editorial in the *Stars and Stripes*, our soldiers' own newspaper in Europe:

"For the holy love of God let's listen to the dead. Let's learn from the living. Let's join ranks against the foe. The bugles of battle are heard again above the bickering."

That is the demand of our fighting men. We cannot fail to heed it.

This new year of 1945 can be the greatest year of achievement in human history.

Nineteen forty-five can see the final ending of the Nazi-Fascist reign of terror in Europe.

Nineteen forty-five can see the closing in of the forces of retribution about the center of the malignant power of imperialistic Japan.

Most important of all, 1945 can, and must, see the substantial beginning of the organization of world peace — for we all know what such an organization means in terms of security, and human rights, and religious freedom.

We Americans of today, together with our Allies, are making

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history — and I hope it will be better history than ever has been made before.

We pray that we may be worthy of the unlimited opportunities that God has given us.

127 ¶ The President Reemphasizes the Need for National Service Legislation.

January 17, 1945

Dear Congressman May:

IN MY RECENT message on the State of the Union, I pointed out the urgent need of a national service law, and recommended that, pending action by the Congress on the broader aspects of national service, the Congress immediately enact legislation which will be effective in using the 4,000,000 men now classified in IV-F in whatever capacity is best for the war effort.

The urgent need of this legislation has not lessened but has increased since the sending of my Message.

It is true that there has been a trend toward increased placement of manpower in the last two weeks, but there is danger that this trend, which was unquestionably due to the belief that Congress contemplated prompt action, will be reversed by reports now current in the press that Congressional action is likely to be delayed.

I am familiar with the provisions of H. R. 1119, on which hearings are now being held before your Committee. While this bill is not a complete national service law, it will go far to secure the effective employment in the war effort of all registrants under the Selective Service Law between the ages of 18 and 45.

While there may be some differences of opinion on the details of the bill, prompt action now is much more important in the war effort than the perfecting of detail.

As the United Nations enter upon a truly total offense against

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their enemies, it is vital that that total offense should not slacken because of any less than total utilization of our manpower on the home front.

I hope that you will impress upon the members of your Committee, and that your Committee will impress upon the Congress how important it is that action be taken without delay on H. R. 1119, so that news may go to our fighting men that they can go all out with confidence that they cannot exhaust the supplies we are sending them and that information may come to our enemies that there will be no slackening of our total offense until they lay down their arms.

I enclose copy of a letter signed by General Marshall and Admiral King which I have just received.

Hon. Andrew J. May,
Chairman,
House Military Affairs Committee,
Washington, D. C.

NOTE: The President's request for national service legislation, embodied in the foregoing message, is to be distinguished from his support of legislation for universal training of youths (see, for example, Item 59, this volume, for the President's press conference discussions of universal training). As pointed out by General Marshall and Admiral King in their letter which the President transmitted with the foregoing request, national service legislation was needed in order to replenish recent losses of the Army and Navy and to insure that war production would be maintained at an uninterrupted rate. The President in his Annual Messages of January 11, 1944, and of

January 6, 1945 (see Items 4 and 126, this volume), had recommended national service legislation as the most effective and democratic way to insure full production. The Battle of the Bulge made the need for such legislation even more immediate.

On the same day that the President made his second request of the Congress for national service legislation, on January 6, 1945, identical bills were introduced in the House and Senate to carry out the President's recommendations. These bills provided that any draft registrant between 18 and 45 who left an essential job without good reason, or failed to take an essential job within a specified time, should

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be immediately classified as available for induction into the armed forces. This measure was popularly known as a "work or fight" bill.

The House Military Affairs Committee voted 20-5 for a slightly revised version of the bill, and this proposal passed the House of Representatives on February 1, 1945, by a vote of 246 to 167. In the early consideration of the bill, the Senate gave extensive attention to the problem of whether the War Manpower Commission or the Selective Service boards should administer the new bill. Soon the whole progress of the legislation became bogged down in a number of substitute proposals and amendments which changed the entire face of the bill from what had passed the House of Representatives. As finally written in the conference committee, the bill provided, among other things, fines and jail sentences for

workers who voluntarily left jobs in war-essential activities without the approval of the Director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. Organized labor protested strongly against these "job freeze" provisions of the bill. The conference report was adopted in the House of Representatives on March 27, by the narrow vote of 167-160.

By the time the conference report came to a final vote in the Senate, the American armies were across the Rhine River in full force, racing their way through Germany in the final stages of the European war. With Russia hammering her way toward a meeting with the Allied troops, it became apparent that the need for manpower legislation had passed. Accordingly, the Senate rejected the conference report on April 3, 1945, by a 46-29 vote, and the legislation was killed.

128 ¶ The President and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and Canada Announce the Retention of Certain Combined Boards Until the End of the War — Additional Statement of the President. January 19, 1945

Joint statement:

1. WE HAVE followed with close interest the excellent work which the Combined Boards have done in coordinating our production and supply. These Boards were created for the purpose

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of combining our economic and industrial power during a period of increasingly intensive military preparation. Despite the fact that as the war progresses there will be a substantial diminution in demand for certain military items, studies indicate that there will be continuing global shortages of a limited number of products and materials which are necessary to military operations and to the maintenance of essential civilian economies. We expect the Boards, in the future as in the past, to continue to play their part in facilitating the prompt and adequate use of our economic resources for the common war effort.

2. In addition, new economic and industrial problems which may require common action are sure to develop before the end of hostilities. The power to act and make decisions in the economic sphere on behalf of our respective Nations will remain in the duly constituted national agencies. However, the Boards can perform a very valuable additional service by providing a forum or focal point for consultation and the interchange of information and ideas on such common economic and industrial problems.

3. In their activities we shall expect the members of these Boards and the agencies of our Governments which work with them to collaborate increasingly with representatives of other United Nations in the common interest.

The President's Statement:

We hear a good bit about differences between the United States and Britain, but perhaps we hear less of how really effectively they are working together in winning the war; and, also, in meeting the economic problems of the areas they liberate.

Together with Prime Ministers Churchill and Mackenzie King, I have just outlined the work the Combined Boards are to do from now until the end of the war with Japan. The Combined Food Board, the Combined Raw Materials Board, and the Combined Production and Resources Board provide a strikingly successful example of United Nations' collaboration on some of the urgent and difficult problems of the day.

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The Boards are dealing now with serious shortages in such commodities as tires and trucks, coal, textiles, footwear, animal protein foods, and fats and oils. In each of these items the shortage is big enough to affect military requirements, civilian needs, and relief activities in all areas. In the case of the Combined Food Board, representatives of other countries also have participated in the development of appropriate international programs for certain commodities; e.g., Newfoundland fish and Australian wheat. There have also recently been added to certain commodity committees on the Combined Food Board representatives of countries whose supplies and requirements, through progress of military operations, have again become, or will become, important factors in the international distribution of vital supplies; e.g., France, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Norway in the case of fats and oils. The requirements of the Soviet Union have been related to the activities of the Boards through the Departments of the member Governments concerned with the conclusion of the annual protocols by which the Soviet Union supply programs are determined.

Through the Boards, former occupied countries are being helped to start up their manufacturing because we want to ease shortages of plants and manpower here, in Britain, and in Canada. We are acting with awareness, too, of the acute need to restore employment in the liberated areas, thus minimizing unrest.

Coal offers a good example of the working of the Combined Boards. It was clear at the beginning of 1943 that the United Nations as a whole faced a serious deficit. The Boards worked out solutions through the appropriate national agencies.

These solutions reached dramatic proportions. From Britain came expert opinion that production could be stepped up if surface outcroppings could be worked on a mass-production basis similar to our American strip mining. As a consequence, the used machinery market of the United States was scoured for such types of machinery — some machines, for instance, which had been in service along the Mississippi levees for twenty years were requisitioned — and a total quantity of machinery estimated

to exceed in capacity that used in digging the Panama Canal was expedited to Britain during 1944.

Most of it has now arrived and in many parts of Britain the operations are under way with the result that 12 million additional tons are expected to be mined before the end of the present coal year. This coal helps supply S.H.A.E.F. needs in north-west Europe as well as those relief requirements for the Mediterranean that can be filled by our present limited transportation.

The Combined Food Board has proved to be a most useful mechanism for assuring an efficient and reasonably equitable distribution of vital food resources among the various United Nations. On the basis of detailed information interchanged constantly among its Commodity Committees, the Combined Food Board has developed many international plans for meeting the increased war demands and for offsetting, insofar as possible, the early loss to the enemy of important items. The shortage of rice after the fall of Burma and other areas of southeastern Asia is illustrative of the problems which have confronted the Combined Food Board. The Japanese occupation absorbed areas which normally export 95 percent of the rice entering world trade. The Board moved promptly to insure (1) that exports from the remaining rice areas were maximized, (2) that such supplies were equitably shared, and (3) that wherever possible, rice substitutes were provided.

The Boards have set a model for economic cooperation between the United Nations in overcoming excessive nationalism and in gaining cooperation between former rivals both on the national and international plane.

On the American side, the direction of the Raw Materials Board has been, since its inception, the job of William L. Batt. We owe him a deep debt of gratitude for his part in keeping an effective flow of strategic materials coming during the war, despite the fact that many of the former rich sources for these materials have been continuously in Axis hands. It has been a magnificent job.

129. *The Fourth Inaugural Address*

NOTE: The establishment of the Combined Raw Materials Board had been announced by the President and Prime Minister Churchill on January 26, 1942 (see Item 11 and note, 1942 volume). The establishment of the Combined Food Board and the Combined Production and Resources Board had been announced by the President and Prime Minister Churchill on June 9, 1942 (see Item 62 and note, 1942 volume). In accordance with the decision announced in the foregoing statement by the President and Prime Minister Churchill, the Com-

bined Production and Resources Board continued throughout the war, and was terminated on December 31, 1945. The Combined Raw Materials Board was also terminated on December 31, 1945. The Combined Food Board was terminated on July 1, 1946, when its work was taken over by the newly created International Emergency Food Council. The Munitions Assignments Board was abolished on November 8, 1945. The Combined Shipping Adjustment Board remained in existence but became virtually inactive following the war.

129 ¶ “We Have Learned to Be Citizens of the World, Members of the Human Community” — the Fourth Inaugural Address.

January 20, 1945

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice President, my friends:

You will understand and, I believe, agree with my wish that the form of this inauguration be simple and its words brief.

We Americans of today, together with our allies, are passing through a period of supreme test. It is a test of our courage — of our resolve — of our wisdom — of our essential democracy.

If we meet that test — successfully and honorably — we shall perform a service of historic importance which men and women and children will honor throughout all time.

As I stand here today, having taken the solemn oath of office in the presence of my fellow countrymen — in the presence of our God — I know that it is America's purpose that we shall not fail.

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In the days and the years that are to come, we shall work for a just and honorable peace, a durable peace, as today we work and fight for total victory in war.

We can and we will achieve such a peace.

We shall strive for perfection. We shall not achieve it immediately — but we still shall strive. We may make mistakes — but they must never be mistakes which result from faintness of heart or abandonment of moral principle.

I remember that my old schoolmaster, Dr. Peabody, said — in days that seemed to us then to be secure and untroubled, “Things in life will not always run smoothly. Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights — then all will seem to reverse itself and start downward. The great fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward; that a line drawn through the middle of the peaks and the valleys of the centuries always has an upward trend.”

Our Constitution of 1787 was not a perfect instrument; it is not perfect yet. But it provided a firm base upon which all manner of men, of all races and colors and creeds, could build our solid structure of democracy.

Today, in this year of war, 1945, we have learned lessons — at a fearful cost — and we shall profit by them.

We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other Nations, far away. We have learned that we must live as men and not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger.

We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community.

We have learned the simple truth, as Emerson said, that, “The only way to have a friend is to be one.”

We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust — or with fear. We can gain it only if we proceed with the understanding and the confidence and the courage which flow from conviction.

The Almighty God has blessed our land in many ways. He has given our people stout hearts and strong arms with which to strike mighty blows for freedom and truth. He has given to our

130. *The President Urges Conservation of Food*

country a faith which has become the hope of all peoples in an anguished world.

So we pray to Him now for the vision to see our way clearly — to see the way that leads to a better life for ourselves and for all our fellow men — and to the achievement of His will to peace on earth.

NOTE: This was Roosevelt's first wartime inauguration, and, in order to save money, manpower, and materials, he decided to cut out all of the "frills" which ordinarily accompany an inauguration. Shortly after his election for a fourth term, the President told a press conference that he intended to make this an economical inauguration by spending less than \$2,000 instead of the \$25,000 appropriated by the Congress (see Item 114, this volume). Accordingly, the Fourth Inaugural was held in the front of the White

House rather than at the Capitol, no new elaborate stands were erected as usual, and no parade was held ("Who is there here to parade?" Roosevelt had poignantly asked his press conference on November 14, 1944).

In this way, the President saved money on gasoline, lumber, train transportation, food, labor, and the many other elements which are usually required for an inauguration. He also saved the time and services of members of the armed forces who usually parade on such occasions.

130 ¶ The President Urges Conservation of Food. January 22, 1945

DURING the past three years every American who has played a part in the job of growing, conserving, harvesting, distributing, and processing our food supply has done a magnificent job.

As we enter a new year, the demands for our food at home and abroad are so great that it is essential for every man and woman to do everything to help in the huge task of getting the food produced and seeing that it is conserved and shared. Many of our favorite foods are scarce.

To this end, I ask the people in cities, towns, and villages to assist our farmers in every possible way to reach the food goals which have been set for this year.

I call upon the millions of victory gardeners who have done

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so much to swell the Nation's food supply in these war years to continue their good work.

I ask those people who can spare the time to assist the Nation's food processors in the task of preparing the food for our armed services, our civilians, and our allies.

I ask the millions of women who have preserved food at home so that our armed services could have the fruits and vegetables they need, to carry on until the war is won.

I ask every American to share our available food by observing the rules of rationing and by cooperating with food merchants in the observance of food price ceilings.

I know I can count on the American people to respond to these calls to action, so that we can all truly continue to say when the war is won that our food has played an important role in the fight for freedom.

131 ¶ Letter to Chairmen of Congressional
Committees Advocating Railroad Retirement
and Unemployment Insurance Legislation.

January 22, 1945

Dear Mr. Chairman:

As you know, I have been for many years interested in the development of the Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts. I realize, as I am sure you do, that our early social insurance legislation, as is true of most ventures in new fields, needs to be reexamined from time to time in order to make sure that the provisions operate in practice so as effectively to carry out those beneficent purposes which all of us wish to see accomplished.

S. 293, now before your Committee for consideration, represents the results of a study, over a period of several years, of the operations of the Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemploy-

131. Railroad Retirement and Unemployment Insurance

ment Insurance Acts by the Railway Labor Executives' Association, representing the great bulk of railway workers, and the Railroad Retirement Board.

This study has included an analysis of many thousands of suggestions made by railroad workers and their local organizations. Many proposals were, of course, rejected; what remains represents an effort to make these railroad insurance systems function more effectively.

I am told by the Chairman of the Railroad Retirement Board that preliminary drafts of the bill were widely circulated to all groups in the industry in 1942 and 1943. Two bills, the major provisions of which were substantially the same as S. 293, were introduced in the recent session of the Congress, one of them as early as last May. There has therefore been ample opportunity for all interested groups to study the proposals; and all those involved should by now be fully prepared to state their views.

I am heartily in favor of the objectives of S. 293 and I hope that the Congress will see fit to act favorably on those objectives.

May I ask that your Committee take the necessary steps to hold hearings on the bill as soon as possible?

NOTE: Many years of thorough study preceded enactment of amendments to the basic Railroad Retirement Act and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. The Railroad Labor Executives' Association (representing nineteen railway labor organizations) took the lead in sponsoring revisions in the original bills, and these revisions were endorsed by other labor groups as well.

Extensive hearings were held by House and Senate Committees following receipt of the foregoing letter of the President. Because of the complex technicalities involved in the subject, work on the revisions

continued into 1946. On July 31, 1946, President Truman approved an Act (60 Stat. 722) to amend the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act.

The amendments included, among other things, provisions for a survivorship insurance program closely paralleling the old age and survivors' insurance program for non-railroad employees, but at somewhat higher levels of benefits, especially for the lower income groups. The retirement age for women was reduced from 65 to 60. The Act increased the minimum benefits payable and made them

132. *National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis*

available to those workers having five years of service; prior to the passage of the Act minimum benefits had been available only to those with twenty years of service. The Act provided for increased taxes, half to be paid by employer and half by employees, to cover the expanded benefits.

The new amendments also provided for additional sickness and maternity benefits; increased the period during which unemployment benefits could be paid from 20 to 26 weeks; and increased the unemployment benefits which could be paid from \$4.00-\$5.00 per day.

132 ¶ Appeal for Funds for National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. January 30, 1945

I AM SORRY that wartime circumstances make it impossible for me to talk with you personally tonight on my birthday. I have asked Mrs. Roosevelt to read this brief message in my behalf to the many millions of Americans who contribute to the fight against infantile paralysis.

This year, if I had a birthday cake, there would be sixty-three candles on it. But the years they represent seem very few to me tonight because your great generosity has made this day a testament to youth—a promise to our children that the bright tomorrow for which we fight throughout the world will not be dimmed by the shadow of infantile paralysis at home.

The success of the 1945 March of Dimes in the campaign against infantile paralysis does not come as a surprise to me. We are a Nation of free people, and free people know how to go over the top—whether it's a Nazi wall, a Japanese island fortress, a production goal, a bond drive, or a stream of silver dimes. The reason for these achievements is no military secret. It is the determination of the many to work as one for the common good. It is such unity which is the essence of our democracy.

Our national concern for the handicapped and the infirm is one of our national characteristics. Indeed, it caused our enemies to laugh at us as soft. "Decadent" was the word they used.

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But not any more. They are learning — and learning the hard way — that there are many things we are mighty tough about.

We will never tolerate a force that destroys the life, the happiness, the free future of our children, any more than we will tolerate the continuance on earth of the brutalities and barbarities of the Nazis or of the Japanese war lords.

We combat this evil enemy of disease at home just as unremittingly as we fight our evil enemies abroad.

Our work over the past decade in fighting infantile paralysis was put to its most rigorous test during this past year. The 1944 epidemic was the worst our country has experienced since 1916. But this time we were prepared with a nationwide network of defense that your dimes and dollars enabled us to build. Wherever and whenever an outbreak occurred, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis and its community chapters sprang into activity. Almost overnight, afflicted areas were provided with trained personnel, supplies, and equipment.

Tonight we are able to report that because of your cooperation, the very best in medical care and treatment has been assured for everyone — for the boys and girls, for the men and women — stricken by this disease. All of them have greater hope and confidence today — because they know you are with them and giving them powerful support in their fight.

Yes, we can well be proud of the work of the National Foundation and its chapters. But as any fighting man will tell you, we cannot rest on defense alone. No matter how efficient and immediate the treatment is, it does not take the place of prevention and cure. We must continue to devote our attention ever more to attack. We must give our scientists and research workers the necessary equipment to find this invidious enemy, to corner and destroy him. The task is not an easy one. The mystery shrouding the infantile paralysis virus is not readily penetrated. But we will persist — and we will triumph.

There is no yardstick long enough to measure the happiness our children give us. Whatever we can contribute to promote our children's health is an investment in our country's future.

133. *Liberation of Manila*

It is an assertion of our American birthright to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

NOTE: Except when he was obliged to be out of the country on official business, the President on his birthday delivered an annual radio appeal for funds for the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. In 1943, the President was unable to deliver a birthday address because he was at the Casablanca Conference; in 1945, although he was absent at Yalta on his last birthday, the President asked Mrs. Roosevelt to deliver the foregoing address.

133 ¶ Message to President Osmeña on the Liberation of Manila. February 4, 1945

THE American people rejoice with me in the liberation of your Capital.

After long years of planning, our hearts have quickened at the magnificent strides toward freedom that have been made in the last months — at Leyte, Mindoro, Lingayen Gulf, and now Manila.

We are proud of the mighty blows struck by General MacArthur, our sailors, soldiers, and airmen; and in their comradeship-in-arms with your loyal and valiant people who in the darkest days have not ceased to fight for their independence. You may be sure that this pride will strengthen our determination to drive the Jap invader from your islands.

We will join you in that effort — with our armed forces, as rapidly and fully as our efforts against our enemies and our responsibilities to other liberated peoples permit. With God's help we will complete the fulfillment of the pledge we renewed when our men returned to Leyte.

Let the Japanese and other enemies of peaceful Nations take warning from these great events in your country; their world of treachery, aggression, and enslavement cannot survive in the struggle against our world of freedom and peace.

134 ¶ Joint Statement by the President, Prime Minister Churchill, and Marshal Stalin on Crimea Conference — Yalta.

February 11, 1945

THE DEFEAT OF GERMANY

WE HAVE considered and determined the military plans of the three Allied powers for the final defeat of the common enemy. The military staffs of the three Allied Nations have met in daily meetings throughout the Conference. These meetings have been most satisfactory from every point of view and have resulted in closer coordination of the military effort of the three Allies than ever before. The fullest information has been interchanged. The timing, scope, and coordination of new and even more powerful blows to be launched by our armies and air forces into the heart of Germany from the East, West, North, and South have been fully agreed and planned in detail.

Our combined military plans will be made known only as we execute them, but we believe that the very close working partnership among the three staffs attained at this Conference will result in shortening the war. Meetings of the three staffs will be continued in the future whenever the need arises.

Nazi Germany is doomed. The German people will only make the cost of their defeat heavier to themselves by attempting to continue a hopeless resistance.

THE OCCUPATION AND CONTROL OF GERMANY

We have agreed on common policies and plans for enforcing the unconditional surrender terms which we shall impose together on Nazi Germany after German armed resistance has been finally crushed. These terms will not be made known until the final defeat of Germany has been accomplished. Under the agreed plan, the forces of the three powers will each occupy a

separate zone of Germany. Coordinated administration and control has been provided for under the plan through a central control commission consisting of the Supreme Commanders of the three powers with headquarters in Berlin. It has been agreed that France should be invited by the three powers, if she should so desire, to take over a zone of occupation, and to participate as a fourth member of the control commission. The limits of the French zone will be agreed by the four Governments concerned through their representatives on the European Advisory Commission.

It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment and exact reparation in kind for the destruction wrought by the Germans; wipe out the Nazi Party, Nazi laws, organizations and institutions, remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people; and take in harmony such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future peace and safety of the world. It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when Nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for Germans, and a place for them in the comity of Nations.

REPARATION BY GERMANY

We have considered the question of the damage caused by Germany to the Allied Nations in this war and recognized it as just that Germany be obliged to make compensation for this damage in kind to the greatest extent possible. A commission for the compensation of damage will be established. The commis-

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sion will be instructed to consider the question of the extent and methods for compensating damage caused by Germany to the Allied countries. The commission will work in Moscow.

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE

We are resolved upon the earliest possible establishment with our allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. We believe that this is essential, both to prevent aggression and to remove the political, economic, and social causes of war through the close and continuing collaboration of all peace-loving peoples.

The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. On the important question of voting procedure, however, agreement was not there reached. The present Conference has been able to resolve this difficulty.

We have agreed that a conference of United Nations should be called to meet at San Francisco in the United States on April 25, 1945, to prepare the charter of such an organization, along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks.

The Government of China and the Provisional Government of France will be immediately consulted and invited to sponsor invitations to the conference jointly with the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As soon as the consultation with China and France has been completed, the text of the proposals on voting procedure will be made public.

DECLARATION ON LIBERATED EUROPE

The Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and the President of the United States of America have consulted with each other in the common interests of the peoples of their countries and those of liberated Europe. They jointly declare their mutual agreement

to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three Governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter — the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live — the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor Nations.

To foster the conditions in which the liberated peoples may exercise these rights, the three Governments will jointly assist the people in any European liberated state or former Axis satellite state in Europe where in their judgment conditions require (a) to establish conditions of internal peace; (b) to carry out emergency measures for the relief of distressed peoples; (c) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people; and (d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

The three Governments will consult the other United Nations and provisional authorities or other Governments in Europe when matters of direct interest to them are under consideration.

When, in the opinion of the three Governments, conditions in any European liberated state or any former Axis satellite state in Europe make such action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measures necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set forth in this declaration.

By this declaration we reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the declaration by the United

Nations, and our determination to build in cooperation with other peace-loving Nations world order under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom, and general well-being of all mankind.

In issuing this declaration, the three powers express the hope that the Provisional Government of the French Republic may be associated with them in the procedure suggested.

POLAND

A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army. This calls for the establishment of a Polish provisional government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the recent liberation of western Poland. The provisional government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new government should then be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

M. Molotov, Mr. Harriman, and Sir A. Clark Kerr are authorized as a commission to consult in the first instance in Moscow with members of the present provisional government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad, with a view to the reorganization of the present government along the above lines. This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates.

When a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity has been properly formed in conformity with the above, the Government of the U. S. S. R., which now maintains diplomatic relations with the present provisional government of Poland, and the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the U. S. A. will establish diplomatic relations with the new

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Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, and will exchange ambassadors by whose reports the respective Governments will be kept informed about the situation in Poland.

The three heads of government consider that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon line with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometers in favor of Poland. They recognized that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the North and West. They feel that the opinion of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be sought in due course on the extent of these accessions and that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should thereafter await the peace conference.

YUGOSLAVIA

We have agreed to recommend to Marshal Tito and Dr. Subasic that the agreement between them should be put into effect immediately, and that a new government should be formed on the basis of that agreement.

We also recommend that as soon as the new government has been formed it should declare that:

1. The anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation (Avnoј) should be extended to include members of the last Yugoslav Parliament (Skupschina) who have not compromised themselves by collaboration with the enemy, thus forming a body to be known as a temporary Parliament; and,
2. Legislative acts passed by the anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation will be subject to subsequent ratification by a constituent assembly.

There was also a general review of other Balkan questions.

MEETINGS OF FOREIGN SECRETARIES

Throughout the Conference, besides the daily meetings of the heads of governments and the Foreign Secretaries, separate meetings of the three Foreign Secretaries, and their advisers have also been held daily.

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These meetings have proved of the utmost value and the Conference agreed that permanent machinery should be set up for regular consultation between the three Foreign Secretaries. They will, therefore, meet as often as may be necessary, probably about every three or four months. These meetings will be held in rotation in the three capitals, the first meeting being held in London, after the United Nations Conference on World Organization.

UNITY FOR PEACE AS FOR WAR

Our meeting here in the Crimea has reaffirmed our common determination to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come that unity of purpose and of action which has made victory possible and certain for the United Nations in this war. We believe that this is a sacred obligation which our Governments owe to our peoples and to all the peoples of the world.

Only with the continuing and growing cooperation and understanding among our three countries and among all the peace-loving Nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized — a secure and lasting peace which will, in the words of the Atlantic Charter, “afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.”

Victory in this war and establishment of the proposed international organization will provide the greatest opportunity in all history to create in the years to come the essential conditions of such a peace.

Signed: WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
J. STALIN

NOTE: For a variety of reasons — the major one being the Soviet Union's increasing aggressiveness, hostility, and intransigence after the war — the Yalta Conference has, in some quarters, tended to become a symbol of sinister power politics,

secret agreements, sellouts, appeasement, and subservience to the Soviet Union. Ardent Roosevelt-haters, perpetual isolationists, and many well-meaning people who simply have been misled have sought to draw a picture of Presi-

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dent Roosevelt at Yalta as sick, weary, and incapable of protecting the interests of the United States. The symbol and the picture are not warranted by the facts. (For an excellent description of the Yalta Conference, see *Roosevelt and the Russians: The Yalta Conference* by former Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.; see also Robert E. Sherwood's *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, Chapter XXXIII. Other descriptions which help to bring the events and agreements at Yalta into proper perspective are James F. Byrnes' account in *Speaking Frankly*, and Sumner Welles' *Where Are We Heading?*)

There had been no meeting of the so-called Big Three since Teheran, December, 1943 (see Item 128 and note, 1943 volume). In the intervening period, a number of old problems had become more critical and a number of new ones had arisen. In September, 1944, President Roosevelt began to lay the groundwork for another Big Three meeting; in November, 1944, Marshal Stalin suggested Yalta as the site of the conference, and President Roosevelt approved.

On January 22, 1945, President Roosevelt sailed aboard the U.S.S. *Quincy*. He arrived at Malta on February 2, where he met Prime Minister Churchill; and they reached Yalta after a 1,400-mile airplane flight on February 3. Marshal Stalin arrived on February 4. Formal meetings were held on that day and on every day thereafter until February 11.

These were the issues and problems — other than the military ones — which confronted the conferees, and which they discussed: the plans for the formal organization of the United Nations; Poland's boundaries and her government; the so-called "voting formula" in the Security Council of the United Nations; French participation in the government of postwar Germany; Russia's claim for reparations from Germany; the treatment to be accorded liberated areas; the form of government for Yugoslavia; the Soviet Union's claims concerning the Dardanelles; foreign access to the oil of Iran; territorial trusteeships; and the Soviet Union's claims with respect to Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands, Dairen, Port Arthur, and other territories in the Far East — including the Manchurian railroad. And underlying the consideration and discussion of all these problems was one all-important military question: the time of the Soviet Union's entry into the war against Japan — and the conditions upon which she would participate.

No decision was reached in respect to some of these questions; they were left substantially where they were found. For example, the Dardanelles question was referred to a future meeting of the Foreign Secretaries. There was flat disagreement in respect to Iran — so it was left open. The discussion concerning trusteeships was inconclusive, but it was agreed that provision for them would be made in the United Nations Charter.

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On other problems, agreements were reached. They were reached, as the President had told the Congress, by give and take, with compromises by all parties concerned. With several exceptions, the agreements were all announced in the foregoing communiqué issued at Yalta.

Reparations was a much-discussed issue at Yalta; Churchill and Roosevelt on the one hand disagreed in many respects with Stalin. In a rather typical Rooseveltian device for avoiding deadlocks — which at Yalta might have been dangerous not only to world peace but also to the winning of the war — the issue was postponed by referring it to a British-American-Soviet commission “to consider the question of the extent and methods of compensating damage caused by Germany to the Allied countries.” Roosevelt was willing to agree that the commission should “take in its initial studies *as a basis for discussion* the suggestion of the Soviet Government that the total sum of reparations should be 20 billions and that 50 percent should go to the Soviet Union,” but the British refused to agree to any mention of figures even as a tentative basis of study (Sherwood, pp. 861-862; Byrnes, *Speaking Frankly*, pp. 26-29; italics supplied). While this agreement at Yalta plainly involved no commitment that the Soviet would receive ten billion dollars, and while the absence of commitment was made clear in the discussion at Yalta, the Soviet subsequently insisted upon

treating the discussion practically as a commitment of ten billions.

The British-American-Soviet Commission met in Moscow to consider the question. The Soviet representative, Maisky, after some twenty meetings, was unable to produce any figures whatsoever to support their claims. Thereupon our American representative, Pauley, wrote Maisky a letter stating that the United States delegation considered the proposal no longer valid even as a basis for discussion. In July, 1945, the matter of reparations was settled at Potsdam by agreement that each country would look to its own zone for reparations with some additional percentage to go to the Soviet Union from the western zones. In spite of this history, the Soviet leaders without any justification have since insisted that the Yalta discussion was a binding commitment.

In respect to the formal organization of the United Nations, it was agreed (as announced in the communiqué) that a conference would be held at San Francisco on April 25, 1945 — a date which Churchill had opposed as too early. Russia consented to follow the American formula for selecting the countries to be invited to attend the San Francisco Conference: viz., all the allied Nations that had declared war on the Axis by March 1, 1945. This extended date allowed a number of Latin-American Nations to participate.

Agreement was also reached at Yalta on voting procedure in the

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Security Council of the United Nations although, as the communiqué stated, announcement thereof was deferred until "consultation with China and France has been completed."

The discussions on voting procedure concerned chiefly the extent of the permissible use of the veto by any one of the major powers. The compromise reached at Yalta was substantially the proposal made by the United States. This same proposal had been submitted to Stalin in December, 1944, but had been flatly rejected by him. However, at Yalta he finally agreed to it. It provided that procedural questions should be determined by a vote of any seven of the eleven members of the Council, but that substantive questions would require a vote of seven members including, however, the affirmative votes of all the five great powers (United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China). It was further agreed that any council member which was itself a party to a dispute should not be permitted to vote, unless the matter involved enforcement action or sanctions.

This was the formula finally adopted at San Francisco. After extended consideration and discussion at San Francisco (including conversations between Stalin and Hopkins in Moscow, where Hopkins had been sent by President Truman in May 1945, to try to iron out differences which had arisen with the Soviet Union) it was also

agreed that the discussion of a topic or complaint would be considered a procedural question which was not subject to veto.

Another aspect of United Nations procedure concerning which agreement was reached, but no announcement made in the communiqué, concerned two additional votes in the Assembly for the Soviet by treating the Ukraine and Byelorussia as separate entities. The Soviet had asked for this, and Great Britain supported her. The President had been informed in advance of Yalta that Great Britain was going to take this position because of the problem of India which at that time was not independent and had no separate Foreign Office.

Roosevelt finally agreed that the United States would at the San Francisco Conference also support the Soviet demand if the Soviet would submit it for full and free consideration and decision by the Nations gathered at San Francisco. Stalin agreed in return to support two additional votes for the United States if we would request them at San Francisco. Roosevelt insisted upon this reciprocity, remembering the debates about the League of Nations in 1919 and 1920 and the strong popular reaction against any charter which gave the United States fewer votes than any other country. The United States, however, never made the request at San Francisco. The agreement in respect to the Soviet's additional votes in the United Nations Assem-

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bly was not announced in the communiqué and did not become public until the information "leaked" on March 29, 1945. (For the President's explanation for this agreement, see Item 145, this volume.)

It is a matter of record, however, that the three Soviet votes in the Assembly have not played any decisive part in the United Nations decisions or made very much difference one way or the other. Where the United Nations has been ineffective, it has generally been due to Soviet intransigence — and not that she has three Assembly votes. It has served chiefly to help Soviet propaganda and to give a fictitious cloak of independence to the Soviet republics, which, in fact and in law, have no independence at all.

One of the very important areas of agreement concerned the post-war treatment of liberated European countries. The agreement is eloquently expressed in the foregoing communiqué.

The Declaration on Liberated Europe was prepared in the United States State Department, and submitted at Yalta as an American proposal. It was modified only slightly at Yalta — and not at any Soviet suggestion. The Declaration is a direct answer to unfounded charges sometimes made by Roosevelt-haters that the President agreed at Yalta directly or indirectly to some kind of sphere of influence or some form of arrangement which would give the Soviet Union control in Eastern Europe. The words and the

spirit of the Declaration are exactly to the contrary. They were designed and directed against the formation of any exclusive spheres. Indeed the Declaration is replete with statements that the three great powers will *jointly* assist the people in the liberated and Axis satellite countries to create democratic institutions of their own choice with the right — which is expressly stated to be a principle of the Atlantic Charter — to choose the form of government under which they will live. And they agreed *jointly* to assist in holding the earliest possible free elections for that purpose. No agreement could have been drawn in language less susceptible of any implication of spheres of influence.

Present-day failure in this area is not due to anything which happened at Yalta. The principles and formula there agreed upon were unassailable. What has happened is due to the Soviet refusal to carry out the agreement made at Yalta; in fact it has been a square repudiation of Yalta.

Though the Soviet leaders still refuse to pay any attention to what Stalin signed at Yalta, this Declaration has been used as the foundation of almost every diplomatic protest the United States has made in connection with the events in Eastern Europe since the end of the war.

One aspect of the Yalta Conference which has since given rise to

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much debate and criticism concerned Soviet participation in the war against Japan and her claims to certain territory and concessions in the Far East. These items were embodied in a separate agreement. The matter was treated more as a military than diplomatic one; and the issues were not discussed at the plenary sessions. In substance, it was agreed that the Soviet would join the Allies in the war against Japan "two or three months after Germany had surrendered and the war in Europe has terminated"; in return, "the former rights of Russia violated by the treacherous attack of Japan in 1904 shall be restored." This "restoration" was to include: the return of the southern half of Sakhalin Island, the return of the use of Port Arthur as a naval base, internationalizing the commercial port of Dairen, and the joint control with China of the Manchurian railroad and Chinese-Eastern railroad. In addition, the Soviet Union was to get the Kurile Islands.

For obvious reasons, the agreements described in the preceding paragraph were not included in the foregoing communiqué. It could not be revealed in advance that Russia had agreed to enter the war against Japan, or when she would do so. If a premature disclosure had been made, Japan might have attacked the Soviet in the Far East while her energies and her armies were still so thoroughly absorbed in the war against Germany. China could not be apprised of these de-

cisions in advance because, by long experience, it had become common knowledge how easily and quickly news leaked out of Chungking. Those who complain that these agreements were secret and underhanded, therefore, ignore the facts of the military situation.

The agreement with the Soviet was made not merely in order to induce her to come into the Japanese war. The Soviet had already indicated her intention to do that, but had not disclosed what she wanted in return. The great military concern now had to do with the timing of that entry. The President's top military advisers were most eager for Soviet participation as soon as possible. Though victory seemed assured in Europe, the Yalta Conference was held only a few weeks after the powerful German counterattack in the Ardennes had been overcome. Victory still seemed to be far away in the Pacific — and very bloody and costly. The operations at Iwo Jima and Okinawa were yet to get under way. An invasion of Japan was being planned for November, 1945. And the potential, almost certain, loss of American lives weighed heavily on President Roosevelt's mind. Military sources anticipated the probability of one million casualties in the invasion and mopping-up of Japan; and the Japanese war was generally expected to end no earlier than in one year and probably no earlier than 1947.

Above all, neither President

Roosevelt nor anybody else at Yalta, or elsewhere, knew in February, 1945, that the atomic bomb was going to be successful. It was not until several months after Roosevelt's death that our atomic experiments culminated successfully in the test in the desert of New Mexico. The commitment by the Soviet to join against the Japanese meant shortening of the war and saving hundreds of thousands of American lives.

In these circumstances, whatever concessions were made by President Roosevelt to get the Soviet into the Japanese war quickly must be balanced against the overriding necessity expressed by our military leaders to achieve that result. It would not have done us much good had she declared war after our invasion date. We wanted her to share in that enterprise—in men and resources. And if as anticipated at Yalta, we had invaded Japan and the Soviet Union had joined us, she undoubtedly would have occupied nearly all the territory given her at Yalta—and probably would have claimed much more. And even without the invasion, there was not a single territorial concession made at Yalta, with the possible exception of the Kurile Islands, which the Russians could not have moved in and taken at any time with the greatest of ease, without the consent of the United States, Great Britain, or China.

President Roosevelt may be criticized for not being psychic enough

to foretell that the Japanese war was going to end in six months, but he cannot fairly be criticized for surrender or appeasement, for inept bargaining, or for any lack of good sense or good faith. The Far Eastern agreements at Yalta were not an item of foreign policy. They were war measures executed in time of war emergency, and the *quid pro quo* was to save American boys from death. It is easy to criticize with hindsight now that we know that the war with Japan actually ended in a few months—but what American mother or father whose boy was in the armed forces would have criticized the President in February, 1945, for making the military deal he did at the earnest solicitation of his military leaders? Suppose he had refused to make the deal, and as a result some hundreds of thousands of Americans had lost their lives because of that refusal?

The record shows that greater concessions to the United States and Great Britain were made by the Soviet Union at Yalta than were made to the Soviet by the other two powers.

The Soviet concessions were:

1. Acceptance of the American formula for voting in the Security Council.
2. Agreement to grant an occupation zone to France. Although at the start of the Yalta Conference the Soviet vigorously opposed the inclusion of France on the German control commission, she later

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yielded to American and British pressure on both of these points.

3. Agreement on the reorganization of the Government of Poland as suggested by the Americans and British. Although the Soviet initially argued for a mere *enlargement* of the Polish Provisional Government, both the President and Prime Minister Churchill insisted on a genuine *reorganization* of the Provisional (Lublin) Government so as to include democratic leaders from outside Poland. Stalin finally agreed at Yalta to go along with full reorganization as stated in the communiqué. This was in itself a substantial accomplishment by the Western powers. It is emphasized by the fact that at the time the Red Army was occupying practically all of Poland. Although the Soviet repudiated its agreement on Poland almost immediately, it was a concession in an area where her army was in complete *de facto* control.

4. Agreement to leave the Polish western boundary to be settled at the peace conference. The President and Prime Minister Churchill had refused to accept the Soviet request that the West Neisse River be made the western boundary of Poland.

5. Agreement on the American draft of the Declaration on Liberated Europe. Stalin withdrew two amendments proposed by Molotov to which the President had objected.

6. Agreement to the American formula of selecting the countries

which should be invited to attend the San Francisco Conference.

7. Agreement, at the request of President Roosevelt, to coordinate Soviet military activities with those of the western Allies. The Soviet Union for the first time made a frank statement of her future offensive plans; United States Army Air Forces were given Soviet air bases near Budapest.

The fact is that the Yalta Conference produced the United Nations organization; committed the Soviet firmly to the war in the Pacific at an early date; and agreed to apply sound principles to the solution of many of the problems facing the Allies after the war.

Had the Soviet carried out the letter and spirit of the Yalta agreements, that conference would be marked as the greatest step in history toward a lasting world peace.

As the President was winding up the conference at Yalta, he sent a cable to me in London, where I was engaged at his direction in discussion with the British on the trial of Nazi war criminals and the question of civilian supplies for Western Europe. He instructed me to join his ship, the U.S.S. *Quincy*, on the homeward journey in order to work with him on the report he was to make to the Congress and the Nation on his return to the Capital. (See Item 138 and note, this volume.)

I flew from London to Naples and then proceeded with Admiral Hewitt on his flagship to Algiers to

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await the *Quincy* on its westward journey. I boarded the *Quincy* at Algiers, and returned to Washington with the President.

Charles E. Bohlen, who had been at Yalta and had acted as Russian interpreter for the President, turned over to me, at the request of the President, all the original agreements signed at Yalta, to use as a basis for the first draft of the report. Since Bohlen and Hopkins were leaving the ship at Algiers, the three of us had a conference in Hopkins' cabin during which I was briefed as to the important conversations which had taken place at Yalta.

In preparing his report, the President made one of his few major mistakes in public relations. He decided to keep one of the Yalta agreements secret, although it had nothing to do with military security. It was the agreement about three votes for the Soviet and the United States in the Assembly. His decision not to disclose it was the kind of mistake he had never made before in any of his reports on international conferences, and I have never been able to understand the reason in this case. Of course, as always, military arrangements had to remain secret. That is why it was obvious that the Far Eastern agreement with the Soviet could not be mentioned or discussed. But there seemed to be no reason why the three votes arrangement should not be disclosed. The whole matter was bound to come out shortly in San

Francisco when the Soviet would make her demand. Besides, anyone with any experience in Washington would have anticipated that the matter would soon "leak out" anyway, even before the meeting at San Francisco. But the President insisted that it be not mentioned, and it was not.

The only reason I can assign, after talking with many other people with whom the President might have discussed it, was that the President thought that he might be able to agree with Stalin to drop the project so that neither country would make the demand at San Francisco for two extra votes in the Assembly.

The matter did soon leak, prior to the San Francisco Conference, and Roosevelt was justifiably attacked for trying to keep the arrangement secret. Had he taken the American people into his confidence he could have explained how unimportant a concession this was (see Item 145 this volume); but having kept it from them he never was able adequately to justify his action.

Shortly after the conclusion of the Yalta Conference, it became evident that the frank and forthright spirit of cooperation which had prevailed at Yalta among the "Big Three" powers was breaking down. During the two months he still had to live after Yalta, the President began to recognize the dangerous, new attitude of the Soviet Union.

To several people he privately expressed his growing reservations and doubts about the good faith of the Russians and their willingness to live up to their agreements at Yalta. On March 27, he expressed to Churchill his "anxiety and concern" over "the development of the Soviet attitude" since Yalta.

One can only speculate concerning the reasons for the Soviet about-face after Yalta. Perhaps it was opposition in the Politburo after Stalin returned from Yalta; perhaps it was Communist Party pressure against any agreement with capitalist countries; perhaps it was Soviet fear that the Communists would be ousted if "free" elections were really free in eastern European countries.

Soon after Yalta, the Soviet Union showed that she did not intend to respect either the spirit or the letter of her agreement regarding Poland. At Yalta, a commission representing the Three Powers had been set up to consult with Polish leaders in and out of Poland, to carry on the reorganization agreed upon and announced in the communiqué. Molotov, the Russian member of the commission, continued to insist as he had unsuccessfully done at Yalta, that the new Polish Government should merely be an enlarged edition of the Provisional Government; furthermore, he seemed determined to reject the suggestion that any but Communists and their sympathizers should

constitute the new Polish Government.

Disturbed over this turn of events, the President on April 1, 1945, cabled Stalin that he was disappointed in "the lack of progress made in the carrying out, which the world expects, of the political decisions which we reached at Yalta, particularly those relating to the Polish question." The President warned Stalin sharply against the plan merely to enlarge rather than completely reorganize the Polish Provisional Government. The President also said that "any such solution which would result in a thinly disguised continuation of the present government would be entirely unacceptable, and would cause our people to regard the Yalta agreement as a failure." Marshal Stalin replied on April 7, admitting that the Polish issue had reached an impasse, but he evaded the question by charging that the impasse was due to the British and American Ambassadors. Before a reply could be prepared the President was dead.

A few days before his death the President received a request from Churchill asking what he might say to the House of Commons on the Polish question. From Warm Springs, Georgia, on April 12, 1945 — the same day that the President died — he sent the following message to Churchill: "I would minimize the general Soviet problem as much as possible because these problems, in one form or another, seem to arise every day and most of them

straighten out as in the case of the Berne meeting. We must be firm, however, and our course thus far has been correct." There is no question from the correspondence that the "course" the President was referring to was not the general war-time policy toward the Soviet Union but the firm, even tough, position that he and Churchill had taken with Stalin on Poland.

The President's reference to the "Berne meeting" in his April 12 message to Churchill concerned another irritating episode in Roosevelt's post-Yalta relations with Stalin in which the President had to take a firm stand. Stalin had charged that Allied and German officers were meeting in Berne, without consulting the Soviet Union, to arrange for the surrender of the German Army in Italy. The President had previously assured Stalin that no such negotiations had taken place. Now, in reply to Stalin's repeated charge, the President stated that he resented the "vile misrepresentations" of Stalin's informants who apparently were trying to destroy friendly relations between the two countries. Stalin then replied in a more conciliatory tone.

In the concluding chapter of his book, former Secretary of State Stettinius, says:

"From my close association with Franklin D. Roosevelt, I know that he was primarily motivated by this great ideal of friendly cooperation among Nations. At the same time he had no illusions about the dangers and diffi-

culties of dealing with the Soviet Union. President Roosevelt emphasized many times that we must keep trying with patience and determination to get the Russians to realize that it was in their own selfish interest to win the confidence of the other countries of the world. We must help them see, he said, that cooperation with other Nations was the only way they or we could have a peaceful world. If the Russians could acquire confidence in a world organization, the President was convinced that much could be accomplished. Although he knew that the winning of Russian confidence in a world organization would be difficult, and would take time and patience, peace was too vital a necessity not to make a supreme effort toward achieving this goal."

Although what the President did at Yalta indicates an attitude of patient, tolerant effort to cooperate with the Soviet Union—that was his attitude of February 12, 1945. That was also his attitude on March 1, 1945, when he made his report on Yalta to the Congress.

The President lived too short a time after March 1, 1945, to give any clear official indication of his reaction toward the changing behavior of the Soviet Union. Certainly Roosevelt was not one to consider himself bound to persist in his attitude of February 12, 1945, toward the Soviet Union no matter how she acted. I think it is easy to estimate how he would have reacted to the Russian intransigence and treaty-breaking which came after his death, assuming that they would have occurred had Roosevelt lived. His last few messages to

Stalin are clear indications of what his attitude would have been.

The fact is that the President was enthusiastic about the results of the Yalta Conference. He sincerely believed that the foundations had

been laid for a long period of peace and good will. Certainly Yalta was the nearest approach to world unity for peace which civilization up to that time had ever made.

135 ¶ The President Urges Immediate Adoption of the Bretton Woods Agreements.

February 12, 1945

To the Congress:

IN MY BUDGET Message of January 9 I called attention to the need for immediate action on the Bretton Woods proposals for an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It is my purpose in this message to indicate the importance of these international organizations in our plans for a peaceful and prosperous world.

As we dedicate our total efforts to the task of winning this war we must never lose sight of the fact that victory is not only an end in itself but, in a large sense, victory offers us the means of achieving the goal of lasting peace and a better way of life. Victory does not insure the achievement of these larger goals — it merely offers us the opportunity — the chance — to seek their attainment. Whether we will have the courage and vision to avail ourselves of this tremendous opportunity — purchased at so great a cost — is yet to be determined. On our shoulders rests the heavy responsibility for making this momentous decision. I have said before, and I repeat again: This generation has a rendezvous with destiny.

If we are to measure up to the task of peace with the same stature as we have measured up to the task of war, we must see that the institutions of peace rest firmly on the solid foundations of international political and economic cooperation. The corner-

stone for international political cooperation is the Dumbarton Oaks proposal for a permanent United Nations. International political relations will be friendly and constructive, however, only if solutions are found to the difficult economic problems we face today. The cornerstone for international economic cooperation is the Bretton Woods proposal for an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

These proposals for an International Fund and International Bank are concrete evidence that the economic objectives of the United States agree with those of the United Nations. They illustrate our unity of purpose and interest in the economic field. What we need and what they need correspond — expanded production, employment, exchange, and consumption — in other words, more goods produced, more jobs, more trade, and a higher standard of living for us all. To the people of the United States this means real peacetime employment for those who will be returning from the war and for those at home whose wartime work has ended. It also means orders and profits to our industries and fair prices to our farmers. We shall need prosperous markets in the world to ensure our own prosperity, and we shall need the goods the world can sell us. For all these purposes, as well as for a peace that will endure, we need the partnership of the United Nations.

The first problem in time which we must cope with is that of saving life, and getting resources and people back into production. In many of the liberated countries economic life has all but stopped. Transportation systems are in ruins and therefore coal and raw materials cannot be brought to factories. Many factories themselves are shattered, power plants smashed, transmission systems broken, bridges blown up or bombed, ports clogged with sunken wrecks, and great rich areas of farmland inundated by the sea. People are tired and sick and hungry. But they are eager to go to work again, and to create again with their own hands and under their own leaders the necessary physical basis of their lives.

Emergency relief is under way behind the armies under the authority of local Governments, backed up first by the Allied military command and after that by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Our participation in the U.N.R.R.A. has been approved by Congress. But neither U.N.-R.R.A. nor the armies are designed for the construction or reconstruction of large-scale public works or factories or power plants or transportation systems. That job must be done otherwise, and it must be started soon.

The main job of restoration is not one of relief. It is one of reconstruction which must largely be done by local people and their Governments. They will provide the labor, the local money, and most of the materials. The same is true for all the many plans for the improvement of transportation, agriculture, industry, and housing, that are essential to the development of the economically backward areas of the world. But some of the things required for all these projects, both of reconstruction and development, will have to come from overseas. It is at this point that our highly developed economy can play a role important to the rest of the world and very profitable to the United States. Inquiries for numerous materials, and for all kinds of equipment and machinery in connection with such projects are already being directed to our industries, and many more will come. This business will be welcome just as soon as the more urgent production for the war itself ends.

The main problem will be for these countries to obtain the means of payment. In the long run we can be paid for what we sell abroad chiefly in goods and services. But at the moment many of the countries who want to be our customers are prostrate. Other countries have devoted their economies so completely to the war that they do not have the resources for reconstruction and development. Unless a means of financing is found, such countries will be unable to restore their economies and, in desperation, will be forced to carry forward and intensify existing systems of discriminatory trade practices, restrictive exchange controls, competitive depreciation of currencies, and other forms

of economic warfare. That would destroy all our good hopes. We must move promptly to prevent its happening, and we must move on several fronts, including finance and trade.

The United States should act promptly upon the plan for the International Bank, which will make or guarantee sound loans for the foreign currency requirements of important reconstruction and development projects in member countries. One of its most important functions will be to facilitate and make secure wide private participation in such loans. The Articles of Agreement constituting the charter of the Bank have been worked out with great care by an international conference of experts and give adequate protection to all interests. I recommend to the Congress that we accept the plan, subscribe the capital allotted to us, and participate wholeheartedly in the Bank's work.

This measure, with others I shall later suggest, should go far to take care of our part of the lending requirements of the postwar years. They should help the countries concerned to get production started, to get over the first crisis of disorganization and fear, to begin the work of reconstruction and development; and they should help our farmers and our industries to get over the crisis of reconversion by making a large volume of export business possible in the postwar years. As confidence returns private investors will participate more and more in foreign lending and investment without any Government assistance. But to get over the first crisis, in the situation that confronts us, loans and guarantees by agencies of Government will be essential.

We all know, however, that a prosperous world economy must be built on more than foreign investment. Exchange rates must be stabilized, and the channels of trade opened up throughout the world. A large foreign trade after victory will generate production and therefore wealth. It will also make possible the servicing of foreign investments.

Almost no one in the modern world produces what he eats and wears and lives in. It is only by the division of labor among people and among geographic areas with all their varied resources, and by the increased all-around production which specialization

makes possible, that any modern country can sustain its present population. It is through exchange and trade that efficient production in large units becomes possible. To expand the trading circle, to make it richer, more competitive, more varied, is a fundamental contribution to everybody's wealth and welfare.

It is time for the United States to take the lead in establishing the principle of economic cooperation as the foundation for expanded world trade. We propose to do this, not by setting up a super-government, but by international negotiation and agreement, directed to the improvement of the monetary institutions of the world and of the laws that govern trade. We have done a good deal in those directions in the last ten years under the Trade Agreements Act of 1934 and through the stabilization fund operated by our Treasury. But our present enemies were powerful in those years too, and they devoted all their efforts not to international collaboration, but to autarchy, and economic warfare. When victory is won we must be ready to go forward rapidly on a wide front. We all know very well that this will be a long and complicated business.

A good start has been made. The United Nations Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods has taken a long step forward on a matter of great practical importance to us all. The Conference submitted a plan to create an International Monetary Fund which will put an end to monetary chaos. The Fund is a financial institution to preserve stability and order in the exchange rates between different moneys. It does not create a single money for the world; neither we nor anyone else is ready to do that. There will still be a different money in each country, but with the Fund in operation the value of each currency in international trade will remain comparatively stable. Changes in the value of foreign currencies will be made only after careful consideration by the Fund of the factors involved. Furthermore, and equally important, the Fund Agreement establishes a code of agreed principles for the conduct of exchange and currency affairs. In a nutshell, the Fund agreement spells the difference between a world caught again in the maelstrom of panic and economic warfare culminating in war — as in the 1930's — or a world in which the

members strive for a better life through mutual trust, cooperation, and assistance. The choice is ours.

I therefore recommend prompt action by the Congress to provide the subscription of the United States to the International Monetary Fund, and the legislation necessary for our membership in the Fund.

The International Fund and Bank together represent one of the most sound and useful proposals for international collaboration now before us. On the other hand, I do not want to leave with you the impression that these proposals for the Fund and Bank are perfect in every detail. It may well be that the experience of future years will show us how they can be improved. I do wish to make it clear, however, that these Articles of Agreement are the product of the best minds that 44 Nations could muster. These men, who represented Nations from all parts of the globe, Nations in all stages of economic development, Nations with different political and economic philosophies, have reached an accord which is presented to you for your consideration and approval. It would be a tragedy if differences of opinion on minor details should lead us to sacrifice the basic agreement achieved on the major problems.

Nor do I want to leave with you the impression that the Fund and the Bank are all that we will need to solve the economic problems which will face the United Nations when the war is over. There are other problems which we will be called upon to solve. It is my expectation that other proposals will shortly be ready to submit to you for your consideration. These will include the establishment of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, broadening and strengthening of the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, international agreement for the reduction of trade barriers, the control of cartels and the orderly marketing of world surpluses of certain commodities, a revision of the Export-Import Bank, and an international oil agreement, as well as proposals in the field of civil aviation, shipping, and radio and wire communications. It will also be necessary, of course, to repeal the Johnson Act.

In this message I have recommended for your consideration

the immediate adoption of the Bretton Woods Agreements and suggested other measures which will have to be dealt with in the near future. They are all parts of a consistent whole. That whole is our hope for a secure and fruitful world, a world in which plain people in all countries can work at tasks which they do well, exchange in peace the products of their labor, and work out their several destinies in security and peace; a world in which governments, as their major contribution to the common welfare are highly and effectively resolved to work together in practical affairs, and to guide all their actions by the knowledge that any policy or act that has effects abroad must be considered in the light of those effects.

The point in history at which we stand is full of promise and of danger. The world will either move toward unity and widely shared prosperity or it will move apart into necessarily competing economic blocs. We have a chance, we citizens of the United States, to use our influence in favor of a more united and cooperating world. Whether we do so will determine, as far as it is in our power, the kind of lives our grandchildren can live.

NOTE: The United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, otherwise known as the "Bretton Woods Conference" had met at the call of the President in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, from July 1, 1944, to July 22, 1944. The Conference prepared proposals for the establishment of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. All agreements arrived at by the Conference were subsequently submitted to the respective Governments for approval. In the foregoing message to the Congress, the President urged immediate action by the United States to approve the Bretton Woods pro-

posals (see Item 33 and note, this volume, for an account of the background and recommendations of the Bretton Woods Conference).

Legislation authorizing participation by the United States in the Fund and the Bank was passed by the House of Representatives on June 7, 1945, by a vote of 345-18. The Senate passed the bill on July 19, 1945, by a vote of 61-16, and on the following day the House of Representatives unanimously concurred in a few minor amendments by the Senate. President Truman approved the bill on July 31, 1945 (59 Stat. 512) and the Bretton Woods proposals were thus ratified by the United States.

135. *Bretton Woods Agreements*

As of April 1, 1949, 47 Nations were members of the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Of the countries which had attended the Bretton Woods Conference, all but Haiti, New Zealand and the U. S. S. R. had either become members or applied for membership. In addition, the following countries, which had not attended the Conference, had become members: Austria, Finland, Italy, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey.

At the time of the Bretton Woods Conference, it was anticipated that the International Monetary Fund would have resources of 8.8 billion dollars in gold and currency subscribed by all countries. As of January 31, 1949, the Fund's assets totaled \$8,032,300,000. The International Bank as planned at the Conference had an authorized capital of 10 billion dollars. The actual subscribed capital of the International Bank as of April 1, 1949, totaled \$8,336,000,000; the difference between the capital stock actually subscribed for and the authorized capital is accounted for not only by the fact that the authorized capital left a margin for subscriptions of subsequent members, but also to the failure of Haiti, New Zealand, and Russia to become members of the Bank.

In operation, the International Bank was both a borrower and a

lender. It borrowed money from insurance companies, commercial banks, savings banks, trusts, estates, and individuals. Because of the Bank's power to borrow from so many sources, in one sense it was a mechanism whereby private funds could be made available for reconstruction and development in other countries. The funds thus borrowed were used for loans to member countries or for loans guaranteed by member countries to private enterprises. The loans had to be for productive purposes.

The Bank made its first loan in May, 1947, when \$250,000,000 was made available to France. By April 1, 1949, it had entered into agreements for loans totaling 634.1 million dollars. By December, 1946, the International Monetary Fund reached agreement among its members on the structure of exchange rates to govern most of the foreign transactions of the world. Despite the fact that many countries had only begun to recover from the devastation of war, and wartime economic controls of many member countries were still in force, it was felt desirable to proceed with the establishment of initial par values as a step toward international monetary cooperation. Sales of currency in the Fund began in April, 1947.

136 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Ninety-second
Press Conference — Held En Route From
Yalta (Excerpts). Aboard the U.S.S. *Quincy*,
February 23, 1945

(Description of Conference — Development of U. N. — Poverty-stricken countries a menace to peace — Voice for smaller Nations — Membership in U. N. — Demilitarization of Germany and Japan — Occupation of Germany — Pacific strategy — Indo-China — Dutch East Indies.)

THE PRESIDENT: The conference hours at Yalta were not bad. We met in the afternoons, sometimes at four, sometimes at five, and continued through until eight or eight-thirty. It was tiring — a bit of a strain presiding over a thing like that. You have to keep awake all the time.

On the general run of the picture, I think the public was quite right; also the press at home — virtually unanimously good — saying it was a great achievement. You get that not only from the first reading but from subsequent readings. It's an extraordinary thing that there was so much unanimity in the whole of the Conference.

Q. Is there any one accomplishment of the Conference that stands out in your mind above the others?

THE PRESIDENT: I was going to mention that. Speaking in terms of years, it has been nearly four years that we have been in the war, six years the war itself has been going on, and there was absolutely nothing to hang your hat on in those early days. Then every few months since, we have made progress along one line or other.

This war is global from the geographical point of view. It involves every Nation in the world; you can see the number of subjects that are involved. There has not been a period of six months going by without some marked step toward a better world. The first few months were devoted to seeing

that you would not get licked. The military were doing very well.

This United Nations thing goes back a long way — goes back to just about the time we got in the war, and was based on the very simple theory that we could not have that happen again. And more and more Nations have been coming to that idea. We have moved definitely forward without much loss of time. That is why I say there is not any one thing in the Conference that stands out. They are all tied up together.

Q. Do you conscientiously believe that the Conference can be the foundation of world peace for more than the generation of the men who are building that peace?

THE PRESIDENT: I can answer that question if you can tell me who your descendants will be in the year 2057.

Q. Can we look forward?

THE PRESIDENT: We can look as far ahead as humanity believes in this sort of thing. The United Nations will evolve into the best method ever devised for stopping war, and it will also be the beginning of something else to go with it.

Last year I flew to Teheran — across Persia. Persia probably is the poorest country in the world. In the early days, Persia was a pretty well-wooded country. The Turks cut down all the woods. It has been a woodless country since. Ninety-seven percent of the people of Persia are tenants. Only one or two percent of the whole Nation owns land or property. The only part where they live in Persia is in river bottoms.

Really, the people of Persia have no money. They can barely get enough to eat. The soil is all eroded — boulders where there should be fields. There's no rainfall, because it has absolutely no moisture; the sun can't draw any out of the land, and the moisture in the land runs off in a few hours' time. Persia has no purchasing power in the world except for certain things God gave it, like oil. It is neither sustaining nor has it any money to buy things.

Of course, the obvious thing for Persia to do is to improve its own country. Reforestation is the best hope, and the Na-

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tion then might sustain itself, its whole standard of civilization would be a great deal higher. It could make more things than it could sell, buy many things it could not make.

The same thing is true about Iraq, Arabia, Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, and Turkey. They've got no purchasing power to do anything with. Their only purchasing instrument is oil. Their people are not educated, do not get enough to eat, cannot cope with health problems. We talked quite a lot about this at the Conference.

Now, of course, all that is tied up more or less with peace. A country that isn't moving forward with civilization is always more of a potential war danger than a country that is making progress.

I even talked to Ibn Saud about that — mentioned the fact that I was a tree farmer.

One of his sons was very much impressed, expressed his amazement. He said, "I am a farmer too."

Ibn Saud said, "I am too old to be a farmer. I would be much interested to try it, if I wasn't too old to take it up."

Take the Arabian, for instance. If you want to start a farm, you might build a dam, or start a pond or lake, but it would all evaporate overnight, the air is so dry. But there is plenty of water lying fifty or sixty feet below the ground. Now, if you can keep it below the ground to prevent evaporation, and put in pumps run by oil, you can get it out of the ground and do your irrigating at a very low cost.

This is just an example of how to do the same thing from a different angle.

Q. Wouldn't that be a long-time proposition?

THE PRESIDENT: Growing trees is a long-time proposition.

Q. Do you mean that the Conference looked ahead over a great many years?

THE PRESIDENT: Sure, we are looking at the human race, which we hope won't end in fifty years.

Q. Is there anything you could say in the way of what new aspirations you have for lasting peace, as a result of this Conference?

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THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't think there is anything to add to Dumbarton Oaks. What I am trying to do is add to the machinery which could protect all people, and give the people in the many little Nations a chance to be heard, as well as the large Nations. I hope in time all Nations will be members of the Assembly. Arabia is small in extent of population and territory. They ought to have a chance to tell other Nations what they need. But it is awfully difficult to handle things of moment that come up through the large body.

All the little Nations who haven't got it want this, that, or the other thing. They would constitute a part of the security council available all the time, constantly meeting for three purposes: to work out many things, like pumping water out of the ground. That would encourage a larger number of people to discuss matters like that between themselves — put them in touch with the right people — financial men — from other Nations.

The second point would be to eliminate causes of friction referred by them through the various channels which are provided in the covenant.

The third thing would be to prevent war, step on war before it got started. That causes a need for force enough to save them from war, and is a project for those best able to carry on war: the five big Nations with the greatest possibilities along those lines of prevention, who are to be the permanent members of the security council.

Q. You said you hope that in time all Nations would be members?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Do you look forward to the time when Germany and Japan would purge themselves sufficiently to become members?

THE PRESIDENT: I hope so.

Q. On that line, do you think Germany and Japan in the foreseeable future should ever be permitted to rearm?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I hope for armament to be decreased all along the line, including even the Big Five.

Q. How soon?

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THE PRESIDENT: I am not a crystal gazer.

Q. But as to Germany and Japan, other than in the foreseeable future, do you think they should be kept disarmed?

THE PRESIDENT: I went to school in Germany under the old Emperor William I. The railroad employees were not in uniform. The school children were not in uniform, did not march all the time. It was not a military-minded Nation then. That was way back in 1888 or '89. I was in school off and on until 1896.

The young Kaiser came in in 1889. At the time I left Germany, the railroad employees all over Germany were in uniform. The school children were in uniform. They were taught to march. And if you were living in a boarding house and needed more coal you would call up Darmstadt, the provincial capital. By the time I left, you were calling up Berlin if you needed more coal. That made all the difference in the world. The Government was more centralized. German family life was a decent family life. Gradually they got militaristic.

Now, if a Nation can do that in fifty years, why couldn't you move in the opposite direction? Why can't you move in a non-militaristic method?

Q. Until they definitely move in the other direction, do you think the United Nations will see to it they don't arm in the meantime?

THE PRESIDENT: I agree absolutely. That is part of the agreement.

Q. How about Japan, on the same question?

THE PRESIDENT: I have no personal experience in Japan. I cannot answer it by observation. But after all, Japan until 1856 was closed to any outsider, closed for many centuries. But if they could militarize and become a great modern military Nation by 1903 — the year of the War with Russia — if they could do that from 1856 to 1903, then they can go the other way, too. It largely depends on what leadership they have and what their objective is.

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Q. Have you got any idea that you can tell us, about the occupation of Germany? Do you favor a long-term occupation by American troops?

THE PRESIDENT: I suggest that the first thing for us to do is to win the war. We cannot crystal-gaze. We have not won the war yet.

There hasn't been any announcement of the different zones that the various forces will occupy. I don't know whether the original zoning plan was announced yet or not.

The original zoning plan, roughly — this is old, not true now — was that Russia would occupy eastern Germany, England would occupy western and northwestern Germany, and that we would occupy the area from the turn of the Rhine at Mainz, south to and including Baden, Bavaria, and Württemberg with a supply corridor to the sea at Bremen. But that was complicated, and has not yet been settled.

We talked about having the French come in for a zone. The delineation of this zone would change either our zone or the British. The French will be consulted before it is finally settled.

Q. I wondered if you were looking forward to a meeting with Chiang and the Prime Minister later in the year?

THE PRESIDENT: Not yet. I will probably go out to San Francisco on the 25th of April, or at the end of the conference. Just to say "howdy do," that is all.

Q. Do you think there is any chance the Prime Minister will come?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I will only be acting as host. I do not want to project myself into that conference. It is a United Nations conference. . . .

Q. Can you say anything about the importance of the Pacific War? The American people have been wholly preoccupied with the war in Europe — the Russian drive, and the Western Front. Do you think the country realizes they face a long, hard war in the Pacific?

THE PRESIDENT: That's a hard thing to say. They blow hot and

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then cold. A certain element, particularly the Hearst press, for example, are still yelling about our using the wrong strategy, that we should take the American troops out of Germany and put them in the Pacific.

But our strategy is clear: first clean up Germany, and then go after Japan just as hard as we and the British can possibly do so.

We are either hot or cold. I think it is important to emphasize that industrially at home. Yes, a lot of people will feel that the war is won when Germany collapses. Of course, it's not true.

Q. De Gaulle has announced that French Indo-China is to be soon liberated. By whom, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: For two whole years I have been terribly worried about Indo-China. I talked to Chiang Kai-shek in Cairo, Stalin in Teheran. They both agreed with me. The French have been in there some hundred years. The Indo-Chinese are not like the Chinese.

The first thing I asked Chiang was, "Do you want Indo-China?"

He said, "It's no help to us. We don't want it. They are not Chinese. They would not assimilate into the Chinese people."

I said, "What are you going to advocate? It will take a long time to educate them for self-government."

He said they should not go back to the French, that they have been there over a hundred years and have done nothing about educating them, that for every dollar they have put in, they have taken out ten, and that the situation there is a good deal like the Philippines were in 1898.

With the Indo-Chinese, there is a feeling they ought to be independent but are not ready for it. I suggested at the time, to Chiang, that Indo-China be set up under a trusteeship — have a Frenchman, one or two Indo-Chinese, and a Chinese and a Russian because they are on the coast, and maybe a Filipino and an American — to educate them for self-government. It took fifty years for us to do it in the Philippines.

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Stalin liked the idea. China liked the idea. The British don't like it. It might bust up their empire, because if the Indo-Chinese were to work together and eventually get their independence, the Burmese might do the same thing to England. The French have talked about how they expect to recapture Indo-China, but they haven't got any shipping to do it with. It would only get the British mad. Chiang would go along. Stalin would go along. As for the British, it would only make the British mad. Better to keep quiet just now.

Q. Is that Churchill's idea on all territory out there, he wants them all back just the way they were?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, he is mid-Victorian on all things like that.

Q. You would think some of that would be knocked out of him by now.

THE PRESIDENT: I read something Queen Wilhelmina said about the Dutch East Indies. She's got a very interesting point of view. I think it was a public statement concerning the plans about her islands; they differ so from the British plans. The Javanese are not quite ready for self-government, but very nearly. Java, with a little help by other Nations, can probably be ready for independence in a few years. The Javanese are good people — pretty civilized country. The Dutch marry the Javanese, and the Javanese are permitted to join the clubs. The British would not permit the Malaysians to join their clubs.

The Queen's idea for some of the Dutch possessions is eventually to give them their independence. When Java is ready for independence, give her help and make her a member of a federation. Sumatra the same.

I asked her, "What about Borneo?"

She said, "We don't talk about that very much. They are still head-hunters. It might be one hundred years before we could educate and civilize the Borneo head-hunter."

I said, "What about New Guinea?"

She threw up both hands and said New Guinea has the lowest form of human life in the world, their skulls have least

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developed, and they understand civilization probably less than any part of the world. British New Guinea and Papua are probably two hundred years behind the rest of the world.

Q. This idea of Churchill's seems inconsistent with the policy of self-determination?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, that is true.

Q. He seems to undercut the Atlantic Charter. He made a statement the other day that it was not a rule, just a guide.

THE PRESIDENT: The Atlantic Charter is a beautiful idea. When it was drawn up, the situation was that England was about to lose the war. They needed hope, and it gave it to them. We have improved the military situation since then at every chance, so that really you might say we have a much better chance of winning the war now than ever before.

And when I get back to Washington, I suppose people like Krock will write nasty articles about how I always get scooped. That is perfectly true. But I think it is much better to get scooped than to talk all the time. Then there's the time element. The Prime Minister goes before Commons the day he gets home — breaks loads of stuff. People like Krock don't like it.

Q. Do you remember the speech the Prime Minister made about the fact that he was not made the Prime Minister of Great Britain to see the empire fall apart?

THE PRESIDENT: Dear old Winston will never learn on that point. He has made his specialty on that point. This is, of course, off the record.

NOTE: See Item 134 and note, this volume, for an account of the Yalta Conference.

The foregoing press conference aboard the U.S.S. *Quincy* was held with three reporters present, representing the press associations. The three reporters, in time, relayed the news to the United States under a pre-arrangement which permitted

all newspapers to share it on an equal basis.

The President was deeply saddened on the long voyage back from Yalta by the death of Major General Edwin M. ("Pa") Watson, the President's Secretary, Military Aide, and long-time friend. When I boarded the cruiser at Algiers to return to Washington with the Presi-

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dent, Pa was in a coma as a result of a cerebral hemorrhage; he did not die until we were out at sea, on February 20.

The President thereafter released the following statement to the press:

"The whole trip coming back from the Mediterranean was greatly saddened for me and all the members of the party by the death of General Watson. This comes as a great personal sorrow for me. He has been my Military Aide for twelve years and my Secretary for five years, and aside from our joint work he has been my close friend and associate.

"His death came very unexpectedly. He was in excellent spirits on the trip over and at the Crimea Conference, and was ill for only a few days. Fortunately, he suffered little, if at all.

"I shall miss him almost more than I can express. So will his host of friends in and out of Washington — for one of General Watson's outstanding characteristics was his ability to make close friends, and to retain their friendship.

"There was never a cloud between us in all these years. He helped me greatly.

"He deserves every tribute that can be given, both as a close friend and as an officer of the U.S. Army.

"He has been on almost every previous trip with me during the past twelve years and though he had been ill for a short period about a year ago, it was his sense of duty and determination to see this war through that made him insist on taking this trip with me."

"Pa" Watson's rugged, soldierly figure and warm personality were known to anyone visiting the White House — and he became beloved by all those who worked with the President. He was discerning and intelligent in handling presidential appointments, and more than once his buoyant sense of humor relieved tense situations. He was a loyal friend and supporter of the President, and the President's statement about him shows how deep was the affection between those two men.

137 ¶ The President Invites Eight Persons to Serve as Delegates to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. February 28, 1945

THE following letter was sent to Secretary of State Stettinius, Honorable Cordell Hull, Senator Connally, Senator Vandenberg, Representative Bloom, Representative Eaton, Commander Harold Stassen, and Dean Virginia Gildersleeve:

"I take pleasure in inviting you to serve as a member of the Delegation of the United States to the United Nations Conference which is to meet

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at San Francisco on April 25, 1945, to prepare a charter for a general international organization along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks. You will understand, I am sure, that the sending of this invitation several days after the public announcement is due to the unavoidable delay in my return to Washington from the Crimea Conference.

"I feel certain that this important conference bringing together all the United Nations which have so loyally cooperated in the war against their common enemies will successfully complete the plans for an international organization through which the close and continuing collaboration of all peace-loving peoples may be directed toward the prevention of future international conflict and the removal of the political, economic, and social causes of war.

"I am confident that as a member of the Delegation you would effectively contribute to the realization of the hopes and aspirations of the American people for an international organization through which this Nation may play its full part in the maintenance of international peace and security."

NOTE: The United Nations Charter was written and adopted at San Francisco, California at a conference held from April 25 to June 26, 1945. The United Nations Conference represented the fruition of many years of planning by the President to establish a world organization which would preserve peace and security among Nations. Although the President's death occurred thirteen days before the opening of the San Francisco Conference, the basic structure for the United Nations had already been laid by the President in a series of conferences and conversations extending from the Atlantic Charter meeting in 1941 (see Item 74 and note, 1941 volume) through the Dumbarton Oaks conversations and the Yalta Conference in 1944 and 1945 (see Items 65, 89, 136, and 138 and notes, this volume).

The San Francisco Conference

drafted the Charter of the United Nations, the Statute of the International Court of Justice, and it established the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations which operated until the permanent organization could be set up. The preamble to the Charter adopted at the San Francisco Conference embodied the ideals which had been frequently expressed by the President during his lifetime; it stated that the purposes of the new organization were:

"To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime had brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of Nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of interna-

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tional law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

Administratively, the United Nations was to comprise a General Assembly, composed of all member Nations; a Security Council, composed of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States, as permanent members, and six other members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly for a two-year period; an Economic and Social Council of eighteen members, with six members to be elected annually by the General Assembly for terms of three years; a Trusteeship Council; a Secretariat, including a Secretary-General appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council; and an International Court of Justice, composed of fifteen members elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The General Assembly was scheduled to meet regularly once a year with such additional special sessions as might be required. To the General Assembly fell the responsibility of establishing the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace-time security; of promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related fields; and of making recommendations based upon its studies and discussions to the Security Council and to the members of the United Nations.

The Security Council was organized to function continuously, and was assigned the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, including the formulation of a system for the regulation of armaments.

The function of the Economic and Social Council was to make studies, reports, and recommendations on international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters to the General Assembly, the member states, and the specialized agencies in these fields.

The Trusteeship Council was to supervise territories placed under international trusteeship, to examine reports submitted by the administering authorities, to receive petitions, and to provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories.

The Secretary-General, assisted by a staff, was to be the chief administrative officer for the organization, and was to act in that capacity at all meetings of these various organs of the United Nations, to make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the United Nations, and to bring to the Security Council any matter considered a threat to international peace and security.

The International Court of Justice, the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, was organized to be continuously in session at The Hague. The International Court of Justice was to decide in accordance with international law

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such disputes as would be submitted to it, and its jurisdiction was extended to include all matters provided for in the charter of the United Nations, or in treaties and conventions in force, as well as all cases which the parties would refer to the International Court.

In addition to establishing the administrative organization and providing for the interim arrangements through a Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, the Charter of the United Nations also set forth the principles of admission to the United Nations, of amendments to the Charter, and other essentials in the establishment of the framework for world peace. The Charter expressly provided that regional arrangements or agencies for maintaining international peace were not prohibited if such regional arrangements or agencies were consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. It was intended that such regional arrangements should make every effort to achieve a peaceful settlement of local disputes before referring them to the Security Council.

The original membership of the United Nations consisted of those states participating in the San Francisco Conference or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations. Thenceforth membership was open to other peace-loving states accepting the obligations contained in the Charter and considered by the United Nations able and willing to carry out these

obligations. Admission to the United Nations was made upon recommendation of the Security Council to the General Assembly, and a majority vote by the General Assembly. The General Assembly was also given the right to suspend or expel any state from the United Nations upon recommendation by the Security Council.

Delegates from 50 Nations attended the San Francisco Conference. The Charter of the United Nations adopted by the Conference was signed by each of the 50 Nations attending. Poland, one of the original group of the United Nations which had met in Washington immediately after Pearl Harbor to pledge cooperation for victory (see Item 1, 1942 volume), signed the Charter on October 15, 1945. By June 1, 1949, eight additional members had been admitted to the United Nations — Afghanistan, Iceland, Pakistan, Siam, Sweden, Yemen, Burma, and Israel, so that as of June 1, 1949, there were 59 members of the United Nations.

Under the terms of the Charter, the General Assembly of the United Nations convened for the first time in London in January, 1946, when Trygve Lie of Norway was elected Secretary-General, and the Security Council, Economic and Social Council, and the International Court of Justice were established. In December, 1946, at a session in New York, the General Assembly established the Trusteeship Council under the Charter.

In sharp contrast to the fight of Senate isolationists against the League of Nations following the first World War, almost unanimous bipartisan support was mobilized in the United States Senate in favor of the United Nations Charter. The Senate approved the Charter by a vote of 89-2.

In the early years of operation of the United Nations, a number of specialized agencies were created, including the Food and Agriculture Organization (see Item 144 and note, and references cited therein, this volume), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; the International Civil Aviation Organization; the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Monetary Fund (see Item 135 and note, and references cited therein, this volume). In addition, proposals for a World Health Organization and International Trade Organization were under consideration.

Despite the auspicious spirit and vigor with which the United Nations began its activities, it soon passed into rougher waters. It was not long before the United Nations resolved itself into two major contending forces — the United States and its adherents on the one side, and the Soviet Union and its satellites on the other. Time after time the Soviet Union employed its power of veto in the Security Council to block action which was desired by an overwhelming majority

of Nations, large and small. Russia effectively precluded any international agreement on the regulation and control of atomic energy. In various trouble centers of the world, particularly in the Balkans where guerrilla warfare in Greece directly endangered the international peace, Russia, through her use of the veto power, impeded all United Nations' efforts to arrive at an amicable solution of the problems. Progressively, the spirit of cooperation, compromise, and determination amicably to resolve issues became diluted as attitudes hardened on all sides, and the making of points came to be emphasized at the expense of the maintenance of principles of international welfare.

As the United Nations went into its fourth year of operation, it faced grave international problems which threatened again to plunge the world into another holocaust. Facing these problems, the United Nations struggled to carry forward the principles of international peace, justice, and security for all Nations which had been proclaimed by President Roosevelt down to the day of his death. Despite grave and seemingly insurmountable obstacles, the United Nations has remained the world's best hope for peace. Consistently since the inception of the United Nations, the United States has based its foreign policy upon whole-hearted support of the United Nations as the indispensable instrument for peace.

138 ¶ “We Cannot Fail Them Again, and Expect the World Again to Survive” — Address to the Congress Reporting on the Yalta Conference.

March 1, 1945

I HOPE that you will pardon me for this unusual posture of sitting down during the presentation of what I want to say, but I know that you will realize that it makes it a lot easier for me not to have to carry about ten pounds of steel around on the bottom of my legs; and also because of the fact that I have just completed a fourteen-thousand-mile trip.

First of all, I want to say, it is good to be home.

It has been a long journey. I hope you will also agree that it has been, so far, a fruitful one.

Speaking in all frankness, the question of whether it is entirely fruitful or not lies to a great extent in your hands. For unless you here in the halls of the American Congress — with the support of the American people — concur in the general conclusions reached at Yalta, and give them your active support, the meeting will not have produced lasting results.

That is why I have come before you at the earliest hour I could after my return. I want to make a personal report to you — and, at the same time, to the people of the country. Many months of earnest work are ahead of us all, and I should like to feel that when the last stone is laid on the structure of international peace, it will be an achievement for which all of us in America have worked steadfastly and unselfishly — together.

I am returning from this trip — that took me so far — refreshed and inspired. I was well the entire time. I was not ill for a second, until I arrived back in Washington, and there I heard all of the rumors which had occurred in my absence. I returned from the trip refreshed and inspired. The Roosevelts are not, as you may suspect, averse to travel. We seem to thrive on it!

Far away as I was, I was kept constantly informed of affairs in

the United States. The modern miracles of rapid communication have made this world very small. We must always bear in mind that fact, when we speak or think of international relations. I received a steady stream of messages from Washington — I might say from not only the executive branch with all its departments, but also from the legislative branch — and except where radio silence was necessary for security purposes, I could continuously send messages any place in the world. And of course, in a grave emergency, we could have even risked the breaking of the security rule.

I come from the Crimea Conference with a firm belief that we have made a good start on the road to a world of peace.

There were two main purposes in this Crimea Conference. The first was to bring defeat to Germany with the greatest possible speed, and the smallest possible loss of Allied men. That purpose is now being carried out in great force. The German Army, and the German people, are feeling the ever-increasing might of our fighting men and of the Allied armies. Every hour gives us added pride in the heroic advance of our troops in Germany — on German soil — toward a meeting with the gallant Red Army.

The second purpose was to continue to build the foundation for an international accord that would bring order and security after the chaos of the war, that would give some assurance of lasting peace among the Nations of the world.

Toward that goal also, a tremendous stride was made.

At Teheran, a little over a year ago, there were long-range military plans laid by the Chiefs of Staff of the three most powerful Nations. Among the civilian leaders at Teheran, however, at that time, there were only exchanges of views and expressions of opinion. No political arrangements were made — and none was attempted.

At the Crimea Conference, however, the time had come for getting down to specific cases in the political field.

There was on all sides at this Conference an enthusiastic effort to reach an agreement. Since the time of Teheran, a year

138. *Address to Congress on Yalta Conference*

ago, there had developed among all of us a — what shall I call it? — a greater facility in negotiating with each other, that augurs well for the peace of the world. We know each other better.

I have never for an instant wavered in my belief that an agreement to insure world peace and security can be reached.

There were a number of things that we did that were concrete — that were definite. For instance, the lapse of time between Teheran and Yalta without conferences of civilian representatives of the three major powers has proved to be too long — fourteen months. During that long period, local problems were permitted to become acute in places like Poland and Greece and Italy and Yugoslavia.

Therefore, we decided at Yalta that, even if circumstances made it impossible for the heads of the three Governments to meet more often in the future, we would make sure that there would be more frequent personal contacts for the exchange of views, between the Secretaries of State and the Foreign Ministers of these three powers.

We arranged for periodic meetings at intervals of three or four months. I feel very confident that under this arrangement there will be no recurrences of the incidents which this winter disturbed the friends of world-wide cooperation and collaboration.

When we met at Yalta, in addition to laying our strategic and tactical plans for the complete and final military victory over Germany, there were other problems of vital political consequence.

For instance, first, there were the problems of the occupation and control of Germany — after victory — the complete destruction of her military power, and the assurance that neither the Nazis nor Prussian militarism could again be revived to threaten the peace and the civilization of the world.

Second — again for example — there was the settlement of the few differences that remained among us with respect to the International Security Organization after the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. As you remember, at that time, I said that we had agreed ninety percent. Well, that's a pretty good percentage. I think the other ten percent was ironed out at Yalta.

Third, there were the general political and economic problems common to all of the areas which had been or would be liberated from the Nazi yoke. This is a very special problem. We over here find it difficult to understand the ramifications of many of these problems in foreign lands, but we are trying to.

Fourth, there were the special problems created by a few instances such as Poland and Yugoslavia.

Days were spent in discussing these momentous matters and we argued freely and frankly across the table. But at the end, on every point, unanimous agreement was reached. And more important even than the agreement of words, I may say we achieved a unity of thought and a way of getting along together.

Of course, we know that it was Hitler's hope — and the German war lords' — that we would not agree — that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of Allied unity, a crack that would give him and his fellow gangsters one last hope of escaping their just doom. That is the objective for which his propaganda machine has been working for many months.

But Hitler has failed.

Never before have the major Allies been more closely united — not only in their war aims but also in their peace aims. And they are determined to continue to be united with each other — and with all peace-loving Nations — so that the ideal of lasting peace will become a reality.

The Soviet, British, and United States Chiefs of Staff held daily meetings with each other. They conferred frequently with Marshal Stalin, and with Prime Minister Churchill and with me, on the problem of coordinating the strategic and tactical efforts of the Allied powers. They completed their plans for the final knock-out blows to Germany.

At the time of the Teheran Conference, the Russian front was removed so far from the American and British fronts that, while certain long-range strategic cooperation was possible, there could be no tactical, day-by-day coordination. They were too far apart. But Russian troops have now crossed Poland. They are fighting on the Eastern soil of Germany herself; British and American troops are now on German soil close to the Rhine River in the

West. It is a different situation today from what it was fourteen months ago; a closer tactical liaison has become possible for the first time in Europe — and, in the Crimea Conference, that was something else that was accomplished.

Provision was made for daily exchange of information between the armies under the command of General Eisenhower on the western front, and those armies under the command of the Soviet marshals on that long eastern front, and also with our armies in Italy — without the necessity of going through the Chiefs of Staff in Washington or London as in the past.

You have seen one result of this exchange of information in the recent bombings by American and English aircraft of points which are directly related to the Russian advance on Berlin.

From now on, American and British heavy bombers will be used — in the day-by-day tactics of the war — and we have begun to realize, I think, that there is all the difference in the world between tactics on the one side, and strategy on the other — day-by-day tactics of the war in direct support of the Soviet armies, as well as in the support of our own on the western front.

They are now engaged in bombing and strafing in order to hamper the movement of German reserves and materials to the eastern and western fronts from other parts of Germany or from Italy.

Arrangements have been made for the most effective distribution of all available material and transportation to the places where they can best be used in the combined war effort — American, British, and Russian.

Details of these plans and arrangements are military secrets, of course; but this tying of things in together is going to hasten the day of the final collapse of Germany. The Nazis are learning about some of them already, to their sorrow. And I think all three of us at the Conference felt that they will learn more about them tomorrow and the next day — and the day after that!

There will be no respite for them. We will not desist for one moment until unconditional surrender.

You know, I've always felt that common sense prevails in the

long run — quiet, overnight thinking. I think that is true in Germany, just as much as it is here.

The German people, as well as the German soldiers must realize that the sooner they give up and surrender by groups or as individuals, the sooner their present agony will be over. They must realize that only with complete surrender can they begin to reestablish themselves as people whom the world might accept as decent neighbors.

We made it clear again at Yalta, and I now repeat that unconditional surrender does not mean the destruction or enslavement of the German people. The Nazi leaders have deliberately withheld that part of the Yalta declaration from the German press and radio. They seek to convince the people of Germany that the Yalta declaration does mean slavery and destruction for them — they are working at it day and night for that is how the Nazis hope to save their own skins, and deceive their people into continued and useless resistance.

We did, however, make it clear at the Conference just what unconditional surrender does mean for Germany.

It means the temporary control of Germany by Great Britain, Russia, France, and the United States. Each of these Nations will occupy and control a separate zone of Germany — and the administration of the four zones will be coordinated in Berlin by a Control Council composed of representatives of the four Nations.

Unconditional surrender means something else. It means the end of Nazism. It means the end of the Nazi Party — and of all its barbaric laws and institutions.

It means the termination of all militaristic influence in the public, private, and cultural life of Germany.

It means for the Nazi war criminals a punishment that is speedy and just — and severe.

It means the complete disarmament of Germany; the destruction of its militarism and its military equipment; the end of its production of armament; the dispersal of all its armed forces; the permanent dismemberment of the German General Staff which has so often shattered the peace of the world.

It means that Germany will have to make reparations in kind for the damage which has been done to the innocent victims of its aggression.

By compelling reparations in kind — in plants, in machinery, in rolling stock, and in raw materials — we shall avoid the mistake that we and other Nations made after the last war, the demanding of reparations in the form of money which Germany could never pay.

We do not want the German people to starve, or to become a burden on the rest of the world.

Our objective in handling Germany is simple — it is to secure the peace of the rest of the world now and in the future. Too much experience has shown that that objective is impossible if Germany is allowed to retain any ability to wage aggressive warfare.

These objectives will not hurt the German people. On the contrary, they will protect them from a repetition of the fate which the General Staff and Kaiserism imposed on them before, and which Hitlerism is now imposing upon them again a hundredfold. It will be removing a cancer from the German body politic which for generations has produced only misery and only pain to the whole world.

During my stay in Yalta, I saw the kind of reckless, senseless fury, the terrible destruction that comes out of German militarism. Yalta, on the Black Sea, had no military significance of any kind. It had no defenses.

Before the last war, it had been a resort for people like the Czars and princes and for the aristocracy of Russia — and the hangers-on. However, after the Red Revolution, and until the attack on the Soviet Union by Hitler, the palaces and the villas of Yalta had been used as a rest and recreation center by the Russian people.

The Nazi officers took these former palaces and villas — took them over for their own use. The only reason that the so-called former palace of the Czar was still habitable, when we got there, was that it had been given — or he thought it had been given —

to a German general for his own property and his own use. And when Yalta was so destroyed, he kept soldiers there to protect what he thought would become his own, nice villa. It was a useful rest and recreation center for hundreds of thousands of Russian workers, farmers, and their families, up to the time that it was taken again by the Germans. The Nazi officers took these places for their own use, and when the Red Army forced the Nazis out of the Crimea — almost just a year ago — all of these villas were looted by the Nazis, and then nearly all of them were destroyed by bombs placed on the inside. And even the humblest of the homes of Yalta were not spared.

There was little left of it except blank walls — ruins — destruction and desolation.

Sevastopol — that was a fortified port, about forty or fifty miles away — there again was a scene of utter destruction — a large city with great navy yards and fortifications — I think less than a dozen buildings were left intact in the entire city.

I had read about Warsaw and Lidice and Rotterdam and Coventry — but I *saw* Sevastopol and Yalta! And I know that there is not room enough on earth for both German militarism and Christian decency.

Of equal importance with the military arrangements at the Crimea Conference were the agreements reached with respect to a general international organization for lasting world peace. The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. There was one point, however, on which agreement was not reached at Dumbarton Oaks. It involved the procedure of voting in the Security Council. I want to try to make it clear by making it simple. It took me hours and hours to get the thing straight in my own mind — and many conferences.

At the Crimea Conference, the Americans made a proposal on this subject which, after full discussion was, I am glad to say, unanimously adopted by the other two Nations.

It is not yet possible to announce the terms of that agreement publicly, but it will be in a very short time.

When the conclusions reached with respect to voting in the

Security Council are made known, I think and I hope that you will find them a fair solution of this complicated and difficult problem. They are founded in justice, and will go far to assure international cooperation in the maintenance of peace.

A conference of all the United Nations of the world will meet in San Francisco on April 25, 1945. There, we all hope, and confidently expect, to execute a definite charter of organization under which the peace of the world will be preserved and the forces of aggression permanently outlawed.

This time we are not making the mistake of waiting until the end of the war to set up the machinery of peace. This time, as we fight together to win the war finally, we work together to keep it from happening again.

I — as you know — have always been a believer in the document called the Constitution of the United States. And I spent a good deal of time in educating two other Nations of the world in regard to the Constitution of the United States. The charter has to be — and should be — approved by the Senate of the United States, under the Constitution. I think the other Nations all know it now. I am aware of that fact, and now all the other Nations are. And we hope that the Senate will approve of what is set forth as the Charter of the United Nations when they all come together in San Francisco next month.

The Senate of the United States, through its appropriate representatives, has been kept continuously advised of the program of this Government in the creation of the International Security Organization.

The Senate and the House of Representatives will both be represented at the San Francisco Conference. The Congressional delegates to the San Francisco Conference will consist of an equal number of Republican and Democratic members. The American Delegation is — in every sense of the word — bipartisan.

World peace is not a party question. I think that Republicans want peace just as much as Democrats. It is not a party question — any more than is military victory — the winning of the war.

When the Republic was threatened, first by the Nazi clutch

for world conquest back in 1940 and then by the Japanese treachery in 1941, partisanship and politics were laid aside by nearly every American; and every resource was dedicated to our common safety. The same consecration to the cause of peace will be expected, I think, by every patriotic American, and by every human soul overseas.

The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one Nation. It cannot be just an American peace, or a British peace, or a Russian, a French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large Nations — or of small Nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

It cannot be a structure of complete perfection at first. But it can be a peace — and it will be a peace — based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter — on the concept of the dignity of the human being — and on the guarantees of tolerance and freedom of religious worship.

As the Allied armies have marched to military victory, they have liberated people whose liberties had been crushed by the Nazis for four long years, whose economy has been reduced to ruin by Nazi despoilers.

There have been instances of political confusion and unrest in these liberated areas — that is not unexpected — as in Greece or in Poland or in Yugoslavia, and there may be more. Worse than that, there actually began to grow up in some of these places queer ideas of, for instance, “spheres of influence” that were incompatible with the basic principles of international collaboration. If allowed to go on unchecked, these developments might have had tragic results in time.

It is fruitless to try to place the blame for this situation on one particular Nation or on another. It is the kind of development that is almost inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue without interruption to work together and to assume joint responsibility for the solution of problems that may arise to endanger the peace of the world.

We met in the Crimea, determined to settle this matter of lib-

erated areas. Things that might happen that we cannot foresee at this moment might happen suddenly — unexpectedly — next week or next month. And I am happy to confirm to the Congress that we did arrive at a settlement — and, incidentally, a unanimous settlement.

The three most powerful Nations have agreed that the political and economic problems of any area liberated from Nazi conquest, or of any former Axis satellite, are a joint responsibility of all three Governments. They will join together, during the temporary period of instability — after hostilities — to help the people of any liberated area, or of any former satellite state, to solve their own problems through firmly established democratic processes.

They will endeavor to see to it that the people who carry on the interim government between occupation of Germany and true independence, will be as representative as possible of all democratic elements in the population, and that free elections are held as soon as possible thereafter.

Responsibility for political conditions thousands of miles away can no longer be avoided by this great Nation. Certainly, I do not want to live to see another war. As I have said, the world is smaller — smaller every year. The United States now exerts a tremendous influence in the cause of peace throughout all the world. What we people over here are thinking and talking about is in the interest of peace, because it is known all over the world. The slightest remark in either House of the Congress is known all over the world the following day. We will continue to exert that influence, only if we are willing to continue to share in the responsibility for keeping the peace. It will be our own tragic loss, I think, if we were to shirk that responsibility.

The final decisions in these areas are going to be made jointly; and therefore they will often be a result of give-and-take compromise. The United States will not always have its way a hundred percent — nor will Russia nor Great Britain. We shall not always have ideal answers — solutions to complicated international problems, even though we are determined continuously

to strive toward that ideal. But I am sure that under the agreements reached at Yalta, there will be a more stable political Europe than ever before.

Of course, once there has been a free expression of the people's will in any country, our immediate responsibility ends — with the exception only of such action as may be agreed on in the International Security Organization that we hope to set up.

The United Nations must also soon begin to help these liberated areas adequately to reconstruct their economy so that they are ready to resume their places in the world. The Nazi war machine has stripped them of raw materials and machine tools and trucks and locomotives. They have left the industry of these places stagnant and much of the agricultural areas are unproductive. The Nazis have left a ruin in their wake.

To start the wheels running again is not a mere matter of relief. It is to the national interest that all of us see to it that these liberated areas are again made self-supporting and productive so that they do not need continuous relief from us. I should say that was an argument based on plain common sense.

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major Allied powers in the liberated areas was the solution reached on Poland. The whole Polish question was a potential source of trouble in postwar Europe — as it has been sometimes before — and we came to the Conference determined to find a common ground for its solution. And we did — even though everybody does not agree with us, obviously.

Our objective was to help to create a strong, independent, and prosperous Nation. That is the thing we must always remember, those words, agreed to by Russia, by Britain, and by the United States: the objective of making Poland a strong, independent, and prosperous Nation, with a government ultimately to be selected by the Polish people themselves.

To achieve that objective, it was necessary to provide for the formation of a new government much more representative than had been possible while Poland was enslaved. There were, as you know, two governments — one in London, one in Lublin —

practically in Russia. Accordingly, steps were taken at Yalta to reorganize the existing Provisional Government in Poland on a broader democratic basis, so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad. This new, reorganized government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Poland. Poland needs a temporary government in the worst way — an ad interim government, I think is another way of putting it.

However, the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity will be pledged to holding a free election as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot.

Throughout history, Poland has been the corridor through which attacks on Russia have been made. Twice in this generation, Germany has struck at Russia through this corridor. To insure European security and world peace, a strong and independent Poland is necessary to prevent that from happening again.

The decision with respect to the boundaries of Poland was, frankly, a compromise. I did not agree with all of it, by any means, but we did not go as far as Britain wanted, in certain areas; we did not go so far as Russia wanted, in certain areas; and we did not go so far as I wanted, in certain areas. It *was* a compromise. The decision is one, however, under which the Poles will receive compensation in territory in the North and West in exchange for what they lose by the Curzon Line in the East. The limits of the western border will be permanently fixed in the final Peace Conference. We know, roughly, that it will include — in the new, strong Poland — quite a large slice of what now is called Germany. And it was agreed, also, that the new Poland will have a large and long coast line, and many new harbors. Also, that most of East Prussia will go to Poland. A corner of it will go to Russia. Also, that the anomaly of the Free State of Danzig will come to an end; I think Danzig would be a lot better if it were Polish.

It is well known that the people east of the Curzon Line — just for example, here is why I compromised — are predominantly white Russian and Ukrainian — they are not Polish; and a

very great majority of the people west of the line are predominantly Polish, except in that part of East Prussia and eastern Germany, which will go to the new Poland. As far back as 1919, representatives of the Allies agreed that the Curzon Line represented a fair boundary between the two peoples. And you must remember, also, that there had not been any Polish government before 1919 for a great many generations.

I am convinced that the agreement on Poland, under the circumstances, is the most hopeful agreement possible for a free, independent, and prosperous Polish state.

The Crimea Conference was a meeting of the three major military powers on whose shoulders rested chief responsibility and burden of the war. Although, for this reason, France was not a participant in the Conference, no one should detract from the recognition that was accorded there of her role in the future of Europe and the future of the world.

France has been invited to accept a zone of control in Germany, and to participate as a fourth member of the Allied Control Council of Germany.

She has been invited to join as a sponsor of the International Conference at San Francisco next month.

She will be a permanent member of the International Security Council together with the other four major powers.

And, finally, we have asked that France be associated with us in our joint responsibility over all the liberated areas of Europe.

Agreement was reached on Yugoslavia, as announced in the communiqué; and we hope that it is in process of fulfillment. But, not only there but in some other places, we have to remember that there are a great many prima donnas in the world. All of them wish to be heard before anything becomes final, so we may have a little delay while we listen to more prima donnas.

Quite naturally, this Conference concerned itself only with the European war and with the political problems of Europe — and not with the Pacific war.

In Malta, however, our combined British and American staffs made their plans to increase the attack against Japan.

The Japanese war lords know that they are not being over-

looked. They have felt the force of our B-29's, and our carrier planes; they have felt the naval might of the United States, and do not appear very anxious to come out and try it again.

The Japs now know what it means to hear that "The United States Marines have landed." And I think I can add that, having Iwo Jima in mind, "The situation is well in hand."

They also know what is in store for the homeland of Japan now that General MacArthur has completed his magnificent march back to Manila and now that Admiral Nimitz is establishing air bases right in the back yard of Japan itself — in Iwo Jima.

But, lest somebody else start to stop work in the United States, I repeat what I have so often said — in one short sentence — even in my sleep: "We haven't won the *wars* yet"—with an *s* on "wars."

It is still a long, tough road to Tokyo. It is longer to go to Tokyo than it is to Berlin, in every sense of the word. The defeat of Germany will not mean the end of the war against Japan. On the contrary, we must be prepared for a long and costly struggle in the Pacific.

But the unconditional surrender of Japan is as essential as the defeat of Germany. I say that advisedly, with the thought in mind that that is especially true if our plans for world peace are to succeed. For Japanese militarism must be wiped out as thoroughly as German militarism.

On the way back from the Crimea, I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, the Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave me, and a good many of us, an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face, and of exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence.

For instance, on the problem of Arabia, I learned more about that whole problem — the Moslem problem, the Jewish problem — by talking with Ibn Saud for five minutes, than I could have learned in the exchange of two or three dozen letters.

138. Address to Congress on Yalta Conference

On my voyage, I had the benefit of seeing the Army and Navy and the Air Force at work.

All Americans, I think, would feel as proud of our armed forces as I am, if they could see and hear what I saw and heard.

Against the most efficient professional soldiers and sailors and airmen of all history, our men stood and fought — and won.

This is our chance to see to it that the sons and the grandsons of these gallant fighting men do not have to do it all over again in a few years.

The Conference in the Crimea was a turning point — I hope in our history and therefore in the history of the world. There will soon be presented to the Senate of the United States and to the American people a great decision that will determine the fate of the United States — and of the world — for generations to come.

There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict.

I know that the word “planning” is not looked upon with favor in some circles. In domestic affairs, tragic mistakes have been made by reason of lack of planning; and, on the other hand, many great improvements in living, and many benefits to the human race, have been accomplished as a result of adequate, intelligent planning — reclamation of desert areas, developments of whole river valleys, and provision for adequate housing.

The same will be true in relations between Nations. For the second time in the lives of most of us this generation is face to face with the objective of preventing wars. To meet that objective, the Nations of the world will either have a plan or they will not. The groundwork of a plan has now been furnished, and has been submitted to humanity for discussion and decision.

No plan is perfect. Whatever is adopted at San Francisco will doubtless have to be amended time and again over the years, just as our own Constitution has been.

No one can say exactly how long any plan will last. Peace can

endure only so long as humanity really insists upon it, and is willing to work for it — and sacrifice for it.

Twenty-five years ago, American fighting men looked to the statesmen of the world to finish the work of peace for which they fought and suffered. We failed them then. We cannot fail them again, and expect the world again to survive.

The Crimea Conference was a successful effort by the three leading Nations to find a common ground for peace. It ought to spell the end of the system of unilateral action, the exclusive alliances, the spheres of influence, the balances of power, and all the other expedients that have been tried for centuries — and have always failed.

We propose to substitute for all these, a universal organization in which all peace-loving Nations will finally have a chance to join.

I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this Conference as the beginnings of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which our children and grandchildren — yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world — must live, and can live.

And that, my friends, is the principal message I can give you. But I feel it very deeply, as I know that all of you are feeling it today, and are going to feel it in the future.

NOTE: In February, 1945, the President had sent me on a special mission to various European countries to ascertain the need for immediate civilian supplies for the liberated countries and to make certain investigations on the trial of war criminals. While in London on this mission, I was summoned to fly to Algiers to join the President on his return voyage from the Yalta Conference.

1945, I boarded the U.S.S. *Quincy* at Algiers for the voyage home with the President. On this trip, we worked on the foregoing report which he delivered to the Congress after his arrival in Washington.

(For the official communiqué of the Yalta Conference, and a fuller account of the circumstances and accomplishments of the Yalta Conference, see Item 134 and note, this volume.)

On the morning of February 18,

139 ¶ The President's Statement on Signing a Bill Granting Insurance Companies a Moratorium Under the Anti-trust Laws.

March 10, 1945

I HAVE given my approval to S. 340, the insurance bill, which passed the Congress last week. This bill grants the insurance business a moratorium from the application of the anti-trust laws and certain related statutes, except for agreements to boycott, coercion, or intimidation, or acts of boycott, coercion, or intimidation, until January 1, 1948. The purpose of this moratorium period is to permit the States to make necessary readjustments in their laws with respect to insurance in order to bring them into conformity with the decision of the Supreme Court in the *Southeastern Underwriters Association* case. After the moratorium period, the anti-trust laws and certain related statutes will be applicable in full force and effect to the business of insurance except to the extent that the States have assumed the responsibility, and are effectively performing that responsibility, for the regulation of whatever aspect of the insurance business may be involved. It is clear from the legislative history and the language of this Act, that the Congress intended no grant of immunity for monopoly or for boycott, coercion, or intimidation. Congress did not intend to permit private rate fixing, which the Anti-trust Act forbids, but was willing to permit actual regulation of rates by affirmative action of the States.

The bill is eminently fair to the States. It provides an opportunity for the orderly correction of abuses which have existed in the insurance business and preserves the right of the States to regulate in a manner consonant with the Supreme Court's interpretation of the anti-trust laws.

NOTE: On October 9, 1944, the *Underwriters Association et al.*, 322 United States Supreme Court in U. S. 533, decided that the business the case of *U. S. vs. Southeastern* of insurance was commerce, and

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that it was interstate, and that therefore it was subject to the Sherman and Clayton Anti-trust Acts. The Court decision gave rise to asserted (but unfounded) doubts on the part of insurance executives and State insurance officials concerning the validity of state tax laws and the power of the States constitutionally to continue the regulation of insurance under existing State legislation. Insurance companies also urged that since the decision was unexpected in the light of earlier decisions, they be afforded a reasonable period of time within which to readjust their practices in order to bring them into conformity with the Federal control.

The Congress enacted legislation (59 Stat. 33) which declared that the silence of Congress should not be construed to prevent the regu-

lation or taxation of insurance by the States, and also provided that the insurance companies should receive a moratorium until January 1, 1948, from prosecution under the Sherman and Clayton Acts, and the Federal Trade Commission and Robinson-Patman Acts.

At the time he signed this Act, the President issued the foregoing statement in order to make clear that the enactment was not intended to provide for any grant of immunity for monopoly or private rate-fixing, or for boycott, coercion, or intimidation. It was also necessary to issue the statement to reiterate that after the moratorium period the anti-trust laws and related statutes would be applicable to the business of insurance except to the extent that the States had assumed the responsibility therefor.

140 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Ninety-fifth Press Conference (Excerpts). March 13, 1945

(Conference with Prime Minister Mackenzie King — Removal of economic barriers between Canada and the United States — St. Lawrence Seaway — Agreement on U. N. voting procedure not a "victory" for any Nation — Night baseball.)

THE PRESIDENT: I invited Prime Minister Mackenzie King of Canada, who has been here for the last few days, to come into our press conference today, explaining you would not question him, because the press conferences, as you all know, are just as much for my information from the press, as they are

140. *Nine Hundred and Ninety-fifth Press Conference*

for the information of the press from myself, or any visitor who is here.

But I did prepare a little statement.

(*Reading*): "During the Canadian Prime Minister's visit to Washington, Mr. King and the President discussed questions of general international interest, as well as those more specifically concerned with the relations between the two countries; relations which are as firm and friendly as ever.

"Among other things, a survey was made of questions arising out of the recent Crimea Conference and likely to arise at the forthcoming San Francisco Conference. They discussed in part the place which Canada will occupy in the new international organization.

"The President and the Prime Minister also had an opportunity of discussing questions of international economic and trading policy which both their countries will have to face as soon as hostilities end. They agreed that the solution of these questions should be sought along bold and expansive lines, with a view to the removal of discriminations and the reduction of barriers to the exchange of goods between all countries. They recognized a common interest in working toward these objectives.

"It was felt that the United States and Canada, with their long experience of friendly relations and their high degree of economic interdependence, should meet the new problems that peace will bring in the same spirit of cooperation with the other United Nations that has sustained their common war effort."

I could go on for many paragraphs about that common interest, and the way we have handled the problems between the two sister Nations side by side in the past. Of course, Mr. King and I are very, very old friends — personal friends, as you know. But since he has been Prime Minister, we have developed that friendship into a practical way of handling common problems between the Dominion and the United States.

And I think those various things that have come up between us — they have already received names, the Ogdensburg agreement, Hyde Park agreement — I think that relations between Canada and the United States in the past ten years have been an outstanding example of what you can do

by common consultation and by laying one's own problems before the other fellow. It is an outstanding example of that spirit with which two countries that are neighbors and cousins, you might say, can get along, to their mutual benefit.

Q. Mr. President, did the St. Lawrence come up in your discussions?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no.

Q. Is there a disposition to forget about that, for the time being?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Oh, no.

Q. I had understood that that agreement which was presented last time was going to be allowed to go by the board for a while?

THE PRESIDENT: No. We didn't discuss it. We have the same point of view, I think, Mr. King and I, that the St. Lawrence is a very great natural and national asset to both Nations; and the time is going to come—the quicker the better—when it is developed for the mutual good of the two Nations. Buffalo papers please copy. (*Laughter*)

Q. Mr. President, on the basis of your discussions with the delegates this morning, and with the Prime Minister, can you give us anything that might be helpful to us in connection with the questions which you expect to arise at San Francisco?

THE PRESIDENT: We didn't talk about those questions at all this morning. We were talking about the physical arrangements entirely. And I think that they are planning, in general, to follow the methods that were used at the Mexico Conference, which seem to be pretty satisfactory.

And the Conference will be open to the press and the radio—movies and stills.

Q. Mr. President, there has been some confusion as to how the freedom of action which is granted the individual American delegates is going to resolve into a common American viewpoint out at San Francisco, specifically the freedom of action about which Mr. Vandenberg has talked. Was that matter discussed here this morning?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no.

140. *Nine Hundred and Ninety-fifth Press Conference*

Q. Could you tell us how they are going to resolve into an American viewpoint? Will it be a unit rule, or —

THE PRESIDENT: (*interposing*) I — I don't honestly know. I don't think the question has come up. Stettinius hasn't said anything about it.

Q. Mr. President, have you decided when you are going to San Francisco, to open the San Francisco Conference or go at the —

THE PRESIDENT: (*interposing*) I asked for advice on that this morning. Either the beginning or end.

Q. (*interposing*) Mr. President —

THE PRESIDENT: (*continuing*) I expect to hear.

Q. (*continuing*)—do you know whether General O'Dwyer is going to run for Mayor? Did you and he discuss —

THE PRESIDENT: (*interposing*) No.

Q. (*continuing*)—his plans?

THE PRESIDENT: (*continuing*) No — just what I read in the paper.

Q. Was that what you read in the paper, that you were going to support him against Mayor LaGuardia?

THE PRESIDENT: No. One paper was right and one was wrong. I only read it in two papers.

Q. Which paper was right? (*Laughter*)

Q. Mr. President, there has been a good deal of speculation as to what the position of the various members of the Big Three was on the voting procedure question. Could you clarify for us, to any extent, whether this final decision was or was not a victory for any participating Nation, or —

THE PRESIDENT: (*interposing*) That, of course, is the trouble with answering the question at all. People will line up and say that is a victory for Mr. Stalin, or for Mr. Churchill, or for me. I should say it was a common agreement. Well, that means that it wasn't a victory for anybody, because they were all agreed. Honestly agreed as being what—what we all thought it was the best thing to do. In history, the question of who proposed it first is the smallest end of it. If anybody has a better idea, we would be glad to consider it.

141. *Inquiry Concerning Guaranteed Wage Plans*

Q. Mr. President, is it true that under the Yalta agreement on voting procedure two of the Big Powers have the power to overrule discussions on any proposal that might be brought up, not only force but anything else?

THE PRESIDENT: As I remember the thing — the easiest way of putting it — on everything that is procedural, not the actual use of force, you have to have a majority of eleven.

Q. Any seven, or do they have to have a certain number of the Big Powers?

THE PRESIDENT: No. In other words, you can look into things, into anything you want, and go through all the preliminary procedures by a majority vote. You don't have to have unanimity at all — the majority vote of the eleven. When it comes to the use of power or sanctions, that requires a unanimous vote of the five larger Nations. . . .

Q. Mr. President, would you care to commit yourself on the subject of night baseball? (*Laughter*)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I am one of the fathers of night baseball, as you know, and I am all in favor of baseball so long as you don't use perfectly healthy people that could be doing more useful work in the war. I consider baseball a very good thing for the population during the war.

Q. Do you think within that definition, Mr. President, it would be possible for the big leagues to operate this year?

THE PRESIDENT: Why not? It may not be quite as good a team, but I would go out to see a baseball game played by a sandlot team — and so would most people. . . .

141 ¶ The President Suggests an Inquiry Concerning Guaranteed Wage Plans. March 20, 1945

Dear Justice Byrnes:

I ENCLOSE herewith a copy of a letter addressed to me by the Chairman of the War Labor Board under date of December 1, 1944, suggesting the appointment of a commission to inquire

141. *Inquiry Concerning Guaranteed Wage Plans*

into the whole question of guaranteed wage plans, and a copy of a brief report submitted therewith explaining the reasons for the Board's recommended action.

The Board's recommendations were:

"(1) That the whole question of guaranteed wage plans and the possibility of their future development in American industries as an aid in the stabilization of employment and the regularization of production, should now be comprehensively studied on a national scale;

"(2) That such study should be conducted by a specially appointed commission charged with the duty of examining into the experience which industry and labor have thus far had with these plans, and of reporting the facts for the benefit of the country, together with recommendations regarding any further steps in this direction which may seem practical and desirable;

"(3) That such a body would be best able to perform its nationally important tasks if created independently of the War Labor Board by the President; and

"(4) That the President appoint a commission for these purposes."

The inquiry recommended by the National War Labor Board is closely connected with the problems of reconversion and the transition from a war economy to a peace economy. For that reason and in line with your suggestion, I think the Advisory Board appointed by me under Section 102 of the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of 1944 is particularly qualified and suited to undertake the recommended study. I wish, therefore, that you would ask the Advisory Board to undertake this inquiry and report its findings and recommendations to you and to me.

The Secretary of Labor has made some investigation of this subject and I know she will gladly advise with the Board.

Hon. James F. Byrnes,
Director,
Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion,
Washington, D. C.

142 ¶ Radio Address Opening the Red Cross
Fund Drive. March 20, 1945

THERE was a time when you and I gave to the Red Cross largely in a feeling of aid to others. That was a giving in humanity and in decency. This year we give as well in necessity — necessity for our own. The need never was greater. And it will not soon be less.

As your President I have never indulged myself or the American people in the pastime of predicting the advent of peace. I do not know when victory will come. I do know it will come, and I do know that tonight there are over seven and a half million Americans overseas or fighting afloat in this great war. I know that there are nearly seventy thousand Americans in prison camps of the enemy. And I know that there is nothing unpredictable about their needs.

We can be proud of all that the Red Cross has meant to them. From personal observation abroad, I can testify to the usefulness of the Red Cross in the battle zones.

It has reached through the barbed wire of enemy prison camps with millions of parcels of food, and clothing, and medical supplies.

It has collected for the Army and Navy vast quantities of precious blood plasma, which has saved thousands of American lives.

It has supplied refreshment and entertainment and good cheer. It has served as a link between the fighting man and his loved ones here at home.

Never, in the annals of voluntary service to humanity, has an agency performed so many tasks so well.

And this is no call for charity. This is our chance to serve those who serve us.

As their Commander in Chief I call upon you, my fellow Americans, to oversubscribe the 1945 Red Cross War Fund. We

cannot give too much to those who have given us the heroic hazard of their lives.

143 ¶ The President Urges the Congress to Strengthen the Trade Agreements Act.

March 26, 1945

To the Congress:

THE coming victory of the United Nations means that they, and not their enemies, have power to establish the foundations of the future.

On April 25 their representatives will meet in San Francisco to draw up the Charter for the General Organization of the United Nations for security and peace. On this meeting and what comes after it our best hopes of a secure and peaceful world depend.

At the same time we know that we cannot succeed in building a peaceful world unless we build an economically healthy world. We are already taking decisive steps to this end. The efforts to improve currency relationships by the International Monetary Fund, to encourage international investments and make them more secure by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, to free the air for peaceful flight by the Chicago civil aviation arrangements, are part of that endeavor. So, too, is the proposed Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

We owe it to the vision of Secretary Hull that another of the essential measures we shall need to accomplish our objective has been tested and perfected by ten years of notably successful experience under his leadership. You are all familiar with the Trade Agreements Act which has been on the books since 1934 and which on three occasions, since that time, the Congress has renewed. The present law expires in June of this year. I recom-

mend that it again be renewed so that the great work which Secretary Hull began may be continued.

Under him the reciprocal trade agreement program represented a sustained effort to reduce the barriers which the Nations of the world maintained against each other's trade. If the economic foundations of the peace are to be as secure as the political foundations, it is clear that this effort must be continued, vigorously and effectively.

Trade is fundamental to the prosperity of Nations, as it is of individuals. All of us earn our living by producing for some market, and all of us buy in some market most of the things we need. We do better, both as producers and consumers, when the markets upon which we depend are as large and rich and various and competitive as possible. The same is true of Nations.

We have not always understood this, in the United States or in any other country. We have tried often to protect some special interest by excluding strangers' goods from competition. In the long run everyone has suffered.

In 1934 this country started on a wiser course. We enacted into law a standing offer to reduce our tariff barriers against the goods of any country which would do the same for us. We have entered into reciprocal trade agreements with 28 countries. Each one of these agreements reduced some foreign barriers against the exports of this country, reduced our barriers against some products of the other party to the bargain, and gave protection against discrimination by guaranteeing most favored Nation treatment to us both. Each agreement increased the freedom of businessmen in both countries to buy and sell across national frontiers. The agreements have contributed to prosperity and good feeling here and in the other contracting countries.

The record of how trade agreements expand two-way trade is set forth in the 1943 report of the Committee on Ways and Means. This record shows that between 1934-35 and 1938-39 our exports to trade-agreement countries increased by 63 percent, while our shipments to non-agreement countries increased by only 32 percent; between these same periods, our imports from

143. *Strengthening of Trade Agreements Act*

agreement countries increased by 22 percent as compared with only 12 percent from non-agreement countries. The disruptions and dislocations resulting from the war make later comparisons impossible. The record published in 1943 is, nevertheless, as valid today as it was then. We know, without any doubt, that trade agreements build trade and that they will do so after the war as they did before. All sections of our population — labor, farmers, businessmen have shared and will share in the benefits which increased trade brings.

Unfortunately, powerful forces operated against our efforts in the years after 1934. The most powerful were the steps of our present enemies to prepare themselves for the war they intended to let loose upon the world. They did this by subjecting every part of their business life, and especially their foreign trade, to the principle of guns instead of butter. In the face of the economic warfare which they waged, and the fear and countermeasures which their conduct caused in other countries, the success of Secretary Hull and his interdepartmental associates in scaling down trade barriers is all the more remarkable.

The coming total defeat of our enemies, and of the philosophy of conflict and aggression which they have represented, gives us a new chance and a better chance than we have ever had to bring about conditions under which the Nations of the world substitute cooperation and sound business principles for warfare in economic relations.

It is essential that we move forward aggressively and make the most of this opportunity. Business people in all countries want to know the rules under which the postwar world will operate. Industry today is working almost wholly on war orders but once the victory is won, immediate decisions will have to be made as to what lines of peacetime production look most profitable for either old or new plants. In this process of reconversion, decisions will necessarily be influenced by what businessmen foresee as Government policy. If it is clear that barriers to foreign trade are coming down all around the world, businessmen can and will direct production to the things that look most promising

143. Strengthening of Trade Agreements Act

under those conditions. In that case a real and large and permanent expansion of international trade becomes possible and likely.

But if the signs are otherwise, if it appears that no further loosening of barriers can be expected, everyone will act very differently. In that event we shall see built up in all countries new vested interests in a system of restrictions, and we shall have lost our opportunity for the greater prosperity that expanding trade brings.

I have urged renewal of the Trade Agreements Act. In order to be fully effective the Act needs to be strengthened at one important point. You will remember that as passed in 1934 it authorized reductions in our tariff up to 50 percent of the rates then in effect. A good many of those reductions have been made, and those rates cannot be reduced further. Other reductions, smaller in amount, leave some remaining flexibility. In other cases, no reductions have been made at all, so that the full original authority remains.

You will realize that in negotiating agreements with any foreign country what we can accomplish depends on what both parties can contribute. In each of the agreements we have made, we have contributed reductions on products of special interest to the other party to the agreement, and we have obtained commensurate contributions in the form of concessions on products of special interest to us.

As to those countries, much of our original authority under the Act has been used up. We are left in this situation: Great Britain and Canada, our largest peacetime customers, still maintain certain high barriers against our exports, just as we still have high barriers against theirs. Under the Act as it now stands we do not have enough to offer these countries to serve as a basis for the further concessions we want from them. The same situation confronts us, although in a lesser degree, in the case of the other countries with whom we have already made agreements: these include France, The Netherlands, Belgium, Turkey, Sweden, Switzerland, and most of the American Republics.

143. *Strengthening of Trade Agreements Act*

I therefore recommend that the 50 percent limit be brought up to date by an amendment that relates it to the rates of 1945 instead of 1934. Then we shall have the powers necessary to deal with all our friends on the basis of the existing situation.

The bill which the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee has introduced in the House of Representatives, H. R. 2652, would accomplish the objectives I have in mind, and has my support.

This legislation is essential to the substantial increase in our foreign trade which is necessary for full employment and improved standards of living. It means more exports and it also means more imports. For we cannot hope to maintain exports at the levels necessary to furnish the additional markets we need for agriculture and industry — income for the farmer and jobs for labor — unless we are willing to take payments in imports. We must recognize, too, that we are now a creditor country and are destined to be so for some time to come. Unless we make it possible for Americans to buy goods and services widely and readily in the markets of the world, it will be impossible for other countries to pay what is owed us. It is also important to remember that imports mean much more than goods for ultimate consumers. They mean jobs and income at every stage of the processing and distribution channels through which the imports flow to the consumer. By reducing our own tariff in conjunction with the reduction by other countries of their trade barriers, we create jobs, get more for our money, and improve the standard of living of every American consumer.

This is no longer a question on which Republicans and Democrats should divide. The logic of events and our clear and pressing national interest must override our old party controversies. They must also override our sectional and special interests. We must all come to see that what is good for the United States is good for each of us, in economic affairs just as much as in any others.

We all know that the reduction of Government-created barriers to trade will not solve all our trade problems. The field of

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trade has many fronts, and we must try to get forward on each of them as rapidly and as wisely as we can. I shall continue therefore to explore the possibility also of reaching a common understanding with the friendly Nations of the world on some of the other international trade problems that confront us. The appropriate committees of the Congress will be fully consulted as that work progresses. The purpose of the whole effort is to eliminate economic warfare, to make practical international cooperation effective on as many fronts as possible, and so to lay the economic basis for the secure and peaceful world we all desire.

When this Trade Agreements legislation and the other legislation I have recommended to this Congress is adopted, and when the general organization of the United Nations and their various special agencies, including one on trade, have been created and are functioning, we shall have made a good beginning at creating a workable kit of tools for the new world of international cooperation to which we all look forward. We shall be equipped to deal with the great overriding question of security, and with the crucial questions of money and exchange, international investment, trade, civil aviation, labor, and agriculture.

As I said in my message of February 12 on the Bretton Woods proposals:

"The point in history at which we stand is full of promise and of danger. The world will either move toward unity and widely shared prosperity or it will move apart into necessarily competing economic blocs. We have a chance, we citizens of the United States, to use our influence in favor of a more united and cooperating world. Whether we do so will determine, as far as it is in our power, the kind of lives our grandchildren can live."

NOTE: After the first World War, Nation after Nation embarked on a program of rampant economic nationalism. The United States was one of the leading offenders in this suicidal race to raise tariff barriers and apply other rigid foreign trade controls which interfered with the

free flow of world trade. By raising its tariff, the United States made it virtually impossible for foreign borrowers to repay American loans by selling foreign goods in the United States.

This short-sighted policy was carried further in the Hawley-Smoot

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Tariff Act of 1930, which raised American import duties to a record level. As a result of this and other factors, the annual value of United States foreign trade fell from \$9,640,000,000 in 1929 to \$2,934,000,000 in 1932—a drop of more than two-thirds. Foreign markets were lost to American producers of such items as automobiles, machinery, wheat, cotton, tobacco, and fruit. Some export industries were shut down, creating unemployment. In many cases crop surpluses which could not be sold abroad served to glut home markets.

Aside from the depressing effect of the tariff on America's domestic economy, this policy of raising tariff barriers contributed to worldwide depression by interfering with normal international commerce. What amounted to an international trade war ensued, and many countries resorted to exchange restrictions, discriminatory trade agreements, excessively high import duties, and export subsidies designed to dump surplus goods abroad.

On March 2, 1934, the President, in a message to the Congress, requested authority to consummate reciprocal trade agreements for the revival of foreign trade (see Item 33 and note, pp. 113-117, 1934 volume). In 1934 the Congress granted the President power to negotiate such reciprocal trade agreements for a three-year period; and the power was renewed in 1937 and in 1940

(see Item 243 and note, pages 682-685, 1936 volume; and Item 31 and note, pages 154-156, 1940 volume). In 1943, the President was given authority for a two-year period to negotiate these reciprocal trade agreements; therefore, in 1945 further Congressional action was necessary if the President's authority was to continue.

The underlying purpose of these reciprocal trade agreements was to expand trade among the Nations on a basis which was mutually advantageous to all Nations. Among other things, the reciprocal trade agreements were also designed to increase employment, increase the production and exchange of goods and services, raise living standards in the several countries, eliminate international friction and hostility resulting from trade wars, and create economic conditions in the world conducive to the maintenance of world peace.

After extensive hearings and debates, a three-year extension of authority to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements was passed by the Congress and approved by President Truman on July 5, 1945 (59 Stat. 410). Under the terms of the new Act, the President could reduce tariffs by not more than 50 percent of the rate in effect on January 1, 1945. In this way, tariff rates which had been reduced prior to January 1, 1945, could, following passage of the Act, be further reduced by up to 50 percent of the level of January 1, 1945.

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Prior to January 1, 1945, the reciprocal trade agreements concluded by the United States had reduced American tariff rates by the full 50 percent permitted under the 1934 Act on 42 percent of the dutiable United States imports, based on the value of United States imports in 1939. The rates had been reduced by less than the permissible 50 percent on 20 percent; and on the remaining 38 percent, the rates in effect on June 12, 1934, had not been reduced and were still in effect on January 1, 1945. It was, therefore, necessary to enlarge and extend the power of the President to lower tariff rates in order to give the United States additional bargaining power to induce foreign countries to reduce their own trade barriers. As it was, the United States tariffs on a large proportion of this country's imports from the 28 trade-agreement countries had been reduced to the full extent permitted by the 1934 Act, and thus the United States had used up much of its bargaining power.

As is explained in the note to Item 33, 1934 volume (pages 116-117), the formulation and negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements is a careful and scientific process which involves a number of Federal departments and agencies. Under the 1945 amendments to the Act, the War and Navy Departments were added to the list of agencies which the President was required to consult before concluding a reciprocal trade agreement.

In addition to the extension of the authority to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements, various other steps were taken to stimulate world trade. The Atlantic Charter (see Item 74 and note, 1941 volume) expressed the determination of two great Allied Nations to reconstruct world trade; the fourth article declared the purpose:

"To further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity."

In addition, as pointed out by the President in the foregoing message to the Congress, decisive steps were being taken by the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and other United Nations organizations designed to build an economically healthy world. Under President Truman, the Anglo-American Trade and Financial Agreement was negotiated in 1946, involving a loan of \$3,750,000,000 from the United States to the United Kingdom, under the terms of which each country agreed to support a broad program for the lowering of tariff and trade barriers.

In accordance with the procedures established under the Trade Agreements Act, a general agreement on tariffs and trade was negotiated in Geneva, Switzerland during the period from April 10-October 30, 1947. As under the

143. Strengthening of Trade Agreements Act

Trade Agreements Act, the President received advice and assistance from his Interdepartmental Trade Agreements Committee and the Committee for Reciprocity Information, and no United States tariff rate was reduced by more than one-half of the rate in effect on January 1, 1945. As a result of the negotiations at Geneva, the general agreement on tariff and trade was put into effect provisionally on January 1, 1948, by Australia, the Benelux Customs Union (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg), Canada, Cuba, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This was the most sweeping action ever taken for the reduction of international trade barriers, covering more than 45,000 items and accounting for two-thirds of the import trade of the negotiating countries and for approximately a half of total world import. In addition, Canada, Britain, and South Africa released each other from obligations pertaining to imperial preference margins in future trade negotiations with non-British Empire countries. Among the commodity groups in which the United States agreed to reduce import duty were such important products as wool, Scotch and Canadian whiskey, copper, beef, sugar, bulk wood lumber, and manganese ore. In return, the United States won concessions from various foreign countries reducing foreign export barriers on such items as automobiles and trucks, canned and

fresh fruits, tobacco, and many other exportable American products. The over-all tariff reductions at Geneva were estimated to affect \$500,000,000 in United States imports, and the concessions granted by some 15 foreign Nations to United States exports were estimated to affect approximately \$500,000,000 in exports from the United States. The general effect of the Geneva Agreement was to reduce the tariff level of the United States to the approximate level of 1913, the year in which the Underwood Tariff was passed.

To carry forward the spirit of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements, and to stimulate a revival of world trade, the United States also took steps to establish an International Trade Organization. On March 24, 1948, representatives of 53 Nations signed the final act of the Inter-American Conference on Trade and Employment held at Havana, Cuba. This final act approved the charter of the proposed International Trade Organization to promote the expansion of world trade.

Since its inception, the Reciprocal Trade agreements program has been attacked by selfish interests and partisan politicians who have attempted to check or weaken the effectiveness of these agreements. But in spite of these attacks, the trade agreements have accomplished much to reverse economic nationalism and stimulate international trade all over the world.

144 ¶ Message to the Congress Transmitting Report on United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture.

March 26, 1945

To the Congress:

I AM SENDING herewith for the information and consideration of the Congress the First Report to the Governments of the United Nations by the Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture. Appended to this Report is the Constitution of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, which the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs, Virginia, requested the Interim Commission to formulate and recommend.

The Interim Commission has done its work well. It has prepared a plan for a permanent international organization through which Governments can pool and extend their knowledge and collaborate with each other in raising the standards of nutrition of their peoples and in establishing and maintaining an expanding prosperity for agriculture in all countries.

I recommend that the Congress authorize the acceptance of the Constitution and the participation of the United States in the work of the Food and Agriculture Organization.

The United Nations have already made much progress in setting up an organization for international security. But our collaboration for peace must be on a broader basis than security alone. We must strive to correct the conditions that predispose people toward war or make them the ready tools and victims of aggressors. We shall need also to work together as Nations toward achieving freedom from want. Our participation in the Food and Agriculture Organization will be an essential step in this collaboration.

The Organization will seek its ends through the provision of international services in agriculture and nutrition which have

heretofore been either lacking or inadequate. Among other things, it will provide the means for bringing together from all parts of the world the results of research in all the fields of agriculture and nutrition and for disseminating ideas and advice on how the available information can be of greatest usefulness.

Improved standards of nutrition, increased levels of farm incomes, avoidance of agricultural surpluses — these are among the important objectives that the Food and Agriculture Organization will assist the Nations of the world in achieving. The Organization will seek better conditions in food and agriculture by fostering international cooperation in developing the optimum use of the resources of land, labor, and science. One of its important jobs will be to help in improving the marketing of agricultural products throughout the world so that farmers can find good markets here and abroad and continue to produce as fully as is consistent with sound conservation practices.

The Constitution of the Organization provides that it shall include fisheries and forests within the scope of its work, and that in agriculture it shall cover both food and non-food products. The work of the Food and Agriculture Organization will be primarily technical and advisory. Its staff will be small; its budget will be small, \$2,500,000 for the first year — with \$625,000 as the share to be borne by the United States — and about twice that amount in succeeding years. It is in no sense a relief organization.

In becoming a Member of the Food and Agriculture Organization, we will retain complete freedom of action in determining our national agriculture policies. Under its Constitution, the Organization will have no powers of direction or control over any Nation. It will recommend agricultural policies and advise Nations on their food and agricultural problems, but it will have no power to coerce or command. The Constitution provides that all member Nations shall have equal representation in the conference of the Organization, each being entitled to one vote. Our responsibilities in joining the Organization are of the same nature as those Congress has heretofore authorized in approving our participation in the Pan-American Union.

I therefore recommend that the Congress approve our active participation in the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, in accordance with its proposed Constitution as set forth in Appendix I of the attached report, and authorize annual appropriations of our share of the budget of the Organization.

NOTE: The United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture was established in July, 1943, as a result of the Conference at Hot Springs, Va., called at the invitation of the President (see Items 52 and 57 and notes, 1943 volume, for the work of the Hot Springs Conference and the Interim Commission). The main function of the Interim Commission was to lay the foundations for a permanent Food and Agriculture Organization. The Commission drafted a Constitution which was transmitted to the Congress in conjunction with the foregoing message.

Carrying out the President's recommendation, the Congress passed a joint resolution authorizing the United States to accept membership in the Food and Agriculture Organization. This resolution was approved by President Truman on July 31, 1945 (59 Stat. 529). The United States contribution for the first year of F.A.O. was authorized at \$625,000, and for succeeding years at not exceeding \$1,250,000 annually.

The purposes of the F.A.O. set forth in the preamble of its Constitution are to raise levels of nutri-

tion and standards of living, secure improvements in the efficiency of the production and distribution of all food and agricultural products, improve the condition of rural populations, and thereby contribute toward an expanding world economy. The F.A.O. is intended to serve primarily as an expert advisory center which member Nations can use to help them achieve higher levels of living. In addition, the member Nations agree to keep the F.A.O. informed concerning the extent to which they are using within their respective Nations the facts and assistance provided.

The first session of the F.A.O. met in Quebec on October 16, 1945, when the Interim Commission was superseded by the permanent organization. Delegates representing 34 United Nations Governments signed the Constitution at the Quebec session. As of June 1, 1949, 57 Nations were members of F.A.O. The failure, however, of two leading agricultural Nations, the Soviet Union and Argentina, to join the F.A.O. has thus far deprived it of its full potentialities to achieve its important objectives.

145 ¶ The Nine Hundred and Ninety-eighth and Last Press Conference (Excerpts). Little White House, Warm Springs, Georgia.

April 5, 1945

(Plans to return to Washington — Philippine situation — Independence for Philippines — U. S. aid — U. S. responsibility for security in Pacific — Retention of Pacific bases — United Nations mandates — Russian renunciation of non-aggression pact with Japan — Reason for giving Russia three votes in U. N.)

[Sergio Osmeña, President of the Philippine Commonwealth, was present at this conference.]

THE PRESIDENT: President Osmeña and I have been having a nice talk, and I thought you could come up and write a story for release when we get back to Washington. It may be in another week or ten days.

The President and I talked about many things, and it so happened that while we were together this morning, the announcement about the fall of the Japanese cabinet came in. It is a piece of very good news. Outside of that, we have been talking about a great many things to do with the Philippines.

President Osmeña is just back from the Philippines itself, and he tells me about the terrible destruction in Manila — about three-fourths of the city has been destroyed. We talked first about the military campaign and the possibility of intensifying it. There are still a great many Japs in pockets in a number of places all through the Islands. Eventually, we will get to Mindanao where President Osmeña says he has some very good guerrillas fighting. Our joint forces are working up toward the center of the Islands. That is partly Morro country, so there we get a great many Morros working together with the American and Filipino forces.

Then we talked about more current problems, after the Islands are cleared of the Japanese. We are absolutely un-

changed in our policy of two years ago, for immediate Filipino independence.

That brings up a great many things, like relief, the rebuilding of communications, roads, highways, bridges, and so forth, so as to get civilized life running in a normal way. I am not ready to announce dates yet, because nobody knows when the country as a whole will be ready to go ahead with the distribution of relief without being fired on. The relief probably ought to be undertaken by us on a perfectly definite plan. I put it to President Osmeña this morning.

There are certain things which we have a definite responsibility on. It was not the fault of the Filipino people that the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, but they have been terribly hurt by the result of the war. And in the process of taking the Island back, we obviously ought to restore certain damages like highway bridges, or tunnels, or highways themselves destroyed by the Japanese, and those practical things.

There are other things which are not immediately practical, in one sense. For example, in Manila there is the famous old Cathedral — which is one of the oldest cathedrals in the Far East. I think this country will want, as a gesture of sentimentality, to restore the Cathedral of St. Dominic. Other things, like wrecks and harbors with Jap ships — it certainly is our duty to take those wrecks and blow them up, so commerce at different ports will be able to function again.

Then we discussed all kinds of things on the question of rehabilitation in regard to trade. We have not yet got from the Congress a definite statement as to the tariff question. After 1898, we gave to the Spaniards, who defeated the party at that time, ten years to work out the tariff problem; and we have been under a tariff ever since, which has been fixed from time to time by the Congress of the United States after commissions in those cases have sat. I don't think we can treat the Filipinos any worse than we did the Spaniards on problems of that kind. My thought is we should maintain the present tariffs between the Philippines and the United States after they get their independence. In their present status,

give them a chance to turn around before we get a new tariff, and we ought to consider the economic needs of the Filipinos as a whole.

It seems obvious that we will be more or less responsible for security in all the Pacific waters. As you take a look at the different places captured by us, from Guadalcanal, the north coast of New Guinea, and then the Marianas and other islands gradually to the southern Philippines, and then into Luzon and north to Iwo Jima, it seems obvious the only danger is from Japanese forces; and they must be prevented, in the same way Germany is prevented, from setting up a military force which would start off again on a chapter of aggression.

So that means the main bases have to be taken away from them. They have to be policed externally and internally. And as a part of the western Pacific situation, it is necessary to throw them out of any of their mandated ports, which they immediately violated almost as soon as they were mandated, by fortifying these islands.

And we were talking about what base or bases will be necessary, not for us nationally, but for us in the world, to prevent anything from being built up by the Japanese, and at the same time give us a chance to operate in those waters. The Philippine waters occupy a very large part of the Pacific Ocean, and undoubtedly we accept a mandate to keep security in that part of the world. The Filipinos and ourselves would in propinquity maintain adequate naval and air bases to take care of that section of the Pacific.

Then we talked about American technical assistance. There will be a special mission to keep us in touch, with all of this being predicated on the permanent setting up of a Philippine independent government. We talked about the time, but nothing was decided as to dates. It all depends on how soon the Japanese are cleared in the Islands. We hope it will be by this autumn, which would be prior to the date of July, 1946, set by the Congress. . . .

Q. Mr. President, on the question of the Japanese mandates that

you say will be taken away from them, who will be the controlling government in those mandates, the United States?

THE PRESIDENT: I would say the United Nations. Or it might be called the world, which has been much abused and now will have a chance to prevent any more abuse. . . .

Q. Mr. President, do you think we will have a chance to talk with you again on other subjects before you go to the San Francisco conference, such as the proposal of Russia that it get three votes in the Assembly?

THE PRESIDENT: I think you will see me several times before I go. Some of the boys cannot get their facts straight. It would really be fun if I went on the air and simply read the things which have appeared in the paper. Of course, you know that it is not true factually.

Q. There certainly have been as many different interpretations as I have ever seen on anything.

THE PRESIDENT: As a matter of fact, this plea for votes was done in a very quiet way.

Stalin said to me — and this is the essence of it — “You know there are two parts of Russia that have been completely devastated. Every building is gone, every farm house, and there are millions of people living in these territories — and it is very important from the point of view of humanity — and we thought, as a gesture, they ought to be given something as a result of this coming victory. They have had very little civilization. One is the Ukraine, and the other is White Russia. We all felt — not any of us coming from there in the government — we think it would be fitting to give them a vote in the Assembly. In these two sections, millions have been killed, and we think it would be very heartening — would help to build them up — if we could get them a vote in the Assembly.”

He asked me what I thought.

I said to Stalin, “Are you going to make that request of the Assembly?”

He said, “I think we should.”

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I said, "I think it would be all right — I don't know how the Assembly will vote."

He said, "Would you favor it?"

I said, "Yes, largely on sentimental grounds. If I were on the delegation — which I am not — I would probably vote 'yes.'"

That has not come out in any paper.

He said, "That would be the Soviet Union, plus White Russia, plus the Ukraine."

Then I said, "By the way, if the Conference in San Francisco should give you three votes in the Assembly — if you get three votes — I do not know what would happen if I don't put in a plea for three votes in the States." And I said, "I would make the plea for three votes and insist on it."

It is not really of any great importance. It is an investigatory body only. I told Stettinius to forget it. I am not awfully keen for three votes in the Assembly. It is the little fellow who needs the vote in the Assembly. This business about the number of votes in the Assembly does not make a great deal of difference.

Q. They don't decide anything, do they?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

146 ¶ A Letter to the Chairman of the O.W.M.R.
Advisory Board Concerning a Postwar Expanding
Economy and Full Employment.

April 7, 1945

Dear Max:

I AM DEEPLY grateful to the Advisory Board of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion for its expression of faith — both in our war effort and in the necessity that our certain victory mean at home a peacetime economy far more abundant and pro-

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ductive than we have ever had before. You know how completely I agree. I want you to know also how much I appreciate the agreement of such Americans as compose your board.

We have been fortunate in finding in Justice Byrnes and Judge Vinson public servants equal to our great tasks. They emphasize, as do the members of your board, that there has been no shrinkage in the stature and the spirit of the American. Indeed, I am sure that Americans who have done so much in the winning of the war have no doubt that we can give victory the rich meaning of full employment in the United States and of assistance to other Nations in their reconstruction. Victory, without the use for abundance of the powers we have developed in production for war, would be, indeed, a hollow victory. We must plan security and abundance together. Such a stronger American economy will be essential to carry out the responsibilities that lie in plans made at Bretton Woods, Hot Springs, and Dumbarton Oaks. Similarly, abundance at home depends upon organization for order and security in the world.

America is fortunate to have such a reaffirmation of the uninterrupted tradition of an advancing America enunciated by men who represent great organizations of labor, industry, and agriculture working together with others who represent the public. As such Americans chosen by the President and confirmed by the Senate, you have well stated the program by which we fight a victorious war and seek a meaningful peace.

Hon. O. Max Gardner,
Chairman, Advisory Board,
Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion,
Washington, D. C.

147 ¶ Statement on the Anniversary of the
Attacks on Norway and Denmark.

April 9, 1945

TODAY marks the anniversary of the infamous and ruthless attack on Denmark and Norway. For five long years the Danish and Norwegian peoples have suffered under the heel of the Nazi oppressor. Yet never has their courage lagged. Never have they ceased to resist. Very soon their period of martyrdom will be ended. Then, as the peoples of Denmark and Norway have fought as allies in the common struggle against the forces of aggression, so will they work with the other like-minded Nations to insure the maintenance of world peace and security.

148 ¶ “Let Us Move Forward with Strong and
Active Faith” — Undelivered Address Prepared
for Jefferson Day. April 13, 1945

AMERICANS are gathered together this evening in communities all over the country to pay tribute to the living memory of Thomas Jefferson — one of the greatest of all democrats; and I want to make it clear that I am spelling that word “democrats” with a small *d*.

I wish I had the power, just for this evening, to be present at all of these gatherings.

In this historic year, more than ever before, we do well to consider the character of Thomas Jefferson as an American citizen of the world.

As Minister to France, then as our first Secretary of State and as our third President, Jefferson was instrumental in the establishment of the United States as a vital factor in international affairs.

It was he who first sent our Navy into far-distant waters to defend our rights. And the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine was the logical development of Jefferson's far-seeing foreign policy.

Today this Nation which Jefferson helped so greatly to build is playing a tremendous part in the battle for the rights of man all over the world.

Today we are part of the vast Allied force — a force composed of flesh and blood and steel and spirit — which is today destroying the makers of war, the breeders of hatred, in Europe and in Asia.

In Jefferson's time our Navy consisted of only a handful of frigates headed by the gallant U.S.S. *Constitution* — *Old Ironsides* — but that tiny Navy taught Nations across the Atlantic that piracy in the Mediterranean — acts of aggression against peaceful commerce and the enslavement of their crews — was one of those things which, among neighbors, simply was not done.

Today we have learned in the agony of war that great power involves great responsibility. Today we can no more escape the consequences of German and Japanese aggression than could we avoid the consequences of attacks by the Barbary Corsairs a century and a half before.

We, as Americans, do not choose to deny our responsibility.

Nor do we intend to abandon our determination that, within the lives of our children and our children's children, there will not be a third world war.

We seek peace — enduring peace. More than an end to war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars — yes, an end to this brutal, inhuman, and thoroughly impractical method of settling the differences between governments.

148. *Undelivered Address for Jefferson Day*

The once powerful, malignant Nazi state is crumbling. The Japanese war lords are receiving, in their own homeland, the retribution for which they asked when they attacked Pearl Harbor.

But the mere conquest of our enemies is not enough.

We must go on to do all in our power to conquer the doubts and the fears, the ignorance and the greed, which made this horror possible.

Thomas Jefferson, himself a distinguished scientist, once spoke of "the brotherly spirit of Science, which unites into one family all its votaries of whatever grade, and however widely dispersed throughout the different quarters of the globe."

Today, science has brought all the different quarters of the globe so close together that it is impossible to isolate them one from another.

Today we are faced with the preeminent fact that, if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships — the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together, in the same world, at peace.

Let me assure you that my hand is the steadier for the work that is to be done, that I move more firmly into the task, knowing that you — millions and millions of you — are joined with me in the resolve to make this work endure.

The work, my friends, is peace. More than an end of this war — an end to the beginnings of all wars. Yes, an end, forever, to this impractical, unrealistic settlement of the differences between governments by the mass killing of peoples.

Today, as we move against the terrible scourge of war — as we go forward toward the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in this world — the contribution of lasting peace, I ask you to keep up your faith. I measure the sound, solid achievement that can be made at this time by the straight edge of your own confidence and your resolve. And to you, and to all Americans who dedicate themselves with us to the making of an abiding peace, I say:

148. *Undelivered Address for Jefferson Day*

The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith.

NOTE: This is the latest draft of the President's proposed speech. The last sentence was written into the typed draft in his own hand. The draft was not the final one; the preparation of the final draft was prevented by death. The President died at 4:35 P.M. Eastern Standard Time, April 12, 1945, at Warm Springs, Georgia.

recent travels -- that the other peoples of the world will be with us every step of the way. The thin-blooded timid souls who are now in a minority in our country are also in a minority in the world.

I remember saying, once upon a time in the long, long ago when I was a freshman, that the only thing our people had to fear was fear itself. We were in fear then of economic collapse. We struck back boldly against that fear, and we overcame it.

Today, as we move against an ~~even more~~ ^{the} terrible scourge, and as we go forward towards the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in this world -- the contribution of lasting peace, ~~and that little admission of thirteen years ago comes back to us.~~

I ask you to keep up your faith. I measure the sound, solid achievement that can be made at this time by the straight-edge of your own confidence and your resolve. And to you, and to all Americans who dedicate themselves with us to the making of an abiding peace, I say:

The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our ~~limits~~ ^{ambitions} ~~today's~~ ^{ambitions} ~~dreams~~ ^{dreams} of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith.

Facsimile of last page of the draft for address President Roosevelt planned to deliver on Jefferson Day, 1945. The President was working on this draft on the day before his death, and the last word he wrote for public utterance was the word "faith."

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- Acheson, Dean
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(Index by Dr. Kenneth W. Hechler)



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